

AA00093487



UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY

ia





THE LIBRARY
OF
THE UNIVERSITY
OF CALIFORNIA
LOS ANGELES

GIFT OF

William B. Vasels





Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

THE
Theological and Miscellaneous
WORKS,
&c
OF
JOSEPH PRIESTLEY, LL. D. F. R. S. &c.
WITH
NOTES,
BY THE EDITOR.



VOLUME X.
Containing
A GENERAL HISTORY
OF
THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH,
FROM THE
FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE.

BR
9815
F93
410

P R E F A C E

BY THE
EDITOR.

I now bring before the subscribers to Dr. Priestley's Theological and Miscellaneous Works, after an interval rather longer than was expected, the conclusion of his *General History of the Christian Church*. The attention to the publication of this work appears to have engaged some of the latest earthly anxieties of the learned and pious author: nor can any one doubt, who justly appreciates his character, that his labour in collecting and arranging the materials which compose this history, was sustained by the hope, which, I trust, was not vainly indulged, of thus advancing valuable knowledge, encouraging scriptural views of the Christian doctrine, and recording for imitation, virtues eminently tried, and as eminently supported, by Christian professors of various denominations, some of whom, perhaps, agreed in scarcely any thing but a desire to *know God* and to *obey the gospel of his Son*.

It appears from Mr. Joseph Priestley's interesting addition to his Father's Memoirs, that, in 1795, soon after his settlement at Northumberland, he applied himself to the continuation of this work, which he then brought down from the Fall of the Western Empire to the Reformation. In 1796 the History was completed. It was revised, by the author, in 1797, and again, in 1800. In 1802 the Manuscript was committed to the press, but, as was observed on a former occasion, Dr. Priestley lived to see, in print, only the first of his four volumes of the Continuation. Thus no part of the present volume had the advantage of his superintendence. I have endeavoured, to the best of my

ability, to supply the care and attention peculiarly incumbent on an Editor, under such circumstances. Numerous typographical errors have been corrected, and some paragraphs, which by accident had been misplaced, have been adjusted. I mention these circumstances, not to censure the typographical execution of a work printed, under great disadvantages, but for a very different reason. There has been a design entertained, I believe, by some of Dr. Priestley's nearest connexions, of printing, in a handsome uniform edition, the whole of his works, of every description, as a respect due to his memory. Should such a design be carried on, I hope the conductors of it will freely avail themselves of whatever they find in this edition to be corrections of the author's text, from the errors of former impressions.

For a very large proportion of the notes, in this volume, I am accountable. Many of these appeared necessary, as, in the *Northumberland* edition, the author had supplied so few authorities. He would probably have inserted more had he lived to superintend the press. In other notes I have endeavoured to pursue his design, of recording facts and transactions of which ecclesiastical historians, generally the advocates of established *Creeeds* and *Articles*, have been seldom disposed to communicate a full or even an accurate account. I have noticed the very rare instances where religious liberty, or rather toleration, has been liberally conceded, or successfully claimed; and, on the other hand, it was due to impartial history, to expose those restraints on a conscientious profession of religion which originated in dark ages, and of which too many continue to disgrace more enlightened times.

I shall now proceed, immediately, with the author's *Notes on all the Books of Scripture*. These will occupy the four succeeding volumes.

J. T. RUTT.

Clapton, February 21, 1819.

CONTENTS

OF THE TENTH VOLUME.



A GENERAL HISTORY, &c

PERIOD XXI.

*From the Conclusion of the Council of Constance, A. D.
1418, to the Reformation, A. D. 1517.*

| Sect. | Page |
|--|------|
| I. Of the Power of the Popes in this Period, and the Opposition that was made to it - - | 3 |
| II. The History of the Councils of Basil and Florence - | 12 |
| III. Of the Councils of Pisa and Lateran - - | 19 |
| IV. Of the Pragmatic Sanction and Concordat - | 25 |
| V. The History of the Hussites - - - | 30 |
| VI. Of the Attempts to unite the Greek and Latin Churches - - - | 41 |
| VII. Of various Opinions advanced in this Period - | 47 |
| VIII. Of the Clergy and the Monks - - - | 55 |
| IX. The History of Jetzer at Bern - - - | 61 |
| X. Articles relating to Church Discipline - - - | 69 |
| XI. Miscellaneous Articles - - - | 75 |
| 1. Of the Waldenses and Jews - - - | ib. |
| 2. Of the Propagation of Christianity - - - | 78 |
| 3. Of the Moors in Spain - - - | ib. |
| 4. Of the Turks - - - | 79 |
| 5. Of Unbelievers - - - | ib. |
| 6. Of Superstition - - - | 80 |
| 7. Of the Art of Printing and the Progress of Lite- rature - - - | 81 |

PERIOD XXII.

*From the Beginning of the Reformation in Germany,
A. D. 1517, to the Conclusion of the Council of Trent,
A. D. 1563.*

| Sect. | Page |
|--|------|
| I. Of the Proceedings of Luther, till they attracted the Notice of the Pope - - - | 84 |
| II. The Progress of the Reformation from the Time that Luther attracted the Notice of the Pope, to the Advancement of Charles V. to the Empire, A. D. 1519 - - - | 96 |
| III. The Progress of the Reformation, from the Accession of Charles V. to the Empire, to the Citation of Luther to appear at the Diet at Worms - | 112 |
| IV. From the Appearance of Luther at Worms, in April, A. D. 1520, to the Pontificate of Clement VII., A. D. 1523 - - - | 128 |
| V. The Progress of the Reformation from the Pontificate of Clement VII., A. D. 1523, to the Meeting of the Diet at Augsburg, A. D. 1526 - - - | 150 |
| VI. From the Meeting of the Diet at Augsburg, A. D. 1530, to the Death of Clement VII., A. D. 1534 - | 175 |
| VII. From the Death of Clement VII. in A. D. 1534, to the Establishment of the Toleration in Germany, A. D. 1559 - - - | 186 |
| VIII. Of the Anabaptists in Germany - - - | 197 |
| IX. The History of the Council of Trent - - - | 200 |
| X. Of the Reformation in Switzerland - - - | 220 |
| XI. Of the Reformation in the Low Countries - - - | 226 |
| XII. Of the Reformation in Spain - - - | 228 |
| XIII. Of the Reformation in France - - - | 230 |
| XIV. Of the Reformation in England - - - | 233 |
| XV. Of the Reformation in Scotland and Ireland - | 245 |
| XVI. Of the Reformation in the Northern and Eastern Countries of Europe - - - | 248 |
| 1. Of the Reformation in Sweden - - - | ib. |
| 2. Of the Reformation in Denmark - - - | ib. |
| 3. Of the Reformation in Poland - - - | 249 |
| 4. Of the Reformation in Hungary and Transylvania | 250 |
| XVII. A more particular Account of some of the English Martyrs - - - | 255 |
| XVIII. Of the Unitarians in this Period - - - | 266 |
| XIX. Of the Jesuits - - - | 276 |
| XX. Of the Waldenses in this Period - - - | 284 |
| XXI. Of the Bohemian Brethren - - - | 286 |
| XXII. Miscellaneous Articles - - - | 287 |
| 1. Learned Catholics - - - | ib. |
| 2. Union of the Catholics - - - | 288 |

| Sect. | | Page |
|-------|---|------|
| 3. | Sacred Music - - - | 289 |
| 4. | Unbelievers - - - | ib. |
| | Preface to the Fourth and last Volume, 1803 - | 291 |

PERIOD XXIII.

*From the Conclusion of the Council of Trent, A. D. 1563,
to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, A. D. 1685.*

| | | |
|-------|---|-----|
| I. | Of the Popes, and the General Character and State of the Catholic Church in this Period - | 293 |
| II. | Of the Foreign Missions for the Propagation of the Catholic Religion, and what was done by the Protestants to extend theirs - - - | 303 |
| III. | Of the Controversies in the Church of Rome - | 312 |
| IV. | Of the Religious Orders - - - | 319 |
| V. | Of the Miracles ascribed to St. Anthony - - - | 322 |
| VI. | Of the Eastern Churches - - - | 332 |
| VII. | Of the Protestants in the Valteline, the Waldenses, and the Bohemian Brethren - - - | 335 |
| VIII. | Of the Lutherans and the Reformed - - - | 345 |
| IX. | Of the Anabaptists and Unitarians - - - | 350 |
| X. | Of the Protestants in France - - - | 363 |
| XI. | Of the State of the Reformed in the Netherlands and the United Provinces - - - | 379 |
| XII. | Of the Puritans and other Sects in England - | 387 |
| XIII. | Of the Quakers - - - | 417 |
| XIV. | Of the State of Religion in Scotland in the Reign of the Stuarts - - - | 422 |
| XV. | Miscellaneous Articles - - - | 428 |
| | 1. Literature and Philosophy - - - | ib. |
| | 2. New Style - - - | 429 |
| | 3. State of Catholic Countries - - - | ib. |
| | 4. Punishment of Unbelievers - - - | 430 |

PERIOD XXIV.

*From the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, A. D.
1685, to the Present Time, A. D. 1802.*

| | | |
|------|---|-----|
| I. | Of the Consequences of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and particularly of the War in the Cevennes - - - | 432 |
| II. | Of the Sufferings of M. Marolles, Le Fevre, and Peter Mauru - - - | 446 |
| III. | Articles relating to the Catholics in general - - - | 461 |
| IV. | Of the Suppression of the Jesuits - - - | 478 |
| V. | Of the State of Religion in Poland - - - | 482 |
| VI. | Events in Great Britain - - - | 486 |
| VII. | Of the Methodists in England - - - | 497 |

| Sect. | Page |
|---|------|
| VIII. Of the Eastern Churches, and the Lutherans and Moravians in Europe - - - - | 501 |
| IX. Of the Progress of Infidelity - - - - | 508 |
| X. Of the State of Religion in the United States of North America - - - - | 518 |
| XI. Miscellaneous Articles - - - - | 523 |
| 1. Quakers - - - - | ib. |
| 2. Batavian Republic - - - - | 524 |
| 3. Literature and Philosophy - - - - | ib. |
| 4. Condition of the Jews - - - - | ib. |
| 5. Account of Mr. Emlyn - - - - | 525 |
| 6. Swedenborgians - - - - | 531 |
| The Conclusion - - - - | 532 |
| A View of the Succession of the Popes, and of the Principal Sovereigns, from the Fall of the Western Roman Empire to the Present Time - - | 545 |



A
General History
OF THE
CHRISTIAN CHURCH,
FROM THE
FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE
TO THE
PRESENT TIME.

[*Concluded.*]

“Nactus sum præteritos dies non solum graves, verum etiam tanto atrocius miseros, quanto longius à remedio veræ religionis alienos; ut meritò hæc scrutatione claruerit, regnâsse mortem avidam sanguinis dum ignoratur religio quæ prohibuerit à sanguine; istâ illucescente, illam constupuisse; illam concludi, cum ista jam prævalet; illam penitus nullam futuram, cum hæc sola regnabit.”

Orosius.

[*Northumberland, 1803*]

PERIOD XXI.*

FROM THE CONCLUSION OF THE COUNCIL OF CON-
STANCE, IN A. D. 1418, TO THE REFORMATION,
A. D. 1517.



SECTION I.

Of the Power of the Popes in this Period, and the Opposition that was made to it.

THE history of the popes in this period has not in it much that is properly of an ecclesiastical nature. They were now sovereign princes, and had no other views in all their transactions than the augmentation and preservation of their temporal power. With this view, like other princes, they made treaties or broke them, and they made war or peace as best suited their purposes. Notwithstanding the checks they met with, they still asserted their authority in general, spiritual as well as temporal, in as high a tone as ever; and such was the general prepossession in their favour, from maxims and habits of long standing, that though their power as princes was but small, it was the great object of the policy of all the courts of Europe to gain their favour, and the most powerful were often obliged to give way to them.

The merely civil transactions of the popes in this period, such as relate to war and peace, I shall as much as possible omit, only noting such particulars in their pretensions and conduct as are of a more remarkable nature, shewing the character of the men and of the times, that the necessity of the reformation in the next period of the history may be more evident.

Though the superiority of general councils to the Pope was asserted in the decrees of the Council of Constance,†

* See *Concil. Constant. Sess. iv.* (apud *Labbe*, T. XII. Vol. III. p. 19,) quoted in *A. Geddes's Apol.* p. 95. Note.

† "*Gerson*, in his book *De examine Doctrinarum*, says, 'It is not in the power of

confirmed by Martin V., and those of the Council of Basil, which was a sequel to it, the maxim was never acknowledged by any pope afterwards, not even by those who before they arrived at that dignity had most strenuously maintained that doctrine. In A. D. 1460, Pius II., who, while he was only cardinal, and bore the name of Æneas Sylvius, [*Piccolomini*,] had been the greatest advocate for the superiority of the councils,* published a bull, in which he condemned all appeals from the popes to councils, which were then very common, as “erroneous, detestable, null, contrary to the holy canons, hurtful to Christianity, and even ridiculous.” And in A. D. 1464, he published a solemn retraction of what he had written in favour of the superiority of the Council of Basil,† as the production of his youth; saying that he had erred, as Paul had done, and persecuted the church of God through ignorance.‡

Nothing that the popes did while they were only cardinals could bind them. Before the election of Paul II. in A. D. 1464, all the cardinals swore to a number of regulations, and

the Pope or any council, to change what is prescribed by the evangelists and St. Paul, as some do dole. Yea, we are to give more credit in a matter of doctrine to the operation of a simple, unlearned man speaking according to the Scriptures, than to the declaration of the Pope or council, being contrary therunto.” *Hist. of Popery*, II, p. 268. See Vol. IX, pp. 509, 512, 517.

* See *Hist. of Popery*, II, p. 288. The author quotes from *Platina*, Ed. 1611, the following *Proverbial Maxims* of Æneas Sylvius:—

- “1. Every sect, grounded on authority, wants human reason.
- “2. The Christian faith, if it were not approved by miracles, yet ought to be received for its innate honesty and excellency.
- “3. Marriage, with great reason was forbidden to priests, and yet for greater reasons ought to be restored to them.
- “4. To search into and study the course of the stars, is a thing of more delight and ostentation than profit.
- “5. A covetous man is never satisfied with money, nor a scholar with knowledge.
- “6. Those who have the happiness to know most, have the perplexity to meet with most doubts.
- “7. Learning to the vulgar ought to serve instead of silver, to the nobles as gold, but by princes to be valued as precious stones.
- “8. Laws on poor people have force, but towards the great ones they are dumb.” *Ibid.* p. 289.

The 7th of these Maxims has been claimed by one of his biographers for Julius II. “*Les Lettres disent d’être de l’argent pour les routiers, de l’or pour les nobles, et des diamans pour les princes.*” *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* III, p. 347.

“Pope Pius II, intent upon an expedition against the Turks, died at Ancona in 1461.” These two last lines of his epitaph shew that his memory had not found a panegyrist.

“Vendiderat pretio gentes, et eriumma multa
Virtutis specie gesserat ille Pius.”

Hist. of Popery, II, p. 299.

† Of which he had been secretary. See *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* IV, p. 1038.

‡ “Il sentoit bien qu’on lui objecteroit que le Pape voyoit les choses dans un jour différent de l’homme particulier, et il tâche de répondre le mieux qu’il peut à cette objection.” *Ibid.*

even this pope himself confirmed them immediately after his election, but he presently after paid no regard to them.*

The popes claimed the sole right of prohibiting books, and asserted that Christian princes ought to publish their decrees on this subject, as from the authority of the apostolic see, as of sufficient force, without their own sanction. According to the ancient discipline of the church, the censure of books belonged to the councils.†

Appeals to the court of Rome were a great source of the wealth and power of the popes, and many attempts were made by the more spirited princes to prevent them, or at least restrict them within certain bounds, while the popes were as watchful to retain and encourage them. In A. D. 1491, Innocent VIII. published a bull, excommunicating those who obstructed appeals to the court of Rome, in order to transfer the causes which had been usually heard there, to the secular courts.

After the extinction of the great schism,‡ the popes were chiefly intent upon the aggrandisement of their families, and they engaged in confederacies and wars, chiefly with that view.§ Immense sums were raised by them from church livings: for, on the death of any incumbent, before a successor was named, whatever he left was adjudged to the apostolic chamber. Collectors were sent every where, who, by severe extortions, seized even the ornaments of the churches, and put the heirs to great trouble with respect to the proper patrimony of the deceased. In case of any doubt, every thing was decided in favour of the chamber, and those who opposed the execution were harassed with excommunications and censures. These abuses were tolerated in the kingdom of Sicily, and though they were checked by Alphonsus I. in A. D. 1431, they came in again in a great measure with Ferdinand the Catholic. They were, however, opposed in other countries, and in Spain restricted to

* “De tous ces articles *Paul* n'exécuta que celui qui regardoit la guerre contre les infidèles.” *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* IV. p. 909.

† *Giannone*, II. p. 392. (*P.*)

‡ See Vol. IX. p. 518.

§ A Catholic biographer of *Innocent VIII.* says, of his efforts to unite the Christian princes against the Turks: “Ce zèle prenoit sa source dans l'envie qu'il avoit d'amasser l'argent.—Avant que d'être dans les ordres, il avoit eu plusieurs enfans, dont il ne négligéa point la fortune durant son Pontificat.” He adds, “Une attaque d'apoplexie le ramena à lui-même, et il mourut en 1492, témoignant un grand mépris pour les vanités de ce monde.” *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* III. p. 398. *Marullus* appears to have doubted this conversion when he thus concluded his epitaph:

“Spurcities, gula, avaritia atque ignavia deses,

Hoc, Octave, jacent, quo tegeris, tumulo.”

See *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 241

the case of bishops. In France and Germany, they were not suffered at all.*

The power of dispensing with oaths, and even annulling the most solemn treaties with heretics or infidels, was not relinquished by the popes of this more enlightened period. But a memorable instance occurs in it of the folly, as well as wickedness, of that pretension. Though in A. D. 1444, the Christians had made peace with Amurath, the Turkish emperor, and Ladislas, king of Poland and Hungary, had sworn to it on the gospels, as Amurath did upon the Koran; yet an opportunity occurring, of which the Christians thought they could take advantage, pope Eugenius authorized cardinal Julian to absolve him from his oath, and exhorted him to renew the war. But Amurath returning from Asia in greater force than they expected, and in the course of the battle which followed, holding up the treaty to which the Christians had sworn, cried aloud, "This, O Jesus, is the treaty which the Christians, swearing by thy name, made with me. If thou be a God, revenge thy injuries and mine."† Then, gaining a complete victory, both Ladislas and the cardinal were slain.

There was no want of good sense or spirit, in several of the temporal princes of this period, to set the pretensions of the popes at defiance; but the superstition of the common people, and the situation of their affairs, made it necessary for them to give way. In A. D. 1488, Innocent VIII, excommunicated Ferdinand, king of Naples, for refusing to pay the stipulated tribute, depriving him of that kingdom, publishing a crusade against him, and inviting king Charles of France to join Nicolas de Ursino, whom he had appointed commander of the forces against him. Ferdinand, however, persisted in his disregard of these proceedings, and he appealed to a future council; but at length, his fear of Charles brought him to submit to the terms required of him.

The opposition made by the Venetians to Julius II, promised something more, but ended in a similar manner. In A. D. 1509, this pope published a most violent bull against them for their usurpation of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, threatening them with every thing that had ever been denounced

* *Giannone*, II. p. 489. (P.)

† "Hæc sunt, Jesu Christe, fœdera quæ Christiani tui mecum percussere, per nomen tuum sanctè jurantes. Nunc, si Deus es, tuas meaque injurias te quæso ulciscere." (*Bonfin*. l. 3. *Aeneas Sylvius*, Ep. 81. *Spondanus*, an. 1444.) *Hist. of Popery*, II. pp. 196, 282, 283. See Des Fontaines' *Poland*, p. 186.

by former popes; and for a long time they paid no regard to it, but appealed to a future council. All the effect it had at first was, that a few monks, particularly attached to the court of Rome, left the city; while all the other clergy, secular and regular, continued to discharge their functions as before. The Pope then published another bull, annulling their appeal, and laying all their estates under an interdict.* This, however, they would have disregarded, but being distressed in the war against them, in which the Pope joined his forces, they wished to make peace with him. His demands, however, being thought too exorbitant, the people spared no invectives against him.

At length it was thought necessary, on account of the situation of their public affairs, that the Doge should write to the Pope in the most submissive terms, leaving the satisfaction they were to make, to himself; and the year following he granted them absolution, but on the following humiliating terms: Six ambassadors from the republic prostrated themselves at the Pope's feet, and visited the seven churches in Rome. They were obliged to desist from their appeal to a council, to confer only lay-benefices, to admit of appeals to Rome, to allow the Pope to levy any taxes upon their clergy, and also to grant him many advantages of a civil nature; and thus he was fully satisfied. Thus, says the historian, this republic, which had paid less regard to the thunders of the Vatican than any other state, submitted to the most imperious conditions, such as only the most haughty and successful sovereign would have imposed.

In order to support the expenses which such a system of power required, the popes had recourse to various methods, which rendered them exceedingly unpopular; but yet not so much so as to occasion any open or confirmed revolt. The wars which Sixtus IV. promoted against the Turks, his presents and public buildings, and his furnishing the Vatican library, which he provided with Greek, Latin, and Hebrew librarians, induced him not only to create new offices in his court, but to dispose of them for large sums, which was much complained of, as it took from able and worthy men the means of advancing themselves.†

* He "excommunicated the Venetians, and gave their lands to the first who could take them." *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 300.

† This pope, who erected and endowed the *Palatine* library in the *Vatican*, seems to have been also unhappily distinguished by the public encouragement of the grossest impurities. According to C. Agrippa, (*De Vanitate*, C. Ixv.) "Pope Sixtus built a noble brothel-house at Rome," where every courtesan paid "a *Julio* a week to the Pope," amounting "many years to above twenty thousand ducats." See also *Wesellus*' "book of Papal Indulgences," in *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 292.

In A. D. 1457, the Germans made loud complaints of the Pope's violation of the agreement that had been made with their emperors, in taking from the country more than he ought to have done; but he exculpated himself on account of the expenses he had been at in repulsing the Turks, when the Christian powers in general had been inattentive to their progress, and suffered them to take Constantinople. On this occasion, Erasmus Sylvius wrote in defence of the Pope, and was answered by James de Wimphile and others.

The right of the popes to grant countries to those who would discover, conquer, and christianize them, as also to grant titles, &c., seems to have been undisputed in this period. In A. D. 1420, Martin V. granted to the Portuguese all the countries they should discover from "Cape Bojador to the East Indies;"* and in A. D. 1492, Alexander VI. granted to Ferdinand, king of Arragon, the investiture of all the countries his subjects should discover to the West.† But on the discovery of America by Columbus, the Portuguese objected to this grant, as inconsistent with that which had been made to them by Eugenius IV. of all the land they should discover to the East. However, after many assemblies held at Rome on the subject, the Portuguese were obliged to acquiesce in the pretensions of the Spaniards. In A. D. 1494, the same pope granted to Ferdinand and Isabella the right of conquering Africa, on condition of their establishing the Christian religion in it: but, not to interfere with the claims of the Portuguese, he restricted their permission to the kingdoms of Algiers and Tunis, that of Fez and the neighbouring countries being within the grant to the Portuguese. In A. D. 1496, this pope, to the great dissatisfaction of the Portuguese, gave the title of *Catholic* to the kings of Spain. He had intended to take the title of *Most Christian* from the kings of France, but some of the cardinals remonstrated against it.

The Christian world is indebted to the university of Paris for much of the just opposition that was made to the

* "Together with an *indulgence*, in full, for all those devout souls whose souls should chance to be dropped in the undertaking." Harris's *Voyages*, 1795, t. Ch. i. p. 5.

† "Nos, motu proprio—de nostra liberalitate—omnes insulas et terras firmas, inventas et invenientis, detectas et detegendas, versus occidentem et meridiem—quæ per alium rezeunt principem *Christianissimum*, non fuerint actualiter possessa, auctoritate omnipotentis Dei, et vicarius J. C. qua fungimur in terrens—vobis, ha redibus que vestris, in perpetuum, tenore presentium donamus, vosque et ha redes illarum domnos facimus et deputamus." *Buller Magg.* T. I. p. 454, in *Valliers's* "Essay on the spirit and influence of the Reformation," 1805, pp. 48, 49, *Note*.

unreasonable pretensions of the popes and their advocates before the reformation. In A. D. 1430, John Sarrazin, a Dominican, was censured by it for maintaining that "all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, except that of the Pope, was derived from him, that these jurisdictions are not immediately of divine right, that all the decrees of councils derive their force from the Pope, that other spiritual powers can do nothing against him, and that he cannot be guilty of simony." In consequence of this censure, the author was obliged to retract his propositions. In A. D. 1470, the faculty of theology at Paris condemned a proposition of John Meunier, another Dominican, that the apostles did not receive their authority from Christ himself, but from St. Peter. In A. D. 1497, Charles VIII. proposed to this faculty whether the Pope was not bound by the decrees of the Council of Constance to assemble a general council every ten years, and whether, on his refusal, the secular princes might not call one without him. They answered in the affirmative, and added, that the then present time was peculiarly proper for it, there were so many notorious disorders in the church, both in the head and the members. The death of this prince prevented his proceeding any farther in the business.

But the most effectual opposition to the papal usurpations was made not by arguments, but actions. Of these, and some very persevering and successful ones, there are several instances in the course of this period.

Commendams had not been much used in Germany, though they were at this time frequent in other parts of Europe. Sigismund, duke of Austria, had, on this subject, a difference with the cardinal of Cusa, who held the bishopric of Brixen by *commendam* from the Pope, without residing. The case had been proposed at the Council of Mantua, but was not decided; and the parties coming to an open rupture, the cardinal was taken prisoner, and was not released till he had paid a considerable sum for his ransom, and had likewise engaged the absolution of Sigismund, who had been excommunicated by pope Calixtus.

The agreement being broken, and hostilities resumed, the cardinal was again made prisoner, when he purchased his release by the surrender of a castle, and paying another large sum. On this, Pius II. excommunicated the duke. But, not terrified with this, he appealed to a future council, the act of appeal being drawn up by Gregory of Hemburg, a doctor of law. The Pope then addressed a letter to the

people of Germany, in which he ordered Heimburg to be avoided, as a heretic, and guilty of high treason, for appealing to a council after his express prohibition of it. He also ordered all his goods to be confiscated. But Heimburg appealed against this bull, and this led to a controversy, in which Heimburg inveighed against the Pope with more violence than had ever been done in that age.

This pope had appointed a nephew of cardinal Sbignée to the archbishopric of Cracow, though Casimir, king of Poland, had named another person; and notwithstanding the remonstrances, menaces, and even excommunications, pronounced against Casimir and his adherents, the cardinal's nephew was obliged to resign; the king having declared that he would sooner lose his crown than suffer a bishop in his dominions against his consent, which, says the historian, was no small mortification to the holy father.

In A. D. 1461, Pius II. excommunicated the archbishop of Mayence for not appearing before him, and paying the *annates* of his church, according to his promise. On this, the archbishop appealed to a future council, and was supported by the princes of Germany, who complained of the exorbitant sums demanded for the confirmation of his election, the tenths of his benefice, and other grievances by which the Germans in general were affected, in order to raise money, on the pretence of the Turkish war, but which was employed for other purposes. Nothing, however, being done in consequence of the princes declaring for him, he made his peace with the Pope; but, giving fresh offence by continuing to officiate as bishop before his excommunication was taken off, another archbishop was appointed by the Pope, and the two prelates were at open war, till they made peace by a division of the revenues, the latter retaining the title and the office.

The German princes, on many occasions, shewed a spirit of resistance to the papal claims. When Sixtus IV. sent to collect the tenths of the benefices in Germany, for the war against the Turks, which more immediately affected the empire, and they were threatened with an excommunication, they absolutely refused to pay them.

The people of Florence, more enlightened than any other in this age, had frequent contests with the popes, and some of them continued a long time. In A. D. 1478, Sixtus IV. excommunicated Lorenzo of Medicis, and laid the city of Florence under an interdict, for hanging the archbishop of Pisa, who had been engaged in a conspiracy against the

Medici, in which Julian, the brother of Lorenzo, was murdered in a church, and Lorenzo himself very narrowly escaped. But, though the Pope gave them to understand that he would remove the interdict if they would banish Lorenzo, they persisted in their neglect of it, throwing the blame of the whole transaction on the Pope, as the original author of the conspiracy. They even assembled the bishops of Tuscany, in order to appeal to a future council, and obliged the priests to celebrate mass, notwithstanding the interdict. They were secretly assisted by the Venetians, but afterwards they made their peace with the Pope.*

In the time of this pope, the spirit of resistance appeared in Scotland: for, having made Patrick Graham, the archbishop of St. Andrew's, his legate in that country, the lords would not suffer him to exercise his functions; it being, they said, a violation of the ancient rights of the kingdom.

The citizens of Rome were never well affected to the civil government of the popes. They had also frequent contests for the possession of Bologna. In A. D. 1420, Martin V. recovered the possession of this city, after it had long been independent of the see of Rome. In that year he left Florence, where he had resided some time, and went to Rome, which he found in a very ruinous condition, but it was soon restored to its former splendour. Nothing but the advantages the people were sensible they derived from the residence of the popes, kept them in obedience. In A. D. 1434, the inhabitants of Rome revolting from pope Eugenius, he disguised himself in the habit of a monk, and fled to Florence: but after six months they made their peace with him, and received the magistrates of his appointment.†

Rome appears to have been very ill-governed in this as well as in the preceding periods, and to have suffered extremely for want of a good police. On the death of Innocent VIII. in A. D. 1492, there were dreadful disorders in Rome. The city was abandoned to the mob, who plundered houses, and filled the streets with carnage. The judges durst not appear for fear of being exposed to the rage of the people, who cursed the late pope for having had, as they said, no compassion for the poor. At the time of the election of another pope, the streets were so crowded with banditti, robbers and assassins, that the cardinals were obliged to introduce whole companies of musketeers into their palaces, and to have canon pointed to the avenues leading to them.

* Machiavel's *Florence*, B. viii. pp. 7—54

† *Ibid.* B. v. pp. 5, 6.

The streets of the burgh of St. Peter were barricaded with large pieces of timber, behind which were placed soldiers, while the light horse continually paraded round the palace.

The personal characters of the popes in this period had nothing to recommend them. They were all men of ambition, some of them very rapacious, and also profligate in other respects. Cardinal Borgia, who, after Innocent VIII. was pope, and took the name of Alexander VI., was not only, says the continuator of *Fleury*, unworthy of the pontificate, but of the lowest functions in the church. While he was cardinal, he had by Vanozia, the wife of D. Arimano, four sons and a daughter. His eldest son, Lewis Borgia, was duke of Gandia, the second, called Cæsar, was a cardinal, and afterwards the duke Valentinois, the most cruel and ambitious of men; but his father had such a blind fondness for him, as to overturn all laws human and divine, in order to advance him.*

SECTION II.

The History of the Councils of Basil and Florence.

THE greatest contest the popes had in this period, was with the Council of Basil; and though their conduct was manifestly irregular, yet by superior address and perseverance, they triumphed in the end. At the Council of Constance, little having been done in the reformation of the church, either, as the phrase then was, in *the head or the members*, it was appointed that other councils should be held, at times then fixed for that important purpose. When this time was come, so that it could not be decently deferred, Martin V. summoned one to meet at Pavia; and, sending three legates, it was opened in the usual forms in May, A. D. 1423. But few prelates arriving, † and there being some apprehension of a plague in that city, it was transferred to Sienna, where the first session commenced the 8th of November, and some decrees were made respecting the Hussites. But, before they proceeded to any articles of reform, the Pope, fearing lest the ambassador of the king of Arragon should give him some disturbance about Benedict XIII., who was then living, and favoured by him, but chiefly dreading any regu-

* *Hist. of Popery*, II. pp. 295—300. *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* I. pp. 91, 92.

† “The Pope, for fashion’s sake, sends thither one archbishop, a bishop, an abbot and a friar, who met there only two abbots of Burgundy, and these six began, forsooth, a council.” *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 269.

lations of reform, he put off the council to another time and place, on the pretence of the small number of prelates attending, and the wars with which the empire was then distracted.

However, his legates having sufficient powers for that purpose, and being desirous of promoting the object of the council, appointed another meeting at Basil, seven years from that time, the archbishop of Toledo alone objecting to it, as seeming to be made with a view to elude the proposed reformation. Others expressing the same apprehension, the legates declared that by this translation the council could not be considered as even interrupted, for that, in the mean time, the president and deputies would seriously labour in the business of the reformation of the church.

In the mean time, Martin was succeeded by Eugenius IV.,* a man still more averse to the council, and who did every thing that he could to prevent its meeting, well aware that it could not but be prejudicial to his authority. This, however, was not in his power; and the first session at Basil was held December 14, A. D. 1431, when it was opened by cardinal Julian, who had distinguished himself in his embassies to Bohemia; and the members of the council, desirous of promoting the proper object of it, used every precaution to prevent the cabals of the Italian prelates, who were in the interest of the Pope. And being apprized of the Pope's intention to dissolve the council, the first decrees they made were in confirmation of those of the Council of Constance; asserting the power of the council, and the obligation of all persons to submit to its decrees, in whatever respected articles of faith, the extinction of schism, and the reformation of the church; that if any person whatever, even the Pope, should refuse to obey its decrees, he should be put in a state of penance. They farther decreed that the Pope had no power to dissolve, transfer, or prorogue, the council, without its own consent.

Notwithstanding these spirited decrees, and all the endeavours of cardinal Julian, who wrote repeatedly, and in the most earnest manner, to dissuade the Pope from his purpose, seconded by a deputation from the council itself, and the resolutions of the prelates of France, who had been assembled at Bourges, and had asserted the validity of the council at Basil; notwithstanding also the strong remon-

* Martin V. died on the 20th of February, aged 62, having, according to *Antonius*, "too greedily laboured to heap up riches, being in no wise able to say with the apostle, *silver and gold have I none.*" *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 269.

strance of the emperor, Eugenius persisted in the publication of his bull for the dissolution of the council. On this, the members of it pronounced him contumacious, suspended from the administration of the pontificate, and forbade any one to obey him.

By proceeding so far, however, the council suffered much in the esteem of the princes of Europe; who, dreading another schism, wished them to proceed with more moderation, thinking it to have been possible to gain the Pope, if they had adopted more lenient measures: but in this respect the council had formed a truer judgment of his character than they. The Pope, though at that time attended by no more than three cardinals, published a bull, declaring the decrees of the council against him to be null, by the plenary authority with which he said he was invested as pope. At length, however, his temporal affairs not being in the best situation, and urged by the emperor, who wished to moderate the violence of both parties, and by any means to prevent another schism, he revoked his bull, and acquiesced in the decrees of the council; expressly confirming those relating to the superiority of general councils to the pope, in whatever respects articles of faith, the extinction of schism, and the reformation of the church.

Possessed of this advantage, the council decreed, that the popes should take an oath, not only at their election, but annually, on the anniversary of it, that they held the Catholic faith, and the decrees of all the general councils, expressly mentioning those of Constance and Basil: and among their articles of reformation, they decreed that the popes should not give any places of power and trust to their relations beyond the second degree.

The Pope, as might be expected, was exceedingly offended at these decrees; and, paying no regard to any of their reforms, the council cited him to appear before them in sixty days. In vindication of their conduct, they wrote to all the princes of Europe; and he not appearing, they once more declared him contumacious. In the mean time, he gained a decisive advantage over the council, by sending legates to Constantinople; who, arriving before those of the council, prevailed upon the Greeks, who then courted an union with the Latins, to send their ambassadors to a council which the Pope proposed to assemble at Ferrara, when the fathers at Basil had proposed to give them a hearing at Avignon. With this advantage Eugenius published a bull, in which he allowed the members of the Council of Basil to continue

their sittings thirty days, but only for the purpose of treating with the Bohemians. To this they paid no regard, but declared the Pope's calling a council to meet at Ferrara to be null, and threatened him with deposition if he did not recall his bull for that purpose.

Not discouraged by the spirit which the council shewed, the Pope fixed the meeting of his council for the 8th of January, A. D. 1438; and on the 10th it was actually opened; when he declared the translation of the council from Basil to Ferrara, and that every thing that should be done there from that time should be null, except what related to the Bohemians. Cardinal Julian, who had hitherto presided in the Council of Basil, now left it, and joined that at Ferrara, though only four prelates accompanied him. All the ambassadors from the princes of Europe remained at Basil, and the king of France expressly forbade any of his prelates to go to Ferrara.

The prelates at Basil, not discouraged by the desertion of their president, or the proceedings at Ferrara, not only continued their sittings in defiance of the Pope's prohibition, but again declared him suspended from his jurisdiction. Being now in a state of open hostility, he forbade their assembling under pain of excommunication, and ordered them to leave the place within thirty days. He also ordered the magistrates of the city to drive them from it, under pain of excommunication and interdict; and forbade any provisions or merchandise to be carried into it, while they continued there. They, however, shewed no less spirit, declaring the assembly at Ferrara schismatical, ordered the members to appear before them within a month, and excommunicated all those who should directly or indirectly hinder any person from going to Basil. After this, however, all farther hostile proceedings were suspended by the interposition of the ambassadors from the diet at Nuremberg. Albert, duke of Austria, also entertained some hope that, by his intercession with the Pope, an open rupture might be prevented, in consequence of which, nothing was done till May, A. D. 1438.

In January, A. D. 1439, the Pope, on the pretence of the plague being in Ferrara, removed his council to Florence, the people of that city having promised to defray a considerable part of the expense, and this city being more convenient for him in several respects. Here were all the proceedings relating to the union of the Greek and Latin churches, of which an account will be given in a separate

Section; and during all this time the council at Basil continued to sit, attended by the ambassadors of all the princes of Europe, except those of the duke of Burgundy, who were at Florence. They would not, however, consent to any of the decrees against the Pope, but preserved a kind of neutrality. This moderation had no effect on the members of the council: for, after long debates on the subject, they proceeded on the 25th of June to pass the sentence of deposition on the Pope, as “a simoniac, a perjured person, an encourager of schism, a heretic, obstinate in his errors, and a dissipater of the goods of the church;” and it is something remarkable that this decree was passed at Basil on the very day that the union of the two churches was concluded at Florence, an event that, to appearance, reflected the greatest honour upon him.

The princes of Europe were by no means satisfied with this violent proceeding of the council at Basil; and their deputies, sent to inform them of it, were universally ill received. At Frankfort and Mayence they were expressly told, that the princes of Germany would not depart from their neutrality, but would appeal to a council more general than that at Basil, to pope Eugenius and the apostolic see, or the person to whom it rightly belonged. Eugenius himself, hearing of their proceedings, acted with no less violence, publishing a bull, in which he annulled all they had done, declaring them excommunicated, heretics and schismatics, and that there was no punishment great enough for them or their adherents.

The prelates at Basil replied; but after much debating on the subject, refrained from calling his decree heretical. However, after much preparation, they proceeded to the election of another pope, and the choice fell on Victor Amadeus, late duke of Savoy, but who had relinquished the sovereignty, and lived a religious and recluse life near the lake of Geneva. After much hesitation, he accepted the nomination, and took the name of Felix V. On this, Eugenius declared him a heretic and schismatic; he excommunicated his electors and adherents, and in order to strengthen his interest, created seventeen new cardinals.

The election of another pope was so like the commencement of another great schism, which had produced so much mischief, and had been so difficult to terminate, that the best friends of the Council of Basil greatly disapproved of it. When the members of the council demanded of the princes of Germany, at their diet in Frankfort, in A. D. 1440, their

acknowledgment of Felix, they refused to do it. Notwithstanding this, they excommunicated all who would not acknowledge him, of what rank soever they were, and also renewed their decree against Eugenius, while he again excommunicated Felix, calling him antipope, heretic, schismatic, &c., to which he replied with equal violence.

In order to support the dignity of the new pope, the council voted him a fifth of the revenues of the greater ecclesiastical benefices for the five first years of his pontificate, and a tenth afterwards. The princes of Europe were divided in a singular manner in this dilemma. The kings of France, England and Scotland, and the German princes, acknowledged the Council of Basil, but not the Pope they had elected. But Elizabeth, queen of Hungary, Albert of Bavaria, and Albert of Austria, acknowledged Felix, as did Piedmont and Savoy, and the university of Paris, with those in Germany, and Cracow in Poland. Italy, and the rest of Europe, acknowledged Eugenius.

In an assembly of the German princes at Mayence, in A. D. 1441, orators on both sides were heard at great length; but instead of declaring for either, the princes recommended the calling of another council in some city of France or Germany; and for this purpose, invitations were sent both to Eugenius and Felix. Both sides then applied to the emperor Frederic, who was at Vienna, but he referred them to the diet which was to be held at Frankfort the year following. Then, also, it was agreed to send ambassadors both to Eugenius, and the Council of Basil, to propose another council, to be held in Germany; and to this, the members of the council, though with reluctance, consented, but Eugenius, with great haughtiness, rejected the proposal.

In the mean time, Alphonso of Arragon submitted his six kingdoms to the obedience of Felix. The same was also promised by Ulric, governor of Bohemia, then hard pressed by the Hussites. The bishop of Cracow also acknowledged Felix, and the king of Poland was favourable to him.

Soon, however, after this, his affairs took an unfavourable turn. In A. D. 1443, Alphonso, after negotiating with Felix, made better terms with Eugenius, and then acknowledged him, and recalled his prelates from Basil. Felix himself, being dissatisfied with his council, retired to Lausanne, and refused to return; saying, he found by experience that the council was better governed there than at Basil. At length the wars of Germany, the retreat of the prelates of Alphonso, the pressing instances of the emperor to call

another council, the absence of Felix, and the little assistance they could expect at Basil, obliged the members of the council to separate, after their fourth session in May, A. D. 1443, and after nominally transferring the council to Lyons, or Lausanne, but without ever meeting there. Felix was sometimes at Lausanne, and sometimes at Geneva, attended by four cardinals: but two of them dying, and one of them going to Vienna, he had obtained the leave of the council to create five more. In the mean time Eugenius had removed his council from Florence to Rome, where he himself arrived Sept. 28, A. D. 1443.

The king of France, [Charles VII.,] and the princes of Germany, who interested themselves the most in this business, proposed different schemes of accommodation. The latter sent a letter to Eugenius from the diet of Frankfort, in A. D. 1446, proposing another general council, which he should acknowledge to be superior to the pope; but the king recommended the withdrawing of all the censures on both sides, the acknowledgement of Eugenius, and the reservation of the highest honours in the church next to that of pope, to Felix. Presently after receiving the deputation from Germany, the Pope died, in February 23, A. D. 1447. But before his death he granted several of their demands in favour of their churches, and he died in some measure like a Christian, annulling all that had been done contrary to the holy see, during the schism, absolving all those who had adhered to the Council of Basil after his rupture with it, and also restoring them to their dignities, provided they returned to the unity of the church.

On the death of Eugenius, his cardinals chose for his successor the cardinal of Bologna, who took the name of Nicolas V., and was immediately acknowledged by the emperor, and the princes of Germany, as also by the king of France; and from this time all respect for the remains of the council of Basil was withdrawn. Thus encouraged, Nicolas published a bull, in which he excommunicated Felix, calling him "a child of iniquity, a schismatic and heretic." He also gave the duchy of Saxony, which adhered to him, to the king of France, or the Dauphin, and granted a plenary indulgence to those who should assist in the conquest of it for them. To satisfy the Germans, he entered into a treaty with them called the *Concordat*, in consequence of which, the disposal of certain ecclesiastical benefices was reserved to himself, and the rest left to free election.

In the mean time, Felix being weary of opposition, and having expressed a willingness to resign the dignities with which the Council of Basil had invested him, Nicolas was not inexorable, but published a bull, in which he annulled all that had been done during the schism; and in order to put an end to it in the easiest manner, the king of France held an assembly at Lyons, in consequence of which, ambassadors were sent to Nicolas and Felix from France, and also from England, and it was agreed that the latter should resign, but continue a cardinal bishop, be legate, and perpetual vicar of the holy see in Savoy, have the first place next to the Pope, and other personal honours. Favourable stipulations were also made for the cardinals of Felix, their dignity being allowed. Accordingly, Felix resigned in proper form, April 9, A. D. 1449; and those who remained of the members of the Council of Basil, assembling at Lausanne, the 16th of the same month, authorized in proper form all that had been agreed to; they received the resignation of Felix, and elected Nicolas in the usual manner. Thus was the last schism in the Roman church happily terminated, to the great joy of all Christendom. Felix retired to Ripailles, where he lived three years, dying in A. D. 1452, at the age of 68.*

It is impossible to consider this history without seeing that the credit and authority of all councils is derived from the support of the temporal powers; and that without this, no regularity in the form of convocation, or in the proceedings, is of any avail.

SECTION III.

Of the Councils of Pisa and Lateran.

As the spirit of pope Eugenius IV. enabled him to get the better of the Council of Basil, that of Julius II. which was no way inferior to that of any pope, enabled him to triumph over that of Pisa, notwithstanding the advantage it derived from the authority of the Council of Constance, which was certainly entitled to very great respect. A reformation of the church, in its head as well as its members, was universally deemed to be necessary; and in order to attain this great object, provision was made for a succession of

* On these rival councils, see *Hist. of Popes*, &c. &c. vol. i. p. 100. Cent. xv. Pt. ii. Ch. ii. Sect. xi.—xv.

general councils, the authority of which was decided to be superior to that of the popes. Sensible, however, that their power would be materially affected by any reformation, they had used all their influence to prevent the convocation of any such council, and, as in the case of that of Basil, to defeat the object of them when assembled in the most regular manner. Many of the cardinals, however, and all the princes of Europe, being aggrieved by the exactions of the court of Rome, favoured the calling of councils, by which they hoped to be relieved, and especially when they had any difference with the popes, whom they wished by this means to mortify.

In A. D. 1511, after an open war between Julius II. and some of the states of Italy, assisted by the king of France. [Lewis XII.]* a council was called in the name of nine cardinals, the emperor [Maximilian I.] and the king of France, to meet at Pisa, after the Pope had in vain been invited to concur in the measure, and had been reminded of his engagement to call a council within two years of his election. The professed object of this council, as well as of that of Basil, was the reformation of the church in its head and members, and the Pope himself was in the most respectful manner cited to appear and preside in it.

In order to ward off this blow, the Pope, encouraged by the coolness of the emperor in the business, published a bull, convoking another general council to meet at Rome in April A. D. 1512; and forbidding, under pain of excommunication, the celebration of any other general council. He also published another bull against those cardinals who were the principal authors of the convocation of the council at Pisa, summoning them to appear before him, and threatening them with the deprivation of their ranks, as cardinals, and of all their ecclesiastical benefices, in case of disobedience.

These cardinals, though not a little intimidated by this threat, persisted in their purpose, and wrote to the cardinals at Rome in vindication of their conduct. They also published another apology for holding a council, and giving their reasons for doing it without the concurrence of the Pope. And in November 1, A. D. 1511, the council was actually opened; when it was attended by four cardinals, the principal of whom was Caravajal, bishop of Bayeux.

* On this occasion, *Monstrelet* thus describes *Julius II.*: "He left the chair of *St. Peter*, and took upon him the title of *Mars*, displaying in the field his *triple-crown*, and spending his nights in the watch." *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 300.

who was president, procurators from several others, many prelates, and among them the archbishops of Lyons and Sens, the abbot of Cîteaux, and others, a deputy from that of Clugni, some doctors from the university of Paris, and many other respectable persons.

In the first session, the members of this council asserted their power to meet and act, notwithstanding the censures of the Pope; in the second, they made regulations for their future proceedings; and in the third, they decreed the superiority of general councils to the Pope, and the obligation to submit to their decrees.

As soon as the Pope was informed of the opening of the council, he excommunicated by name all the cardinals who attended it; depriving them of their dignities and benefices. But the cardinals who were with him not approving of this violence, he was so much agitated, that he fell sick, and his death was expected. However, when he recovered, he abated nothing of his violence. And in the mean time the people of Florence, who were masters of Pisa, apprehending inconvenience to themselves from the holding of the council in that city, when the Pope was so hostile to it, the members removed to Milan, where they were under the protection of the emperor, and where they were received with great joy.

At Milan, the council was better attended than it had been at Pisa, two more cardinals having joined it, and several more bishops and abbots. They then appointed a farther time for the Pope to fix upon some place where they might meet him, for the purpose of holding the council, answered his excommunications, and forbade the domestics of any of their members to leave the city without the consent of their masters; as many of them, terrified by the bulls of the Pope, had done. In another session they decreed the convocation of the Council at Rome to be null, and allowed the Pope twenty-four days to retract what he had done with respect to it; and this term being expired, they proceeded so far as to decree his deposition, and exhorted all Christian people no longer to acknowledge him, being "a disturber of the council, contumacious, the author of schism, incorrigible, and hardened."

The emperor had never been very zealous for the council, and being at length gained by the Pope, the members found it necessary for them to leave Milan, and transfer the council to Lyons, where they were under the protection of the king of France. But he not being able to engage other princes in their support, they could not proceed any farther. Lewis

himself, however, accepted the decrees of this deserted council, and forbade his subjects having any recourse to Rome; while the Pope, perceiving his advantage in the general desertion of the council, issued a bull, annulling all that had been done at Pisa, Milan, or Lyons. He also excommunicated the king of France, and laid the kingdom under an interdict; and to punish the city of Lyons for receiving the council, he deprived it of the privilege of holding its annual fair, and removed it to Geneva. The king, provoked by this violence, replied by a spirited protest, and also struck a medal, with the arms of France on the reverse, and this motto, *Perdam Babylonis nomen*.*

About this time, cardinal Cajetan† published a treatise, and sent a copy of it to the members of this council, in which he asserted the superiority of the Pope to all councils. This the king of France referred to the judgment of the university of Paris, who appointed three persons to reply to it; but the members of the university did not themselves proceed any farther than to condemn what he had advanced against the authority of the councils of Constance and Basil. In this treatise the cardinal advanced, that “St. Peter had alone the government of the church; that though the other apostles received their apostleship from Christ himself, yet, as part of his flock, they were subject to Peter: that he received his authority by the order of nature, but they theirs by special favour; that he was the vicar general of Jesus Christ, and they his lieutenants and delegates: that their authority expired at their death, but that his was continued in his successors; that their power was that of executing, but his of commanding;” distinctions, says *Fleury*, altogether new. He further asserted, that, in no case except that of heresy, could a council be lawfully called to depose a pope, and then, that they had no other business than to choose another.

Julius, though disappointed in his endeavours to procure the attendance of the archbishop of Toledo, the celebrated Ximenes, and the archbishop of Seville, nevertheless opened his council [at the Lateran] with much solemnity, May 3, A. D. 1512, when it was attended by fifteen cardinals, three hundred and eighty bishops or archbishops, but all of Italy, and sixteen abbots or generals of orders. And the third session, which was held in December, was attended by the

* See *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 300; *Mosheim*, Cent. xvi. Sect. i. Ch. i. Sect. vi.

† Thomas de Vio, general of the Dominicans, created a cardinal by Leo X. in 1517. See *Nov. Dict. Hist.* V. pp. 739, 741.

bishop of Gurck, who was sent by the emperor to signify his renunciation of all that had passed at the Council of Pisa, and his approbation of the present Council of Lateran. In this session were read all the Pope's bulls in condemnation of the Council of Pisa, and against the king of France; and in the fourth were read the letters of Lewis XII., signifying his abrogation of *The Pragmatic Sanction*; when all who favoured it were cited to appear in sixty days. A fifth session was held in February, A. D. 1513, but the Pope dying before that time, in February 21,* nothing of importance was done in it.

Julius was succeeded by the cardinal of Medicis, who took the name of Leo X., a great favourer of men of letters, by which his family was distinguished, but given to voluptuousness and prodigality. He entered into all the views of Julius, and held the sixth session of the council the 11th of April, A. D. 1513, in which the prelates were divided into three classes, one to treat of the peace among the Christian princes, the second of matters concerning faith, and the third what related to the reformation and *The Pragmatic Sanction*.

In the seventh session, held the 17th of June, letters were read from the cardinals Carovajal and Severne, renouncing the schism, condemning the acts of the Council of Pisa, and acknowledging that of Lateran. But an event of much more consequence than this, was, the king of France now acknowledging the authority of this council, and renouncing that of Pisa. † To this conduct he had always been solicited by the queen,‡ who was strongly prepossessed in favour of

* "On whom those that knew him bestowed these epigrams:

Fraude capit totum Mercator Julius orbem,

Vendit enim celos, non habet ipse tamen.

By fraud that Huckster, Julius, scrapes up self,

For heaven he sells, yet hath it not himself.

Genua tibi patrem, genetricem Græcia, partum

Pontus et unda dedit. Nunc bonus esse potest?

Fallaces Ligures, mendax est Græcia, ponto

Nulla fides. In te hæc singula, Julia, tenes.

From Genua and Greece his parents' blood,

At sea he had his birth. Can he be good?

The Genoese always false, Greeks liars be,

Faithless the sea. All, Julius, meet in thee."

Hist. of Popery, II. p. 301. See also L'Abbè *Raynal's* character of Julius II. in *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* III. pp. 526, 527.

† On his loss of the battle of *Novarra*, gained by the Swiss against *Trimouille*, June 6, 1513, and the consequent expulsion of the French, from Italy. See *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* IV. p. 172.

‡ Anne of Britanny, who had been the wife of Charles VIII. She died in 1514. The next year Lewis married *Mary*, the sister of Henry VIII., dying a few months after that marriage. *Ibid.* I. p. 148, IV. p. 172.

the Pope, and the court of Rome. It was, besides, with the greatest reluctance that he himself had quarrelled with the Pope, and he had always wished for a reconciliation; and therefore, on the Pope's making an apology for engaging the Swiss to act against him, he sent ambassadors for the purpose of making his peace. The two cardinals above-mentioned, after expressing their repentance, were with great ceremony restored to favour, and reinstated in the dignity of which they had been deprived.

The parliament of Provence had always exercised the right of annexing their signature to the Pope's bulls, without which they were not allowed to be issued. This the popes had always complained of; and in the eighth session of this council, a monitory was issued to command the members of that parliament to appear before them within three months; and the king being now reconciled to the Pope, they made the submission that was required of them, and the Pope confirmed their privileges.

In the ninth session, held May the 5th [1514], deputies from the king of Arragon attended, and what was more, the prelates who had formed the Council of Pisa, and who were then at Lyons, sent to make their submission, renouncing all their proceedings, and apologizing for not attending the council in person, on account of their not having been able to procure a safe-conduct for their passage of the Alps. The excuse was admitted, and they were absolved from all the censures that had been passed upon them. The tenth session, held May 14, was attended by ambassadors from the duke of Savoy, to signify his submission to the council. At the same time, the last term was fixed for the French to give their reasons against the abolition of the *Pragmatic Sanction*.

Two other sessions were held, one on the 11th, and one the 19th of December, in which the Maronites acknowledged their submission to the church of Rome; a bull was published relating to the business of preaching, and another for the abolition of the *Pragmatic Sanction*, and in approbation of the *Concordat*, of which an account will be given in another Section; and on the 16th of March, A. D. 1517, the council was closed, after the holding of the twelfth and last session, in which was read a letter from the emperor Maximilian on the subject of the Turkish war, a bull to prevent the plundering the houses of the cardinals who should be elected popes, and another for the dissolution of the council; in which it was said that, as the ends for which it had been

convoked were happily answered, peace being established among the Christians, the reformation of manners, and of the court of Rome effected, and the assembly of Pisa abolished, there was no reason for its longer continuance. Several of the prelates, however, observed that many things yet remained to be regulated, and that therefore the council ought to sit longer; but the plurality of voices were for its dissolution.

Thus ended the fifth Council of Lateran, after it had continued near five years. The great business of *reformation* was still left in nearly the same state in which it had been at the Council of Constance, no abuse of any consequence being removed. But what the church would not do for itself, the providence of God was preparing the means of doing in a much more effectual manner, by the instrumentality of Martin Luther, who was about this very time beginning to declaim against the doctrine of indulgence, which led to his rejecting the papal authority *in toto*, and engaging several states of Europe to renounce their subjection to the see of Rome.

SECTION IV.

Of the Pragmatic Sanction and Concordat.

NEXT to the councils, the most serious alarm the popes had in this period, was the opposition that was made to their exactions by the kings of France; but this, like the business of the councils, terminated in favour of the papal see, though the popes did not gain all they wished, and all they gained was with difficulty.

While the two opposite councils of Basil and Ferrara were sitting, Charles VII. of France, held an assembly at Bourges, in A. D. 1438, where deputies from both were heard; and then it was that the ordinance called the *Pragmatic Sanction*,* in favour of the liberties of the Gallican church, was passed. It took from the Pope almost all the power of conferring benefices, and judging ecclesiastical causes in France. It also confirmed all the good regulations made by the Council of Basil, the authority of which it established above that of

* "Une digue opposée aux vexations de la cour de Rome; digue trop faible, qui fut bientôt renversée." *Hist. de Parl.* Amst. 1769, p. 73.

the popes. This law was sent by ambassadors appointed for the purpose to the Council of Basil, and received its confirmation. It was observed during all the reign of Charles VII., notwithstanding all the endeavours of pope Eugenius to procure the abolition of it. When William de Maletrot, bishop of Nantes, appealed in A. D. 1456, to the Pope, against this law, the parliament of Paris ordered his temporalities to be seized, as having by that appeal violated the rights of the Gallican church, and a fundamental law of the kingdom; since, as they said, the king holds his temporalities of God only: and though the Pope may excommunicate him, he cannot deprive him of his estates, and that the Pope cannot cite before him any of the king's subjects. In consequence of this, the bishop found it necessary to resign his bishopric in favour of his nephew, and the Pope, unable to give him any other redress, made him bishop of Thessalonica.

At the Council of Mantua, in A. D. 1459, Pius II. complained heavily of the injustice done to the church, and the authority of the papal see, by the *Pragmatic Sanction*: though in the Council of Basil, of which he was an active member, he had approved of it. But the parliament of Paris was offended at what the Pope had said on the occasion, and the procurator-general made a formal appeal, in the name of the king, from the sentence of the Pope, to a future council: though the Pope had, by a particular bull, just before condemned all such appeals.

The politic and superstitious Lewis XI. who wished to keep measures with the court of Rome, promised this pope the abolition of the *Pragmatic Sanction*, which gave him so much offence: but the Pope not fulfilling what he had promised in return for such a favour,* and both the parliament of Paris and the university remonstrating against it, he made such ordinances respecting reserves and expectatives, that the court of Rome derived very little advantage from what the king had done in its favour. To please the Pope, he had

* "Louis XI. vouloit obtenir du Pape, Pie II., le royaume de Naples pour son cousin-germain Jean d'Anjou, Duc titulaire de Calabre. Le Pape encore plus fin que Louis XI. parce qu'il étoit moins emporté, commença par exiger de lui l'abolition de la Pragmatique. Louis n'hésita pas à lui sacrifier l'original même: on le traîna ignominieusement dans les rues de Rome: on en triompha comme d'un ennemi de la Papauté: Louis XI. fut comble de bénédictions et de remerciemens. L'évêque d'Arres, qui avoit porté la Pragmatique à Rome, reçut le même jour le bonnet de cardinal. Pie II. envoya au Roi une épée bénite; mais il se moqua de lui, et ne donna point à son cousin le royaume de Naples. *Hist. de Parl.* pp. 74, 75.

even dismissed the procurator-general for his opposition to the Pope in this business; but it was observed, that he conferred greater favours on him in another way, and was always his friend.* In A. D. 1476, this prince gave more offence to the Pope, by ordering that all persons who came from Rome, should, at their entrance into the kingdom, shew the letters, bulls, and other writings which they brought; that it might be seen whether they contained any thing contrary to the state, or the interest of the Gallican church.

In A. D. 1478, this king held an assembly of his clergy and nobles at Orleans, with a view, as he gave out, to restore the *Pragmatic Sanction*, and abolish the *annates*. At the same time he requested the Pope to take off the interdict which he had laid on the city of Florence, threatening, in case of his refusal, to withdraw from his obedience, and appeal to a future council. He also ordered all the prelates of France to reside on their livings, on the penalty of the deprivation of their benefices. Nothing, however, was done in consequence of these resolutions, as the king only meant to intimidate the Pope, and to favour the Florentines. He however forbade his subjects going to Rome in order to obtain benefices, or to send any money thither.

Thus things continued till the death of Lewis XI. [1483]. His son Charles VIII. shewed still more spirit. In A. D. 1485, Cardinal Balue† being sent legate to France, and exercising his functions before his letters to the king had been presented to parliament and accepted, the king was so much offended, that he forbade him to use the badge of his legantine office. The procurator-general of the parliament also took the opportunity of appealing against all that the

* "Le Roi Louis XI. s'étant depuis raccommode avec le Pape, lui sacrifia encore la Pragmaticque en 1469, et c'est alors que le Parlement soutenant les intérêts de l'état, fit de son propre mouvement de très-fortes remontrances que le Roi n'écouta pas; mais ces remontrances étant le vœu de la nation entière, et Louis XI. s'étant encore brouillé avec le Pape, la Pragmaticque traînée à Rome dans la boue, fut en honneur et en vigueur dans toute la France." *Hist. de Parl.* p. 76.

† John Balue, a native of France, who had been raised by Lewis XI. from the most obscure condition, to the *episcopate*: yet such was his fondness for political and military occupations, that he was said to have been employed in all affairs but those of his *diocese*. He was made cardinal by Paul II. for his services against the *Pragmatic Sanction*; and at length rewarded his benefactor Lewis XI. by intriguing against him with the dukes of Burgundy and Berri. After an imprisonment of eleven years, he was liberated in 1480, at the solicitation of the *legate*. "Il alla s'intriguer à Rome, et acquit des honneurs et des biens qu'il ne méritoit pas. Sixte IV. osa l'envoyer légat à latere en France, en 1484, et Balue aussi impudent que perfide, eut la hardiesse d'y venir." On his return to Rome, Innocent VIII. made him bishop of Albano. Cardinal Balue died in 1491. *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* I. pp. 303, 304, art. *Jean Balue*.

Pope should do, accusing him of infringing the rights and privileges of the kingdom.

Other things were done by the court of France, not immediately in consequence of the *Pragmatic Sanction*, which gave great offence to the court of Rome. Alexander VI. having, in A. D. 1502, imposed a tenth upon the clergy of France for the expense of the Turkish war, the university of Paris, having consulted the faculty of theology, decreed that such an imposition being contrary to the decrees of councils ought not to be obeyed, and that the censures of the court of Rome in consequence of this refusal ought not to be regarded, it being an immemorial custom in France, that there should be no levy without the king's consent.

In A. D. 1510, Lewis XII. being, though much against his will, in a state of hostility with the Pope, assembled the clergy of his kingdom at Tours, in order to consult them how far he could in conscience assert his rights against the injustice of Julius II., and how far the spiritual arms of the church were to be respected, at the head of an army, who made use of them to support injustice in temporal affairs; when they agreed, that the Pope had no right to make war in a case in which neither the cause of religion, nor the dominions of the church, was concerned. They further said, that a temporal sovereign may lawfully seize upon the lands of the church for a time, in order to deprive the Pope, being his enemy, of the power of hurting him, and that in this case also the censures of the Pope ought not to be regarded.

In return for this, the Pope fulminated his censures against all those who should obey the decrees of the French clergy, and against the general of the French army by name, considering their conduct as an attack on the authority of the holy see. On this occasion, however, five of his cardinals left him, and joined the council, which was then at Milan, notwithstanding all his endeavours to prevent it. And the French general was so far from being intimidated by the Pope's bulls, that several attempts were made by him to get possession of his person.

On the accession of Francis I. to the crown of France, and of Leo X. to the Popedom, this difficult business was compromised. They had a meeting at Bologna, in A. D. 1515, and the Pope insisting upon the abolition of the *Pragmatic Sanction*, the king referred the business to the chancellor Du Prat, who consented to the exchange of the

Pragmatic Sanction, for another system, called the *Concordat*,* in consequence of which, the kings of France were to nominate to the church livings, and the popes were to have the *annates* of the more considerable of them.

The French nation in general were exceedingly dissatisfied with this agreement; † and the chancellor made himself very unpopular by his conduct in this business; and the advocate-general, at the opening of the parliament, in A. D. 1516, appealed from the act of revocation and abrogation of the *Pragmatic Sanction*. It had not, however, any other effect than to increase in the French nation their dislike of the court of Rome, and did not discourage the Pope. ‡ When the act of revocation came to the usual form of registering in parliament, though the king, as bound in honour to fulfil his agreement with the Pope, used his utmost endeavours, and did not spare even threats, the parliament for a long time refused to comply. The university made a still more obstinate resistance, appealing to the Pope *better advised*, and a future council. In the act which they published on this occasion, March 27, A. D. 1517, they said that “The vicar of Jesus Christ, called the Pope, though he has his power immediately from God, is not impeccable; that, if he command any thing that is unjust, he ought to be resisted; that if he will compel the faithful to obey him, natural right leaves them the remedy of an appeal, which the king cannot take from them, being founded on divine right.”

They then make an encomium on the Councils of Constance and Basil, and pass severe censures on Leo and the Council of Lateran, which they say was not convoked in the spirit of the Lord, because the Holy Spirit orders nothing contrary to the divine law, and the sacred councils; and lastly, they accuse him of nothing less than aiming at the ruin of the church, in conferring benefices on the most unworthy persons, to deprive those who have merit, which compel them to appeal to a future council, and protest against the nullity, the abuse and the injustice of all that should be done against the *Pragmatic Sanction*. At length, however, the act of its abolition was registered by the parliament, but not without some modifications, and as, “by

* *Mosheim*, Cent xvi. Sect. i. Ch. i. Sect. vii. Note [h].

† “Le Concordat déplut à toute la France.” *Hist. de Parl.* p. 89.

‡ “Le cardinal de Boisi à la tête du clergé convoqué, dit qu'on ne pouvait recevoir le Concordat, sans assembler toute l'église Gallicane. François I. lui répondit, allez donc à Rome, contester avec le Pape.” *Ibid.* pp. 89, 90.

the express order of the king, often repeated, and in the presence of an envoy deputed by the king for the purpose.' This was done by way of signifying their own strong disapprobation of the act.

SECTION V.

The History of the Hussites.

AT the time of the death of John Huss, [1415.] it is evident that a great majority of the Bohemians, and especially the nobility, were his friends, and they were exceedingly exasperated at the conduct of the Council of Constance,* especially in the violation of the safe-conduct that had been given him; and nothing that was done by the council or the popes afterwards, had any tendency to appease their resentment. Being a warlike people, and having an able commander in Zisca,† they had recourse to arms, rather than, as would better have become Christians, suffer persecution without resistance.

The war was kept up a long time,‡ and with a degree of ferocity and cruelty which has too generally characterized religious and civil wars. But the issue of this, as well as of every other similar case, shewed that the cause of *truth* is never really promoted by *arms*. Notwithstanding the great success of the Hussites for a considerable time, their numbers diminished, rather than increased, as it is probable they would have done by persecution; and after their defeat in A. D. 1434, all who opposed the church of Rome in that part of Europe dwindled to an inconsiderable sect; and what is particularly remarkable, having seen the folly of having had recourse to arms to support religion, they, as well as the Anabaptists afterwards, became the most peaceable and passive of all Christians; for such are the *Moravian brethren*, who are all that remain of the once formidable Hussites. It will be necessary to give some account of their

* "Cette exécution fut en Bohême comme de l'huile jetée dans un brasier ardent." *Lenfant's Constance*, l. iv. Sect. xxvii. l. p. 339. "The nobles of Hungary, to the number of fifty or upwards, in the name of themselves and the whole commonalty, sent letters under their seals to Constance, dated 2nd September 1416, complaining of the burning of *Huss* and *Jerome*, as likewise did the nobles of Moravia." *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 274.

† See Vol. IX. p. 556.

‡ "Under Zisca three years, and still ten years, after his death—with inhuman cruelties on both sides." Crantz's *Unitus Fratrum*, in La Trobe's *Translation*. 1789, p. 19.

wars, as well as of other particulars in their history, but the recital shall be as brief as possible.

After the death of Huss and Jerome of Prague, near five hundred of their followers in Bohemia were summoned to appear before the council:* and not attending, they were declared to be contumacious.† Seeing their extermination was determined, they formed an army of forty thousand men for their defence, under the command of Zisca, who chose for the place of his chief resort a mountain,‡ some miles from Prague, where they formed themselves into a regular body, openly disclaiming the authority of the Pope, as no more than any other bishop, rejecting purgatory, prayers for the dead, the use of images, confession, and the fasts of the church, and they communicated in both kinds. Wenceslas, who favoured them, granted them the use of several churches in Prague.

Martin V., presently after his election in A. D. 1418, published a bull against the Hussites, ordering them to be delivered to the secular arm, and enjoining all Christian princes to assist in exterminating them.§ In this bull he inserted forty-five articles of the doctrine of Wickliffe and Huss, condemned by the Council of Constance, in which he directed that all suspected persons should be examined on oath.

So far were the troubles of Bohemia from being appeased by this bull, or the decrees of the council, that they were increased,|| and that year the Hussites were joined by forty Picards, probably Waldenses from Picardy, who came to Prague with their wives and families. Before recourse was had to open war, a Dominican was sent to reclaim the Hussites; but he soon returned, and gave it as his opinion,

* September 4, 1416. "Je n'en trouve qu'environ 400 dans la Bulle, qui les nomme tous, nom par nom." *Lenfant*, L. iv. Sect. xc. l. p. 407.

† This declaration refers to a previous summons. *Ibid.* p. 402.

‡ Afterwards called *Thabor*, which in their language signified *tent*, because the Bohemians encamped there. *Ibid.* L. v. Sect. xviii. ll. p. 458.

§ "Intreating them, by the wounds of Christ and their own salvation, unanimously to fall upon them, and quite extirpate that sacrilegious and cursed nation." (*Hist. of the Bohemian Persecution*," p. 27.) *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 274.

|| Martin V. publica une terrible Bulle contre les Hussites." *Lenfant*, L. vi. Sect. xxxviii. ll. p. 583.

|| These troubles are thus described. "An. 1417. Les deux partis animés d'une égale fureur, couraient jour et nuit les rues de Prague et les grands chemins de Bohême, et mettoient tout à feu et à sang. Les Hussites massacroient les Prêtres, brûloient et pilloient les Églises et les Monastères en criant, *vive Wickliff et Hus*, pendant que ceux de l'autre parti faisoient main basse sur tout ce qu'ils pouvoient rencontrer de Hussites, en criant, *vive le Pape*." *Ibid.*

"On the 13th of July 1419, the common people being enraged, threw twelve senators of *Old Prague*, with the chief city magistrate, out of the windows of the senate-house, who fell upon the points of spears." *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 274.

that nothing would reduce them but force. This too was the opinion of Gerson, in the advice that he gave to Sigismond the year before. So much were the Hussites increased, that on the 16th of April, being assembled in the castle of Visigrade, they deputed Nicolas de Hussinetz to Wenceslas, to request the use of more churches, those which had been allowed them not being sufficient. He desired time to consider of their request, and at the expiration of the time that he had fixed, required them to appear before him, but without arms; but by the advice of Zisca, who knew the timid temper of the king, they appeared with their arms, saying it was the privilege of their nation, and to shew him their readiness to fight his enemies. Struck with their courage and resolution, he dismissed them with a favourable answer.

On the death of Wenceslas, in A. D. 1418, Zisca and his followers refused to acknowledge his brother Sigismond, saying, that, after his consent to the death of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, he was unworthy of the crown; and taking advantage of the war in which he was engaged with the Turks, they declared war against him. Nothing, however, appears to have been done in consequence of this till A. D. 1420, when they defeated a body of imperial cavalry, and recovered Muscka, from which the Hussites had been expelled. On this the emperor sent a thousand lancers, and the choicest of his cavalry, but they also were cut off, and it was with much difficulty that the commander of them saved himself. In this state of their affairs, the Hussites expecting to be attacked by all the forces of the emperor, fortified a place to which they gave the name of *Thabor*,* and they defeated some forces which the emperor sent to take it. After this, Zisca made himself master of Prague, and also took Visigrade.

About this time there appeared some new sectaries, called *Orbites*, who exercised great cruelties on the Catholic priests, and Zisca received them among his own troops. This same year the Pope published a crusade against the Hussites, but the army that was raised in consequence of it deserted their commander on the approach of Zisca. At the siege of Robi this year, Zisca lost the only eye that he then had; but notwithstanding this disadvantage, when he recovered of the wound, he resumed the command of the army.

The emperor, being now seriously alarmed at the progress of the Hussites, assembled the diet of the empire, at Nurem-

* See p. 31, Note 1. "Tabor, or *Hradstie Hora-Tabor*, i. e. the camp of Mount Tabor, a town of Bohemia, in the circle of Bechin." *Crittwell*.

berg, when all the nobility of Germany agreed to join their forces against them; and accordingly they all took the field, except the elector of Treves, who was sick, and who arrived on the frontiers of Bohemia, in August; but not being able to take Socz, which they besieged, the troops deserted in the month of October. The emperor himself had not been able to join them, because he could not bring his troops from Austria and Hungary before December, as they disliked the service. It being impossible then to do any thing, he proposed a truce; but the Hussites refused to agree to it, except on such terms as the emperor would not admit, viz. that preaching should be free through all Bohemia, that the communion should be in both kinds, that the clergy should have no possessions in land, or any civil jurisdiction, and that mortal (by which they meant public) sins in any person should be animadverted upon.

Shortly after this, the Hussites addressed a letter to certain princes, to justify themselves against the charge of rebellion, and in this they accused Sigismond of the death of John Huss, and of promoting the crusade against them; professing that they had recourse to arms in the defence of their religion, their liberties, and their lives. At the same time they threatened to act hostilely against all who would not admit of the four articles above-mentioned. In this cessation of hostilities, they held a council in Prague, when they agreed on twenty-two articles, some of which, however, occasioned a division among them.

About this time there arrived in Bohemia some of those who called themselves *Brethren of the Free Spirit*, who had been very numerous in France, Flanders and Germany, but still more in Suabia and Switzerland, though few of them escaped the pursuit of the inquisitors. One of their leading principles was said to have been, that bashfulness and modesty are marks of inherent corruption, and, that they were not properly purified, till they could behold without emotion the naked bodies of the different sexes; and therefore they, sometimes at least, frequented public worship in that state, whence they were called *Adamites*, and were universally and naturally suspected of incontinence. Viterbo, so far from receiving those people, fell upon them in A. D. 1421, and putting some of them to the sword, condemned the rest to the flames, which they suffered with the greatest fortitude.*

It can hardly be doubted, however, but that these people

* *Mosheim*, III. p. 274. (P. Cent. xv. Pt. II. Ch. v. Sect. 3.)

were no other than Waldenses, Picards, or Lollards, (terms of the same signification,) that the indecencies they were charged with as *Adamites*, were mere calumnies, and that the true reason of Zisca's aversion to them was, their differing in opinion from him, and their taking part with his enemies. They denied the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and refused to adore the host. One of them being put to the torture, said, "It is not we that are in an error, but you who cause us to be burned. Deceived by false teachers, you prostrate yourselves before a creature, a piece of consecrated bread, and burn incense before it, imagining that you are offering upon the altar, for the living and the dead, the body of Jesus Christ which is in heaven."*

The Waldenses were in Bohemia in A. D. 1178, and were well received at Saatz and Laun, on the river Egra, near the frontiers of Misnia, from which place they probably entered Bohemia. Being in great numbers in an island formed by the river Lausnicz, near Neuhaus, in the district of Bechin, they took arms,† and were defeated by Zisca.

The same year, viz. A. D. 1421, the Hussites made an offer of the crown of Bohemia to the king of Poland; but he declining it, they offered it to Withold, duke of Lithuania, who accepted of it, and sent an army to their assistance: but, making his peace with the emperor, he soon after abandoned them, when they were again left to themselves, but they had no more occasion for the use of arms during the life of Zisca. In A. D. 1424, the emperor despairing of conquering the Hussites, proposed a treaty, in which he agreed to give up to Zisca not only the government and the command of the forces, but the revenues of the country, retaining the sovereignty only. These terms were accepted, and presently after, when Zisca was going to wait on the emperor, he was seized with the plague, and died October 6, A. D. 1424.‡

* *Brausobre*, in *Leufant's Bash*, II. p. 329. (P.)

† *Leufant* says they joined the Thaborites: but, according to other accounts, the division of the Hussites into Orphelins and Thaborites did not take place till after the death of Zisca. *Ibid.* p. 393. (P.)

‡ The following is a translation of his epitaph, written on his tomb in the city of Thabor. "I, John Zisca, rest here, in the skill of military affairs not inferior to any of the emperors or famous captains of old. A severe scourge of the pride and covetousness of clergymen, and a most valiant defender of my country. That which *Appius Claudius*, being blind, did for the Romans in well counselling, and *Furius Camillus* in valiantly exploiting; the same I have done for my *Bohemians*. I was never wanting to the good fortune of war, nor it to me. I have foreseen, though blind, all advantages and opportunities of well-doing, and with ensigns displayed, have fought eleven times in the open field, ever victorious. It seemed to me most fit and honourable to take in hand the most just cause of the miserable and hungry, against the delicate, fat, and full-crammed priests: and in this doing, I have found

On the death of Zisca, the Hussites divided into two parties, one called *Thaborites*, commanded by Procopius, surnamed *the Great*, and the other *Orphelins*, (to signify the loss they had of their great chief, Zisca,) who chose fresh chiefs every year, except that in battle they were commanded by another Procopius, called by way of distinction from the other, *the Little*. Both parties uniting in a common cause, and not observing the terms of the treaty that had been made with Zisca,* plundered the Catholic countries in their neighbourhood. The emperor then making a new treaty with them, allowed them the free exercise of their religion, till the meeting of the Council of Basil. The citizens of Prague accepted these terms, but the army refusing them, Henry, bishop of Winchester, was sent as legate, in A. D. 1428, and with an army, to subdue them. But this army was beaten, and his camp taken. After this, the Hussites divided themselves into three bodies, and committed dreadful ravages in Hungary, Poland and Austria.†

In A. D. 1430, the Hussites extending their ravages to Silesia and Misnia, the Pope sent cardinal Julian at the head of an army, procured by the publication of a second crusade; when all the electors of the empire, and all the princes, ecclesiastical and secular, promised to raise a powerful army. The army was raised, but it had no more success than the former. Though it consisted of forty thousand German horse, besides a numerous infantry, they fled on the approach of the Hussites, abandoning their camp and every thing in it.

The emperor despairing again of success in the way of arms, wrote a soothing letter to the Hussites, inviting them

the assistance of God, giving a blessing to my arms. If their envy had not hindered it, no doubt I should have merited to be numbered among the illustrious men; nevertheless my bones lie here in this sacred place, without asking the Pope any leave, and in spite of his teeth. *John Zisca, the Bohemian*, an enemy of priests that are covetous of dishonest gain, but in a godly zeal." (*History of the Abbot of Ursperge*,) in *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 275. See also *Noar. Dict. Hist.* V. p. 314.

* "After his death," according to another account, "the Pope and emperor, thinking the Hussites much discouraged thereby, sent several armies against them, but still they were strangely discomfited, for the Bohemians, (saith *Monstrélet*) 'feared neither death nor torments; their very women took arms and fought, and many of their dead bodies were found among the slain in several battles.' Whereupon, not being able to extirpate them by war, they are invited to come to the Council of Basil." *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 276.

† Among the *Thaborites* were many whose opinions were very extravagant, and led to much mischief. They demanded the erection of an entire new hierarchy, in which Christ alone should reign. Some of them, as to their respect to the emperor, were of opinion, that Christ himself would descend in person, armed with his sword to extirpate heresy, and thought that they ought to raise the image of Christ in the same manner. Hence the dreadful ravages of which they were guilty. *Mosheim*, III. p. 262. (P. 310.)

to send deputies to the Council of Basil;* and though the *Orphelins* objected to it, it was agreed to by the majority; and accordingly, a safe-conduct being granted them, four deputies were sent, two from their clergy,† and two from their nobility,‡ who arrived at Basil January 4, A. D. 1432, and were received with great respect. They proposed the four articles above-mentioned, promising that if they were granted, they would, in every other respect, conform to the Catholic church. They were permitted to argue at large in defence of all their articles, and were answered by the members of the council, the discussion continuing from January 16 to March 6; when, receiving no satisfaction, the deputies returned to Prague, accompanied by ambassadors from the council.

These ambassadors were received with much respect, and employing their address in concert with Maynard, a Bohemian nobleman, they succeeded in sowing divisions among the Hussites, and induced the count of Pilsen to revolt from them. Presently after this, they were driven out of Prague; and a battle being fought in A. D. 1434, on the octave of the festival of the Holy Sacrament, both the Procopiuses were slain; and afterwards, when they had entered into terms with their enemies, all the old soldiers who had fought under Zisca were treacherously put to death. After this, they made no appearance in the field; but a treaty being entered into between them and the deputies of the council, it continued a long time, the Hussites objecting chiefly to the usurpations of the possessions of the church being termed sacrilege. At length, however, at an assembly held at Islaw, in A. D. 1436, at which the emperor assisted, they gave up three of the articles they had before insisted upon, and contented themselves with gaining the fourth, which was the communion in both kinds.§

Thus an end was put to a cruel war, which had desolated the country twenty-two years.¶ But the Pope and the court of Rome objected to the terms. The Hussites had farther demanded of the Council of Basil, that their children might

* See *supra*, p. 35, Note *.

† "John Rokyzan of Prague, and Nicholas Episcopus of the *Taborensis*." *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 275.

‡ "Procopius, the general of the *Taborensis*, and William Rastka, baron of Poctupicz." *Ibid.*

§ "John Rokyzan being corrupted with the hopes of an archbishopric, seduced others of the commissioners, and so matters were subtly carried, that leave being given by the council that they should enjoy the use of the cup, in other matters they were brought to consent." *Ibid.* La Trobe's *Crantz*, p. 20.

¶ See another calculation, *supra*, p. 30, Note †.

receive the eucharist* immediately after baptism, but it had not been granted to them. On these accounts the schism, though not the war, was renewed by a considerable number of the Hussites, who published forty-five articles of a new confession of their faith.

In A. D. 1448, pope Nicolas sent a legate into Bohemia, but he hesitating to satisfy the demands of Rokyzan, to be archbishop of Prague, which the Bohemians insisted upon, it was with difficulty that he escaped out of the country. At this time there were two lieutenants in the kingdom of Bohemia, Maynard, a favourer of the old religion, and Petarscon, a friend of Rokyzan. He dying, was succeeded by Podiebrad, who seized upon the city of Prague, and put Maynard in prison, where he soon died; and being then sole governor of the kingdom, he gave the archbishopric to Rokyzan, without waiting for the bull from Rome.

In A. D. 1453, Ladislas, then thirteen years of age, was crowned king of Bohemia, according to the rites of the Catholic church. He even refused to go into a church belonging to the Hussites, or to adore the host that was carried before Rokyzan. He discovered a still greater aversion to the Hussites after his return to the kingdom, in A. D. 1457, just before his intended marriage with a daughter of the king of France; and as he presently after this died of poison, his death was generally imputed either to Rokyzan or Podiebrad,† whose interest it was that a prince so zealous for the Catholic religion should not be their king.

On his death, Podiebrad was elected king of Bohemia; and finding it necessary to gain the allegiance of the Catholics, he took advantage of the divisions among the Hussites, and exterminated the greatest part of them. On the defeat of their army, the two parties before mentioned had ceased; but they had separated a second time, and the Calixtins, being the stronger, had seized upon the city of Thabor. Being, however, persuaded to send deputies to a general assembly of all the Hussites, and abide by the resolutions of the majority, they were condemned, and Podiebrad, upon their refusing to comply with the articles agreed upon, marched against them, and besieging them in Thabor, not

* "Libertatem communem anti parrulos, sacra eucharistia." (*Fascic. roy. capet et fug.* I. p. 519). — *Polee's* "Essay in favour of the ancient Practice of giving the Eucharist to Children," 1728, p. 6.

† This name is written by Fleury and others, *Podiebrad*, and under his effigies in Lenfant's History, &c. is *Podiebraski*. I have given the name as I find it in Lenfant's History. (P.) In La Trobe's *Cantz*, p. 24, he is named *George Podiebrad*. In Des Fontaines' *Poland*, p. 190, he is called *Podziebracki*.

only took the place, but it is said cut them all off to a man, and demolished the fortifications.

Podiebrad also compelled all the Manicheans, or those who passed for such, to become Catholics, or leave the country. About two thousand of them were baptized, but more than four hundred thousand retired to Stephen, duke of Bosnia, a Manichaean like themselves. The bishop of Neva sent three principal chiefs of the sect, in chains, to the Pope, who put them into a monastery, to be instructed in the principles of the Catholic faith, and then sent them back to the king.*

The people here called *Manichæans* were probably no other than Waldenses, or such as, going by the appellation of *Adamites*, were put to death by Zisca.

It was not to be expected that, in an age so enlightened as this, and when opinions were so much discussed, all the Bohemians should confine themselves within the limits of the first reform by John Huss, or the Calixtins. Great numbers soon expressed a wish for a farther reformation. At the head of them was Gregory, Rokyzan's sister's son, and not being able to gain Rokyzan himself for their head, they, by his advice and assistance, withdrew to a place in the lordship of Lititz, near Lutomysl, between Silesia and Moravia, which had been laid waste by the ravages of war, and there they regulated their worship according to their own ideas.† This they carried into execution about A. D. 1453; and in A. D. 1457, they had digested their scheme of church government, and at first called themselves *Brethren of the Law of Christ*; but being afterwards joined by others, who had formed similar plans, they took the name of *Unitas Fratrum*, or the *United Brethren*, and they all agreed never to defend themselves by arms, but only “by prayer, and reasonable remonstrances against the rage of their enemies.”‡

Their number increasing, they were exposed to great calamity and persecution, neither Rokyzan, nor the king, choosing to patronize them.§ Being declared outlaws, they were driven from their habitations in the depth of winter, and many of them died in prison.¶ All the apologies they

* *Fleury*, XXIII. p. 123. — *P.*

† La Trobe's *Cronica*, p. 21. — *P.*

‡ *Ibid.* p. 25.

§ “Rokyzan, for fear of diminishing his credit and character, *Podiebrad*, though far from being disinclined to rus them, having, by his coronation oath, promised to extirpate the heretics, was under a necessity to consent to a persecution of the brethren.” *Ibid.* p. 21.

¶ “The sick were cast out into the open fields, where many perished with hunger

addressed to the king, or the states, only served to exasperate them, and the persecution did not abate till the death of Podiebrad, in A. D. 1471. Some time before this, Rokyzan had died, they say, in despair.*

Podiebrad, desirous to recommend himself to his Catholic subjects, always communicated in both kinds, and was at enmity with Pius II. as long as he lived; but having punished some Catholics, on the charge of treason, in A. D. 1466, he was excommunicated, and his subjects absolved from their oath of allegiance. His crown was first offered to Casimir, king of Poland; but he not choosing to contend with Podiebrad, who was supported by several of the princes of Germany, it was offered to Matthias, king of Hungary, who at first also declined it, but was afterwards encouraged to engage with Podiebrad, the Catholics in Bohemia declaring for him. However, soon after this, Casimir, with the consent of Podiebrad, permitted his son Uladislav to be appointed his successor, and though the Pope refused to confirm the choice, he became king of Bohemia.

In A. D. 1474, the Calixtins revolted from Uladislav, and in A. D. 1483, they drove the Catholics out of Prague. They also compelled the monks to leave the city, and destroyed the monasteries, the king not being able to resist them.

In the reign of Uladislav, the *United Brethren* for the most part enjoyed peace, though several attempts were made to excite him to persecute them; † and in A. D. 1481, they were banished from Moravia, Lusatia and Silesia, which had been seized by Matthias, king of Hungary; and some of them went as far as Moldavia, and, being taken by the Tartars, even settled near Mount Caucasus, beyond the Caspian sea. ‡ At this time, however, the brethren in Bohemia were not molested: but they were unfortunately divided among themselves; some of them becoming Anabaptists, and accusing others of designs against the state.

and cold." As to those in prison, "when nothing could be extorted from them by hunger, cold, racks and tortures, they were maimed in the hands and feet, dragged inhumanly at the tails of horses or carts, and quartered, or burned alive." La Trobe's *Creutz*, p. 21.

* *Ibid.* p. 30. His nephew Gregory had been persecuted at Prague; and put "under the rack" till "every one supposed him dead." At the news of which, his uncle Rokyzan, hastening, with all speed, to the prison, lamented over him in these words: "O my dear Gregory, I wish to God I was where thou art!" *Ibid.* p. 25.

† Among others "by stirring up the people to sedition." *Ibid.* p. 31.

‡ Where "the posterity of these Bohemian brethren" were found in 1709, by a "minister of the Lutheran church at Moscow." *Ibid.* pp. 32, 33.

This brought on them a grievous persecution, which, however, did not lessen their numbers; and, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, there were two hundred congregations of them in Bohemia and Moravia; when many men of learning, and some priests of the Calixtins, joined them. They were also joined by several lords, who built places of worship for them in the towns and villages, the churches being in possession of the Calixtins. Being thus happily at rest from persecution, and having learned men among them, they published a translation of the Scriptures into the Bohemian or Sclavonian tongue, at first only from the vulgate Latin,* but in a later period from the languages in which they were written.

Having an idea of the transmission of episcopal powers from the apostles, and supposing that the bishops of the Waldenses were regularly descended from the earliest times, they got their first bishops ordained by them; having first chosen them by solemn prayer, and the casting of lots. This was done at a synod held by them at Lhoten, in A. D. 1467. In A. D. 1504, they presented to Uladislav a confession of their faith, in which they acknowledged the three creeds. When the king forbade their assemblies, and ordered them to join either the Catholics or the Calixtins, they presented another remonstrance, explaining some of their principles, but without any effect.

In A. D. 1509, one Augustin drew up a letter in the king's name, in answer to their remonstrance, and to this they published a reply, in which they rejected the doctrine of Transubstantiation, the adoration of the Virgin Mary and other saints, and purgatory; seeming rather to approve of the opinion of the ancients, of the just being purified by fire before the day of judgment, and that souls do not enter into happiness till the resurrection. They said they would submit to any more external ordinances, if they could do it without sin, such as the observance of festivals, fasts, and other things of an indifferent nature; but not those which encouraged idolatry and superstition.

* They had "the bible translated into the Bohemian tongue, and printed at Venice; in which they were the first amongst all the other nations of Europe. And because the copies met with a quick sale, they procured two new editions to be printed at *Nuremberg*; till they had set up three printing-presses of their own, at *Praque*, at *Bamberg*, and at *Kiottitz*; where, in the beginning, were printed nothing else but Bohemian bibles. With this bible, which was a translation from the *Vulgate*, they concerned themselves for a hundred years, until, at the expense of baron *Sharesky*, a new translation from the original texts could be undertaken, which was published in six parts, from 1679 to 1691." *Le Trésor's Chron.*, p. 66.

SECTION VI.

Of the Attempts to unite the Greek and Latin Churches.

EXDEAVOURS to promote the union of the Greek and Latin churches, make a considerable part of the ecclesiastical history of this period, as well as of several of the former. The Greek emperors, being in general less attached to their religion, and standing in great need of the assistance of the Christians of the West, in their wars with the Mahometan powers, frequently wished for such an union; and the popes, though having little concern for the interest of religion, were desirous of extending their authority over the whole Christian world. But they being unwilling to give up any article of what was called the Catholic faith, and the Greeks in general being as obstinate on their side, every attempt to reconcile them, however promising in the negotiations of a few, always miscarried when a general consent became necessary.

Manuel Palæologus II., as well as the patriarch Euthymius, seem to have had no objection to receive the Catholic faith; and his successor Joseph, who had been the metropolitan of Ephesus, having the same disposition, he applied to Martin V. for leave to marry one of his sons to a Catholic princess. To this no objection was made, and in A. D. 1419, John, the eldest of his sons, was married to Sophia, the daughter of the marquis of Montferrat, and was associated with his father in the empire. In order to obtain the assistance of the Latins, these two emperors resumed the project of the union of the two churches, and proposed to carry it into execution, in a council to be held at Constantinople for that purpose. The Pope, entering into their views, sent legates to make preparation for it, and promised to send the assistance they had applied for.

But the cardinal of St. Angelo being sent, in A. D. 1420, to Constantinople, on this business, insisted upon the Greeks accepting the entire creed of the church of Rome; and as the emperor and his prelates would only say that they would be determined in this respect by the result of the council, which the state of their affairs would not permit being called immediately, all further proceedings in the business were at that time discontinued. But much farther progress was made in the succeeding reign of John Palæologus.

This emperor being pressed by the Turks, and getting no

assistance from the emperor Sigismund, applied to Martin V. in A. D. 1430, who recommended the Council of Basil, which was summoned for the year following, instead of that which had been proposed at Constantinople; promising to defray the expenses of the Greeks who should attend it; and to this the Greek emperor, not being able to do better, consented. But the death of the Pope threw difficulties in the way of the scheme. His successor, Eugenius, not having the same friendly disposition, and the Greeks in general discovering a great aversion to the union, the Greek ambassadors returned to Constantinople. The treaty was, however, renewed, and the Greeks sending ambassadors to Basil, they were received with much honour. But deputies being sent by the council, in return, found the Greeks but ill disposed to the union, and particularly offended at a decree of the council, in which mention was made of the *ancient heresy of the Greeks*. After much difficulty, the Greeks consented that the council should be held in some sea-port of Italy, though they had consented to meet at Basil, the Pope having thwarted the negotiation of the council, which he thought took too much upon it in the business.

Ambassadors both from the Pope and the council were sent to Constantinople at the same time, and galleys to take the charge of the Greeks. But those of the Pope arriving the first, the emperor and his suite chose to embark in them. Besides the emperor himself, there were Demetrius, one of his brothers, the patriarch of Constantinople, metropolitans, bishops, abbots, in all seven hundred persons, with powers from the patriarchs of Antioch, Alexandria and Jerusalem. They arrived at Venice the 8th of February, A. D. 1438, and thence proceeded to Ferrara, where they were received by the Pope with much ceremony.*

Before any regular sessions were held at this Council of Ferrara, there were several congregations, in which the five following articles were discussed, viz. the procession of the Holy Spirit, the addition of *Filioque* to the creed, purgatory, and the state of the dead before the day of judgment, the use of unleavened bread in the eucharist, and the supremacy of the church of Rome. The sessions were deferred six months, because the ambassadors from the princes of Europe did not attend, being directed to continue at Basil.

* On "the formalities of greeting between this western Pope and eastern Patriarch, and the refusal of the latter to offer the customary salutation of kissing the Pope's feet, see *Hist. Con. Florent.* quoted in *Hist. of Popery*, II. pp. 279, 280.

On the subject of purgatory, with which the private conferences began, the Greeks themselves could not agree; and the first article that was regularly discussed was, the addition to the creed, on which the speeches were very long, the Greeks insisting on the impropriety of making any addition to it, and the Latins maintaining that what they had done was not by way of addition, but only of explanation. They, therefore, proposed to discuss the question of the *procession*, since, according as that was determined, the addition to the creed might be retained or rejected.

In this state of things the council was transferred to Florence, where the debates were resumed, and continued till the 5th of June, the emperor earnestly wishing for an agreement, and a majority of the prelates being also inclined to it, but Mark of Ephesus strenuously opposed it. At length, however, the following form of a confession of faith was agreed on: "The Holy Spirit is eternally from the Father to the Son, and from all eternity proceeded from them both, as from one sole principle, and by one sole production, called *spiration*; the Son having received from the Father from all eternity that productive virtue, by which the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son as from the Father."

It was soon agreed that leavened or unleavened bread might be used in the eucharist. They agreed also that there is a purgatory, and that it was indifferent in what the pains of it consisted, whether fire or darkness, tempest, or any thing else. On the subject of the supremacy of the church of Rome, there was more difficulty. At length, however, the Greeks acknowledged, that the bishop of Rome was the sovereign pontiff, and vicar of Jesus Christ, who governs the church of God, saving the privileges and rights of the patriarchs of the East.* Agreeably to this, a solemn *act of union* was drawn up,† and signed the 6th of July, A. D. 1439. The Pope, however, did not give the Greeks leave to celebrate the eucharist in public, lest some of their rites should be such as he could not approve; and on the other hand they would not, at the request of the Pope, choose another patriarch, in the place of Joseph, who died at Florence,‡ to be confirmed by himself, but deferred the

* "The most prevalent reasons 'tis supposed that swayed with the Greeks were, the necessity of the empire, and the hopes of forces to assist them, together with the Pope's artifice, in making two of the most learned of the Greek bishops cardinals, *Isidore*, bishop of Russia, and *Bessarion*, bishop of Nice." *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 280. On *Bessarion*, see *Mosheim*, Cent. xv. Pt. ii. Ch. ii. Sect. xxiii.

† "Beginning *Latentur Cæli*, Let the Heavens rejoice," &c. *Ibid.*

‡ "Suddenly falling down with the charter of union in his hand." *Ibid.* p. 281

election till their return to Constantinople,* which was the 1st of February, A. D. 1440.

The reception of the emperor and his prelates, on their return from the council, was by no means such as they wished. The great body of the clergy regarding them with abhorrence, would not admit those of the clergy who had subscribed to the *union*, to any ecclesiastical functions. The monks were more particularly irritated, and excited the people against them. Wherever they went, they were insulted as traitors to their religion, and apostates, and by way of reproach called *Azymites*;† while Mark of Ephesus was extolled to the skies, as the only defender of the true religion, and who alone had the courage to maintain the honour of the Greek church against the Latins. In this state of things he had a great advantage in writing, as he and several others did, against the *union*;‡ and though it was ably defended by Bessarion and others, their writings had no effect on the people in general. Few would attend divine service, even with the emperor himself, and in some churches his name was left out of the *diptychs*. Though one of the deputies who had subscribed to the *union* was made patriarch, and the Pope sent a legate to Constantinople to act in concert with him, all they could do was of no avail; and the emperor himself, expecting little assistance from the West, and dreading a revolt of his own subjects, became indifferent about enforcing the *union*, and of this the Pope complained.

Though Metrophanes, whom the emperor had made patriarch of Constantinople, favoured the *union*, and advanced the favourers of it to all the ecclesiastical dignities that became vacant, great and general complaints were made of it. The patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem, all published synodical letters, pronouncing sentences of deposition against those whom he had ordained, and excommunicating them if they persisted in exercising their ecclesiastical functions. They also wrote to the emperor, threatening him with excommunication, if he protected Metrophanes, and adhered to the Latin church.

In Russia, the news of this *union* was as ill received as in Greece itself. There the legate Isidore, whom the Pope

* "Alleging, by their laws and customs, that their patriarch could not be chosen any where else, for he must be consecrated in his own church." *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 281.

† "They excommunicated all these that consented to the *union*, and when they died, cast them, like dogs, into ditches." *Ibid.*

‡ See "Marc *Enguenique* Archêvêque d'Ephèse." *Nov. Dict. Hist.* IV. p. 350.

sent to announce it, was apprehended as a seducer and apostate, who had sold them to the Latins. He found means, however, to escape out of prison, before they proceeded any farther against him.

After the great defeat of the Christian powers at the battle of Varna,* the Greek emperor, having no expectation of assistance from the West, said nothing more about the union of the two churches, or of his league with the Latins.

When the affairs of the Greeks wore an unpromising aspect, by the near approach of the Turks to Constantinople, pope Nicolas addressed a letter to them, urging them to confirm the union of the churches; and in consequence of this, the emperor Constantine sent ambassadors to Rome, requesting the Pope to send some able persons to assist in the reduction of the schismatics; when cardinal Isidore, a Greek, was sent, and was received by the emperor, and a small number of prelates, December 12, A. D. 1451. But this measure only increased the obstinacy of the Greeks in general; and when the cardinal performed mass in the church of St. Sophia, the monk Gennadius, being applied to by the citizens, who ran in a tumult to his cell, without going out of it affixed to his door a writing, in which he denounced the greatest miseries on those who received what he called the impious decree of the *union*; on which priests, abbots, monks, nuns, soldiers and citizens, in short, persons of all descriptions, except a small part of the senate, and those about the court, particularly devoted to the emperor, began to cry out with one voice, *Anathema to those who are united to the Latins*. They would not so much as enter the church of St. Sophia, considering it as profaned, and avoided all those who had assisted at the service in it, as excommunicated persons, refusing them absolution, or entrance into their churches.

Two years after this, Constantinople was taken by Mahomet II.; † and Isidore, who was in the city at the siege, was taken prisoner, but had the address to make his escape. He was the same person who had been sent to Russia to

* In 1444, when Ladislas, king of Hungary, was defeated and slain by Amurath I., emperor of the Turks. See *supra*, p. 6.

† May 29, 1453, 6 in the reign of Constantine, son of the emperor John Paleologus. Some that are much at leisure have observed it, as I know not what fatality, that, as this city was first made famous by a *Constantine*, the son of a *Helena*, a *Gregory* being also patriarch; so it was lost by a *Constantine*, the son of *Helena*, *Gregory* being also patriarch; as *Augustus* was the first that established the Roman empire, and *Augustus* the last." *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 281.

establish the Latin service there, and had been thrown into prison as a schismatic.

Mahomet gave the Christians leave to choose their patriarchs, as they had done under their former emperors, retaining the power, which they had had, of confirming, that is, directing, their choice. By his order they chose George Scholarius, who had declared for the union of the churches, and the emperor afterwards paying him a visit, requested him to explain to him the principles of the Christian religion, which it is said that he did in so able a manner as greatly struck him, and made him more favourable to the Christians than he had been before. This patriarch, not being able to engage the Greeks to embrace the union, quitted his preferment after he had held it five years, and retired to a monastery.*

There was no abatement of the antipathy of the Greeks to the Latins, in this period. In A. D. 1509, the patriarch of Constantinople excommunicated Arsenius, archbishop of Malvasia in the Morea, which was then in the possession of the Venetians, and all who had been ordained by him, because he had submitted to the church of Rome. Arsenius fled to Rome, and complained to the Pope, who wrote to the Venetians on the subject, desiring them to oblige the Greeks to make satisfaction for the injury: but the Venetians were in danger in making the attempt.

On the same principle on which the apparent union of the Greek and Latin churches was brought about, several of the eastern sectaries were induced to submit to the see of Rome: but in all the cases it was the act of a few, and had no effect with the great mass of the people.

After the union of the Greek and Latin churches was determined upon at Florence, Constantine, patriarch of the Armenians, sent letters to Modena, and four deputies, to whom the Pope explained the articles of the catholic faith, and especially the doctrine of the Council of Chalcedon, and others which the Armenians had hitherto rejected, and all the seven sacraments. All these they agreed to receive, and the decree of their union with the church of Rome passed the 22d of November, A. D. 1439.

In A. D. 1440, the Jacobites sent deputies to Florence, and were united to the Roman church. Pope Eugenius addressed letters to their patriarch John, who apologized for his own non-attendance at the council, on account of his

* In Macedonia, where he died about 1460. *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* V. p. 528. See also *Mosheim*, Cent. xv. Pt. ii. Ch. ii. Sect. xxiii.

poverty and infirmities, but sent a legate with power to agree to the union. Accordingly, he, in the name of his principal, accepted a long constitution, in which the Pope defended the catholic faith, in opposition to the errors of the Eutychians. Complimentary letters were also received from the king of Ethiopia, and Philotheus, the patriarch of Alexandria, in praise of the union, but the whole ended in words.

In A. D. 1444, the Christians of Mesopotamia sent Abdalla, the archbishop of Edessa, to Rome, to signify their acceptance of the catholic faith; and Pope Eugenius assembling a council, as a continuation of that of Florence, passed a decree of the union of the Syrian Church with that of Rome.

The same year, some Chaldeans, or Nestorians and Maronites, sent deputies to Rome to acknowledge the catholic faith, and they were received in the same council. But this also had no effect in the East, where they continued as remote from the church of Rome as ever.

In A. D. 1460, Pius II. received a deputation from the patriarchs of Antioch, Alexandria and Jerusalem, promising obedience to the see of Rome, according to the Council of Florence, which they said had been agreed to, in an assembly convoked for the purpose.

In A. D. 1496, Constantine, king of the Georgians, sent a deputation to Pope Alexander VI. acknowledging him to be the vicar of Christ, and to request that he would oblige the catholic princes to join those of the East against the Mahometans. He also desired him to send him the decrees of the Council of Florence, which condemned the errors of the Greeks. The Pope received the deputies with much joy, and promised every thing in his power.

Before this, viz. in A. D. 1478, the queen of Bosnia dying, left her dominions to the see of Rome, with a reversion to her son, if he should abandon the Turkish interest and Mahometanism, and return into the bosom of the church.

SECTION VII.

Of various Opinions advanced in this Period.

THE present period abounded with men who thought with great freedom and acuteness on many subjects of theology and church government, the effects of which would

have been very conspicuous, if it had not been for the omnipotent authority of the church of Rome, which, wherever it interfered, as it did in all cases in which its interest was the most remotely concerned, suppressed every thing that threatened innovation. In the account of the more remarkable opinions that were advanced in this period, I shall begin with those that more particularly affected, or threatened to affect the court of Rome, and the more fundamental doctrines of the church.

In A. D. 1479, the following propositions of Peter de Osma, professor of theology at Salamanca, were condemned by the archbishop of Toledo, after an examination before many doctors; and the condemnation was confirmed by Pope Sixtus IV.: “Mortal sins may be effaced by contrition only, without the authority of the church. Private confession is not of divine right, but founded on the orders of the church. The Pope cannot remit the pains of purgatory. The church of Rome may err in its decisions. The Pope cannot dispense with the orders of the universal church.” It was remarked that these propositions were condemned by the Pope without particular specification, in order, as it was expressed in the bull, that those who knew them might forget them, and those who were ignorant of them might not learn any thing new. This mode of condemnation indicates an apprehension of such doctrines as these recommending themselves to those who should hear of them; but it would certainly excite the curiosity of many to know what the unnamed propositions were.

The same year, some similar propositions of John of Wesalia, a doctor of theology, and a preacher at Worms, were condemned by the inquisition. “He denied that bishops had the power of making laws. He maintained that indulgences are of no value, and that the elect will be saved, though all the priests should condemn them. Jesus Christ, he said, appointed neither fasts nor festivals, and did not forbid the use of any kind of meat, on any day. Holy oil does not differ from common oil. They who go on pilgrimages to Rome are mad.” Some of his propositions have a humorous turn, as this, “If St. Peter did appoint any fast, it was only that he might have a better sale for his fishes.”

The archbishop of Mentz wrote to the university of Heidelberg and Cologne, to desire that they would examine these propositions: and several assemblies were held on the subject. John was publicly interrogated, and after several subsequent sittings, obliged to retract what he had advanced.

For some time, however, he refused to do it. His examiners were blamed by many persons, as having proceeded with too much warmth in the business, especially as it was said that some of the propositions might have been supported, if they had been properly explained.

In A. D. 1485, John Laillier, a licentiate in theology at Paris, advanced the following propositions: "St. Peter did not receive from Christ more power than the other apostles. All those who compose the ecclesiastical hierarchy have received equal power from Christ, even the curés. The sovereign pontiff cannot remit all the pains due to sinners by virtue of his indulgences. Confession is not of divine right. The decrees and decretals of the popes are a mockery. The church of Rome is not the chief of other churches." He also advanced other propositions contrary to the authority of the church, in favour of the marriage of priests, against the canonizing of saints, fasting in Easter, &c., which were censured in a faculty of theology, June 5, A. D. 1486.

Being refused the degree of doctor, he appealed to the bishop of Paris, and presented an explanation of some of his propositions, which he said were not so strong as some that had been advanced by Gerson. In consequence of these censures, he was obliged publicly to retract his propositions; and on this he was absolved from the excommunication which had been pronounced against him, and restored to the power of obtaining the honours of the university. The faculty, however, would not give him the degree of *doctor*. The court of Rome was not a little alarmed on this occasion. Innocent VIII. published two bulls, approving of the condemnation of Laillier, forbidding him to preach, making him incapable of the degree of doctor, and even ordering him to be put in prison.

Considerable alarm was given to the church by the singular and bold opinions of John Picus, prince of Mirandola, who at a very early age distinguished himself by his genius and writings. In A. D. 1486, being at Rome, he proposed several *theses* respecting subjects in theology, mathematics, magic, the Cabalistic art, and natural philosophy, which were thought not a little extraordinary, and several of them were said to be heretical. He published a defence of them; but the Pope forbade the reading of his *theses* under pain of excommunication, and cited Picus to appear before him. However, nothing farther was then done in the business.

Among his propositions were the following: "Jesus

Christ did not descend into hell, in reality, but only in effect. Infinite punishment is not due, even to mortal sin, which is only finite. Neither crosses nor images are to be adored with the adoration of *latria*, even in the sense of Thomas Aquinas. God cannot be united hypostatically to any but a reasonable creature. There is more reason to believe that Origen was saved, than that he was damned !” The other propositions were more properly of a metaphysical nature, and so were his explanations of these. Having made his submission to the holy see, he was absolved by Alexander VI. in A. D. 1493 ; when his innocence, and the purity of his sentiments, were acknowledged. After this, he gave all his time to the study of the Scriptures, the controversy with the Jews and Mahometans, and writing against judicial astrology. That he might give himself wholly to his studies, he renounced the sovereignty of Mirandola, and gave all that he had to the poor. He died at Florence in A. D. 1494, at the age of thirty-three, putting on, before he expired, the habit of the Dominicans, for whom he had a great regard.

A friend of Picus, Jerome de Savonarola, excited more attention than he did ; and the consequences of his opinions and conduct were much more serious. He was a Dominican, and in A. D. 1492 began to distinguish himself by his preaching, but much more by his prophecies. Picus of Mirandola brought him to Florence, where he published explanations of the book of Revelation, and foretold that the church would be renewed, after a great scourge which would fall upon it. He was vehement in his declamations against the clergy and the court of Rome, which soon made him many enemies.

But in A. D. 1478, after having been idolized by the people of Florence as a prophet, and even directing their public measures, especially in defending their liberties against all attacks upon them, he incurred their indignation by favouring, as it was supposed, the execution of some of the party of Peter of Medicis, in the night, than which nothing could be more opposite to public liberty, and even to a law which he himself promoted a short time before. Also, Lewis Störza, jealous of his great influence, employed some monks to decry him, and did him ill offices with the Pope, who was already sufficiently irritated against him, on account of his free censures of the court of Rome, and his writing to the emperor and the kings of France, Spain, Por-

tugal and England, to engage them to demand the convocation of a council, for the reformation of the church, in its head and members.

The Pope, therefore, summoned him to appear before him : but not choosing to put himself into the power of his enemies, he contented himself with writing an apology for his conduct, and being forbidden to preach, he employed another person, who in his sermons spoke in his favour. On this, Alexander excommunicated him as a heretic. This proceeding, however, he shewed to be null, and instead of being silenced by it, he in A. D. 1498 resumed his functions, on which the Pope excommunicated him again ; and the people of Florence, wanting at that time the Pope's interest for the restitution of Pisa, obliged him to refrain from preaching. But the Dominican, whom Savonarola had employed to preach in his place, was so far from being intimidated by this, that he proposed to prove the truth of his doctrines, and the holiness of his character, by passing through the fire. A Franciscan accepted his challenge, and offered to go through the fire along with him, to prove the contrary : but, when every thing was ready for the trial, and the people were assembled to see the issue, the Dominican insisted upon taking the host with him, and this not being permitted, nothing farther was done.

Savonarola being now unpopular among the citizens, was attacked in a church in which he had taken refuge ; and being obliged to leave it and appear before the magistrates, he was asked whether the revelations to which he pretended were real ; and when he declared that they were, though on leaving his asylum, they had promised to send him to his monastery, they ordered him to prison, and appointed commissaries from among his enemies to examine him. They did it by torture, and in a particularly cruel manner, though commonly practised in the inquisition, namely, by tying his hands behind him, then drawing him up by a cord fastened to them, letting him fall with his whole weight, and checking him before he got to the ground, by which means his arms were dislocated. Not content with this, they applied hot coals to his bare feet, and insulted him in the grossest manner. All this, however, he bore with wonderful constancy, and as soon as he was in a condition to do it, he fell upon his knees, and prayed for his executioners.

The Pope hearing that he was in custody, desired that he might be sent to Rome ; but this not being approved of, he sent two judges, who, though they could get no confession

from him, even by a second torture, condemned him to die along with two others. When they were degraded before their execution, the bishop who performed the ceremony, said to Jerome in the course of it, "I separate thee from the church triumphant," he replied, "Thou mayest separate me from the church militant, but not from the church triumphant;" and to the last he persisted in declaring that every thing he had foretold would certainly come to pass. After this they were all hanged, their bodies burned, and their ashes thrown into the river. This was the 23rd of May, A. D. 1498. A life and defence of Savonarola was written by John Francis Picus of Mirandola, nephew of the celebrated John Picus, who maintained that the Pope had been deceived by the enemies of Savonarola. His letters, which I have lately perused with much satisfaction, are certainly those of a man of real piety. The writer of these letters might be deceived, but I cannot think him an impostor, who would endeavour to deceive others.

In the same year in which Savonarola died, Peter d'Aranda, bishop of Calahorra, and master of the sacred palace, was degraded, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment in the castle of St. Angelo at Rome, on being convicted, as it was said, of Judaism. He was said to have taught that the Jewish religion had one principle, but the Christian three. In his prayers he said *glory to the Father*, without adding to the Son or the Holy Spirit. He said that indulgences were of no avail, but were invented for the sake of the profit that was drawn from them; that there was neither hell nor purgatory, but only paradise. He observed no fast, and said mass after dinner. From his saying mass, or receiving the Lord's supper, it is evident he was not a Jew, but probably an Unitarian Christian.

About twenty years before the Reformation, a physician of Bologna, named Gabriel de Salodio, denied the divinity of Christ, and moreover affirmed that he was conceived and born as other men are, and yet the citizens would not suffer the inquisitors to punish him.*

John Reuchlin, a learned German, eminent for his skill in the Greek and Hebrew languages, and who contributed much to the restoration of literature, and eventually to the reformation in Europe, made himself many enemies by his favouring the Jews. A Jew of the name of Pfeffercorn, becoming a Christian, persuaded Hochstrat, a Dominican

* Robinson, p. 444. (P.)

inquisitor in Germany, and Arnaud de Tongres, professor of divinity at Cologne, that all the books of the Jews ought to be burned, as full of impiety and blasphemy; and they easily procured an order from the emperor Maximilian for the purpose. The Jews, however, having some interest at the imperial court, procured an order to the university of Cologne and others, to give their opinions jointly with Reuchlin, who was then with Eberhard, count of Wirtemberg, Victor of Corbie, and James Hochstrat. Reuchlin said that the Jewish books on indifferent subjects ought to be spared, and that only those that were written against Christianity should be destroyed.*

On this, Pfeffercorn wrote against that opinion, and Reuchlin in defence of it. But the theologians of Cologne, examining the work of Reuchlin, found in it forty-five propositions, which they said were erroneous and heretical. Reuchlin answered their charges, in an apology addressed to the emperor, on which he was cited before the inquisitor Hochstrat, in the presence of the elector of Mayence; when, notwithstanding Reuchlin's appeal to the court of Rome, the inquisitor forbade the reading of his book. It was also ordered to be burned, by the university of Paris. This encouraged Pfeffercorn to write again in answer to Reuchlin, who again appealed to Rome. All the learned in Europe took his part, and the Pope, having appointed commissaries to examine the business, the Dominican was in the issue obliged to pay the expense of the cause, and absolve him from his excommunication.†

There were some other controversies within this period, which, though of trifling consequence in themselves, may deserve to be just noticed in this Section. At the Council of Basil, in A. D. 1435, the opinions of Augustin de Roma were condemned. He attributed to the human nature of Christ what belonged to the divine nature, and also ascribed to Christ himself what belonged to Christians, on account of their union with him; saying that Christ sinned every day, meaning his members, which, with himself, make but one person.

In A. D. 1462, there was a warm dispute between

* "Cet avis sage, digne d'un philosophe, souleva les théologiens imbécilles de Cologne." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* V. p. 159.

† Reuchlin retired to Iugolstad, where he had a pension of two hundred gold crowns, for teaching Greek and Hebrew. "Ses ennemis voulurent l'envelopper dans l'affaire de Luther, mais ils n'y purent réussir. Il persista à demeurer dans la communion catholique, et il mourut en 1522, à 67 ans, épuisé par des études pénibles et constantes." *Ibid.*

the Franciscans and Dominicans, on the subject of that blood of Christ which was separated from his body before his burial, namely, whether it was separated from his divinity, so as not to be entitled to adoration; the Franciscans maintaining that it ought to be adored, and the Dominicans the contrary. Pius II. summoned the ablest theologians on both sides to dispute before him, which they did with so much warmth, that they sweated profusely. The Pope not choosing to offend either of the parties, made no decision on the subject; but forbade any more disputing about it. This Pope had himself maintained that it was not contrary to religion to assert that some of the blood of Christ remained on the earth. The university of Paris also had come to a similar decision in A. D. 1408.

In A. D. 1470, it was maintained by Peter de Reve, in the university of Louvain, that propositions relating to any future event, as, that there will be a resurrection of the dead, cannot be asserted without a belief in the doctrine of fate or necessity; and an appeal was made to the university of Paris, which asserted that this was a false consequence. The divines of Louvain, not satisfied with this answer, appealed to the Pope, and on that occasion the cardinal Peter *aux Liens*, afterwards himself pope, under the name of Sixtus IV., wrote a treatise on the subject of future contingencies; but all the propositions of Peter de Reve, twenty-five in number, were condemned.

The doctrine of the *immaculate conception* of the Virgin Mary was first advanced as an innocent, and then a probable opinion; and it is curious to observe how this, as other opinions in favour of the dignity of Mary, gained more and more credit, till it became hazardous to call it in question.

At the council of Basil, in A. D. 1438, this doctrine was decreed to be a pious opinion, agreeable to the catholic faith, and it was ordered that no person should preach against it, and that the festival of the conception should be celebrated the 8th of December. In a council held at Avignon in A. D. 1457, these decrees of the council of Basil were confirmed; all persons were forbidden under pain of excommunication to preach the contrary doctrine, and the clergy were ordered to announce it to the people, that no person might pretend ignorance of it.

Notwithstanding these decisions, the Dominicans were always disposed to deny this doctrine; but it was enforced by the university of Paris, which in these times was generally the umpire in theological controversies, as well as by

papal authority. Upon occasion of a dispute between the Dominicans and Franciscans on this subject, in A. D. 1483, pope Sixtus IV. published a bull, in which he declared that they who said it was heresy to preach that doctrine, were excommunicated, and if any person preached or taught contrary to that decree, he incurred the indignation of God, and of the apostles Peter and Paul.

All persons, however, were not silenced; for, in A. D. 1493, a Franciscan having maintained that the Virgin Mary was conceived in original sin, after preaching this doctrine, was cited before the university of Paris, and obliged to retract it. And in A. D. 1497, the faculty of Paris, after deliberating on the subject in three assemblies, resolved that the blessed Virgin was preserved by a singular gift from the stain of original sin. They farther thought the question of so much importance, that they engaged by oath not to admit any person into their body who should maintain the contrary doctrine.

This same year they obliged John Mercelle, a Dominican, to retract some propositions which he advanced, as they thought, derogatory to the honour of the Virgin. For their curiosity I shall recite them. "God can produce a mere creature in greater glory than the holy Virgin, by his absolute power, though he cannot according to his ordinary power. It is a problem whether the Virgin Mary was, as to her body, more handsome than Eve. It is apochryphal to say, that Jesus Christ went before the Virgin Mary in his assumption. We are not obliged to believe under pain of mortal sin, that the holy Virgin was taken up to heaven in body and soul, because it is not an article of faith." All these propositions were declared to be calculated to lessen the devotion of the people towards the blessed Virgin, and most of them were denominated false, scandalous, impious, or offensive to pious ears, &c. &c. &c.

SECTION VIII.

Of the Clergy and the Monks.

The state of the clergy in this period did not materially differ from that in the preceding; for, though some reforms were made, or rather directed to be made, respecting them, it does not appear that they were much improved by them.

At the Council of Basil, in A. D. 1437, all priests who publicly kept concubines, were ordered to be deprived of

their livings, and the bishops were directed to take pains to expel all concubines, and suspected women, from their dioceses. It was observed that some of the superior clergy not only tolerated this evil, but derived advantage, from taxing it. At the same council it was ordered, that there should be a theologian in every cathedral church, that a doctor or bachelor in theology who had studied ten years in some privileged university, should give lectures twice a week, and that a third part of the prebends should be given to doctors, licentiates, or bachelors, in some faculty.

It is evident from these provisions, that the great body of the clergy were very ignorant; but we have the most direct evidence of this with respect to Spain. So great was their ignorance, that hardly any of the Spanish clergy understood Latin. Self-indulgence of every kind was their great pursuit; concubinage was almost public among them, and the least of their disorders was carrying arms, and going to the wars. Nothing was more common than buying and selling benefices: it was done without scruple.

In order to remedy these evils in some measure, it was ordered in an extraordinary council held by cardinal Borgia, afterwards pope Alexander VI., at Madrid, in A. D. 1473, that in every cathedral church there should be one canonry held by a theologian, and another by a lawyer, and a canonist chosen by the bishop and the chapter, jointly. The archbishop of Toledo, the celebrated Ximenes, also held a council, the same year, in which it was ordered, that no living should be given but to those who understood Latin, and that the clergy should not serve as soldiers, nor send any to serve for them, except to the king's armies. Other decrees were made against concubinage, simony, and gaming, among priests, and also against shows exhibited in churches.*

In A. D. 1498, the same archbishop held a synod at Alcala, in which it was ordered, that every sunday, and on all the festivals, the curés should, after high mass, explain the gospel to the people, in a familiar and solid manner; and that in the evening they should assemble their parishioners, and especially the children, and teach them the Christian doctrine. To make this business easier to them, he procured catechisms, and other books of instruction, to be drawn up, which were afterwards of great use.

At the Council of Lateran, in A. D. 1514, many excellent

* *Fleury*, XXIII. p. 369. (P.)

decrees were made for the reformation of the clergy, respecting their age and qualifications, the suppression of *commendams*, pluralities, the behaviour of the cardinals, and the officers of the court of Rome; but the historian says they only respected the clergy of the city of Rome, and did not in any measure remove the complaints of France and Germany.

In this same council some excellent rules were laid down respecting preaching, which before this time appears to have been very low and unedifying. "Whereas," says this bull, "many persons in preaching do not teach the way of the Lord, or explain the gospel, but rather speak by way of ostentation, accompany what they say with violent gesticulations, speak loud, and publish feigned miracles, apochryphal and scandalous stories, of no authority, and not tending to edification; we order, under pain of excommunication, that from this time, no clergyman, secular or regular, be admitted to preach, whatever privilege he pretends to have, before an account has been taken of his morals, his age, doctrine, prudence and probity, and till evidence has been given of his living an exemplary life; and that the preachers explain in their sermons the truth of the gospel, according to the sentiments of the holy Fathers, that their discourses abound with quotations from the Scriptures, that they endeavour to inspire a horror of vice, and a love of virtue, and charity to their neighbours."

One great abuse, however, had its origin in this period. In A. D. 1473, Sixtus IV., though with much reluctance, at the request of Ferdinand, king of Spain, granted the bishopric of Saragossa in perpetual *commendam* to his bastard son, Alphonso, then only six years old, by which, said the cardinal of Pavia, he introduced a new example, of which popes and kings have taken great advantage since that time.

There was as little change in the state of the monks, as in that of the clergy of this period. The military orders, who were the nearest to the secular character, lived, as might be expected, like other secular persons, with as little regard to religion or morality; and the Teutonic knights were noted for their violences and disorders. In A. D. 1429, Goswin of Archenberg seized sixteen deputies, sent from the council of Riga to Rome, and, considering them as traitors, caused them to be drowned; which increased the odium under which that order lay, as the enemies, and not the friends, of religion.

As the military orders had expensive as well as hazardous services to perform, their revenues in an age of religion and chivalry were proportionally liberal; but when their services were less wanted, those large revenues became an object of desire to the temporal sovereigns. In A. D. 1488, Ferdinand king of Spain was by the Pope made great master of the orders of Calatrava, St. James, and Alcantara, the revenues of each of them being not less than a hundred ducats; and it was the more natural for the king to take them himself, as the grandees of the kingdom had been guilty of great disorders to get them into their hands.

The mendicant orders were still more favoured by the common people than the monks; and indeed some individuals of these orders were entitled to the highest respect, on account of their genuine ardour in the cause of religion. The case of Savonarola has been mentioned before. In A. D. 1418, another Dominican, called Manfred of Verceil, announced the near approach of Antichrist; and by that means drew a great number of men and women to engage in his order, living by the labour of their hands, the men separate from the women, and reciting the divine offices with great devotion. The Pope apprehending some mischief from these societies, abolished them; but in this he could not succeed entirely, on account of the great regard the people had for Manfred.

The mendicants were always at variance with the secular priests about the privilege of confession, which was a source of great emolument to them. Nicolas V. had favoured them, giving them liberty to confess persons at Easter, which was deemed to be contrary to the rights of the clergy, established by the canons. The university of Paris took the part of the clergy, in this business, and because the mendicant professors would not join in a petition for the revocation of that Pope's bull, they excluded them from their body. On an application to pope Celestine III., he confirmed the bull of Nicolas, and cancelled the orders of the university. But the members of the university expressed so much resentment at this conduct of the Pope, that he thought proper to revoke his bull, and the mendicants made their submission, and promised not to solicit for any more bulls in their favour. The general of the order, however, encouraged a second opposition, but the university again brought them to submission. These disputes, were however, frequently revived.

On occasion of a difference between the mendicants and

the parish priests in Germany, Sixtus IV. decided in favour of the priests; forbidding the former to preach against the will of the latter, during the parish masses, on festivals, or Sundays; but directing them to teach the people that they were not obliged to confess to their parish priests, except at Easter.

The two orders of mendicants were no more disposed to agreement than they both were with the monks, or the secular clergy. In A. D. 1483, there was a warm dispute between the Dominicans and Franciscans; the latter maintaining that the honour of the *stigmates* was peculiar to St. Francis; whereas the latter asserted that Catherine of Sienna had the same honour. Pope Sixtus IV., who had been a Franciscan, decided in their favour, and forbade the painting of the image of Catherine with *stigmates*. Afterwards, however, he thought proper to soften his decree and withdraw his censures.

In A. D. 1486, John Marchand, a Franciscan preacher at Besançon, advanced several strange propositions concerning the prerogatives of St. Francis, which were condemned by the faculty of theology at Paris, but which deserve to be mentioned, as curiosities of the kind. "St. Francis," he said, "was the only person who was found worthy to be advanced to that place in heaven from which Lucifer fell, and it was given to him on account of his superior humility. St. Francis resembles Christ in forty respects, among which are the following: He is a second Christ, or second son of God; his conception was foretold by an angel, and he was born in a stable, between an ox and an ass. When he received the *stigmates*, (concerning which he asserted many ridiculous particulars,) the rocks were rent; they began to be imprinted early in the morning, and the operation continued till three in the afternoon, the time on which Christ expired. St. Francis obtained of God the privilege of descending every year, on the day of his festival, into purgatory, and then he carried away with him all the men and women of his order into heaven."

Lewis XI. of France, though ridiculously superstitious, yet, from policy and avarice, forbade all abbots, priors and monks to attend the chapters of their order, out of the kingdom, under pain of banishment and other heavy punishments.

This period, as well as the preceding, furnishes some examples of persons of distinction shewing their respect for the monastic life, by adopting it, or the symbols of it,

before their death. The most remarkable instance of this kind in Europe is that of Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, who in A. D. 1434 quitted his sovereignty and retired to Ripailles, near the Lake of Geneva, where he founded the order of St. Maurice. He was afterwards, as we have seen, elected pope by the Council of Basil, when he took the name of Felix V.

In the East, Manuel Paleologus, the Greek emperor, put on the dress of a monk two years before he died, leaving the administration to his son John.

So much account was made of the monkish character in the East, that when, in A. D. 1474, Manuel was chosen patriarch of Constantinople, he was made a monk, according, as it was said, to the universal custom of the Greeks with respect to all bishops. On this occasion, he presented Mahomet the Turkish emperor with five hundred crowns of gold, besides paying him two thousand every year as a tribute.

The Fratricelli, or *Minorites*, continued, though in a state of persecution, through the whole of this period, their chief places of resort being the March of Ancona in Italy, the south of France, and Bohemia. They were vehemently persecuted by Nicolas V., but especially by Paul II. All that remained of them embraced the reformation by Luther.*

A new sect of *Flagellants* appeared in this period in Germany, and especially in Lower Saxony. They are said to have placed their hope of salvation in faith and flagellation, to which they added some peculiar opinions concerning the Holy Spirit, and other subjects. They were headed by Conrad Schmidt, who was apprehended and burned alive in A. D. 1414 by Henry Schonfield, an inquisitor in Germany, a man famous for his zeal in the extirpation of heresy.†

The *Cellite Brethren*, who were at Antwerp, had their name from living in cells; *Alexians*, from Alexius, their tutelary saint; and *Lollards* (which was then a term of reproach), from their singing at funerals. They attended the sick and buried the dead, who in a time of pestilence were much neglected by the clergy.‡

The sect that was called *Men of Understanding*, arose in this period at Brussels. At the head of them were Egidius Cantor, and William Hildenissen, a Carmelite monk. They held many of the tenets of the Mystics, denied the power of

* *Mosheim*, III. p. 251. (P.) Cent. xv. Pt. ii. Ch. ii. Sect. xxi.

† *Ibid.* p. 277. (P.) Cent. xv. *ad fin.*

‡ *Ibid.* p. 184. (P.) Cent. xv. Pt. ii. Ch. ii. Sect. xxxvi. On *Lollards*, see Vol. IX. p. 554, Note *.

absolution in the priests, and that mortification was necessary to salvation. Their doctrine was condemned by Peter d'Ailly, archbishop of Cambray,* who compelled William of Hildenissen to abjure them.†

In this period was instituted the order of the *Hermits of St. Francis*, called afterwards that of the *Minims*, founded by Francis *de Paula*,‡ a simple and illiterate man, who led the life of a hermit, in Calabria,§ abstaining from almost every article of the common food of man. So famous was he on this account, that he was usually called *The holy man of Calabria*. Sixtus IV. was so much pleased with him, that he authorized him to institute a new order. Lewis XI. of France sent for him in his last illness,|| and he surprised all his court with the pertinency of his answers to the questions that were put to him. After this, he resided at Tours, in France, and in a short time many monasteries of his order were built in that neighbourhood,¶ and they afterwards spread over all parts of Europe.**

SECTION IX.

The History of Jetzer, at Bern.

MANY of the superstitions of the church of Rome were supported by pretended miracles, and especially those of the apparitions of dead persons; and as every thing of this kind fell under much suspicion by the detection of one of them at Bern, in Switzerland, a short time before the Reformation, and is considered by many as having contributed to prepare the way for it, I shall for this reason give a more detailed account of it than it would otherwise have been entitled to. I abridge it from *Ruchat's History of the Reformation in Switzerland*. His authorities are taken from the public acts

* And a cardinal. He gave occasion to the institution of the festival of the *Trinity*, by preaching eloquently on that subject before the *anti-pope*, Peter de Luna, in 1405. *D'Ailly* died at Avignon in 1419, having acquired the title of "Aigle des docteurs de la France, et de marteau des hérétiques." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* I. p. 68.

† *Mosheim*, III. pp. 276, 277. (P.) Cent. xv. Pt. ii. Ch. v. Sect. iv.

‡ Born, 1418, at *Paula*, in Calabria. *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* II. p. 728.

§ "Daus un désert au bord de la mer, où il le creusa une cellule dans le roc." *Ibid.*

|| "Esperant d'obtenir sa guérison par ses prières. Ce prince très-jaloux de tenir son rang, mais *petit jusqu'à la bassesse*, vis-à-vis de ceux dont il espéroit du secours, alla au-devant de lui et se prosterna à ses pieds. Le saint l'exhorta à finir, par une morte sainte, une vie souillée de crimes." *Ibid.*

¶ "François—mourut dans celle du *Plessis-du-Parc* en 1507, et fut canonisé en 1519 par *Leon X.* Les *Minimes* furent appelés en France *Bons-Hommes*, du nom de *Bon-Homme* que les courtisans de *Louis XI.* donnoient à leur père." *Ibid.*

** *Giannone*, II. p. 492. (P.)

of the State of Bern,* copied by Stettler, in his history, of whose fidelity Mr. Ruchat speaks in the highest terms.

The two orders of Dominicans and Franciscans had been a long time divided on the subject of the *immaculate conception* of the Virgin Mary; the former denying that doctrine, and the latter maintaining it. The Franciscans, supported by the principal universities, were perpetually insulting the Dominicans with their incredulity on this subject, and especially in their sermons addressed to the common people. This irritated them so much, that, at a general chapter of their order, held at Wimpffen, in Germany, in A. D. 1506, at the lodgings of Werner de Selden, prior of the Dominicans at Basil, and vicar in Upper Germany, it was observed that, as the Franciscans supported their doctrine by false miracles, it was necessary for them to support theirs in the same way; † and at length it was determined to make Bern the scene of their operations, on account of the inhabitants of that city being a plain, simple people, and therefore more easily imposed upon. ‡

It happened conveniently for their purpose, that a stupid young man, of the name of *John Jetzer*, a tailor, of *Zurzach*, applied at that time for admission into the order, at Bern; and in 1507 he was received. Soon after his entrance into the monastery, and before he had made his professional vows, they began to affright him with apparitions in the night, and especially with one of a pretended old Dominican, who said that he was suffering for his sins. § Terrified with this apparition, Jetzer would have quitted the order; but, though with some difficulty, he was persuaded to continue in it, and at his own request another apartment was assigned him in a remote part of the house, and more convenient for the use that was to be made of it; and four persons undertook to conduct the business. These were John Fetter, of Mar-

* Bishop Burnet, who gave an account to Mr. Boyle of this transaction, in *Let. I. from Zurich*, says, that, when at Bern, he had "read the original process in the Latin records, signed by the notaries of the court of delegates that the Pope sent to try the matter." He adds, "the record is above one hundred and thirty sheets, writ close on both sides, it being indeed a large volume." *Travels*, 1737, p. 25.

† "They said, since the people were so much disposed to believe dreams and fables, they must dream on their side, and endeavour to cheat the people as well as the others had done." *Burnet*, p. 26.

‡ "Apt to swallow any thing, and not disposed to make severe inquiries into extraordinary matters." *Ibid.*

§ "The very night after he took the habit, one of the friars conveyed himself secretly into his cell, and appeared to him as if he had been in purgatory, in a strange figure, and he had a box near his mouth, upon which, as he blew, fire seemed to come out of his mouth. He had also some dogs about him, that appeared as his tormentors." *Ibid.* p. 27.

pach, the prior; Dr. Stephen Boulthorst, the reader; Francis Ultschi, of Bern, the sub-prior; and Henry Steinegher, the steward.

Accordingly, the sub-prior, on the *eve* of *the three kings*, in A. D. 1507, appeared like a spirit, followed by a company of devils, in the form of dogs, during several nights; and in one of them he entered the chamber of Jetzer, who calling for help, the steward, and the *cook*, who was also in the secret, encouraged him, and advised him how to proceed in future.

On the 7th of March, the spirit appeared again in a more frightful form than before, extinguishing his candle, and throwing down the holy water, with which he had been provided. And when Jetzer, as he had been taught, said, "the Lord have mercy upon thee, and deliver thee," he replied, "Thou and thy brethren can deliver me, and I will come again in eight days." After that interval he appeared again, and, after much conjuration, said that he had been prior of that monastery one hundred and sixty years before, and for some crime which he had committed had been tormented in purgatory ever since. He then told him what himself and the brethren should do for his deliverance. Among other things, Jetzer was to discipline himself till the blood flowed from him, and to lie upon his face in the form of one on a cross, &c. &c.* Before the spirit took his leave, he with the consent of Jetzer took him by the hand, that he might give him an idea of the torments he endured; and what he did to him gave him so much pain in his middle finger, that the nail came off.

After eight days more, the spirit appeared again, but without any thing terrifying in his appearance, to tell him what was still necessary to complete his deliverance. This being complied with, after eight days more he appeared in a sacerdotal habit, and with a cheerful countenance; and in discoursing with him said that several persons were in hell, and others in purgatory, for asserting the *immaculate conception* of the Virgin, and especially Johannes Scotus, who first advanced that doctrine; † that St. Barbara and the Vir-

* "In one of their chapels, while mass was said, in the sight of all that should come together to it.—The deluded friar performed it all exactly, in one of the chapels of their church. This drew a vast number of spectators together, who all considered the poor friar as a saint; and, in the mean while, the four friars that managed the imposture, magnified the miracle of the apparition, to the skies, in their sermons." *Barnet*, pp. 27, 28.

† "The friar in the mask talked much of the *Dominican* order, which he said was excessively dear to the blessed Virgin, who knew herself to be conceived in original sin. That she abhorred the *Cordeliers*, for making her equal to her son :

gin Mary herself would soon appear to him, and that he must prepare himself, by fasting and prayer, for so great an honour. When Jetzer informed the brethren of this, they gave him several questions to propose to the Virgin, the principal of which related to the doctrine of the *immaculate conception*.

In the night between the 10th and 11th of April, his room was entered by a person dressed in white, who said she was St. Barbara, the servant of the Virgin; and upon this she took the paper containing the questions, and said she would deliver it to the Virgin. The next day, after *matins*, the reader appeared again as the Virgin,* attended by St. Barbara, who was the prior, and two angels, which were wooden images; † and, after much discourse, containing a solemn declaration that she was born, like other women, in original sin, though she continued in that state only three hours, ‡ she, as an especial favour, took his hand, and nailed it to the bed-post; saying, that she would visit him again, and favour him with the four other wounds of her son. This treatment, as may be supposed, was not much to Jetzer's liking; but she exhorted him not only to bear it with patience, but to receive it with gratitude for the honour that was done him. § All this was at this time published in the

that *Scotus* was damned, whose canonization the *Cordeliers* were then soliciting hard, at Rome; and that the town of Bern would be destroyed for harbouring such plagues within their walls." *Burnet*, p. 29.

* "Clothed as on the great feasts, and indeed in the same habits." *Ibid.* p. 30.

† "The little statues of angels, which they set on the altars, on the great holidays. There was also a pulley fastened in the room over his head, and a cord tied to the angels, that made them rise up in the air, and fleet about the Virgin." *Ibid.*

‡ "She gave him three drops of her son's blood, which were three tears of blood, that he had shed over Jerusalem; and this signified that she was three hours in original sin. She gave him, also, five drops of blood, in the form of a cross, which were tears of blood that she had shed while her son was on the cross. And to convince him more fully, she presented an *hostie* to him, that appeared as an ordinary *hostie*, and of a sudden it appeared to be of a deep red colour." *Ibid.*

§ "The cheat of those supposed visits was often repeated to the abused friar; at last the Virgin told him, that she was to give him such marks of her son's love to him, that the matter should be past all doubt. She said, that the five wounds of St. Lucia and St. Catharine were real wounds, and that she would also imprint them on him; so she bid him reach his hand. He had no great mind to receive a favour in which he was to suffer so much; but she forced his hand, and struck a nail through it. The hole was as big as a grain of pease, and he saw the candle clearly through it. This threw him out of a supposed transport into a real agony. But she seemed to touch his hand; and he thought he smelt an ointment with which she anointed it; though his confessor persuaded him that that was only an imagination: so the supposed Virgin left him for that time.

"The next night the apparition returned, and brought some linen clothes, which had some real or imaginary virtue to allay his torment; and the pretended Virgin said, they were some of the linen in which Christ was wrapped; and with that she gave him a soporiferous draught, and while he was fast asleep the other four wounds were imprinted on his body in such a manner that he felt no pain.

"But in order to the doing of this, the friars betook themselves to charms; and the sub-prior shewed the rest a book full of them; but he said, that before they

city, and boasted of in the sermons of the friars, as an honour to the city of Bern, and to all Switzerland.

On the Palm Sunday following, the supposed Virgin appeared to Jetzer again, discoursed more at large concerning her conception, and promised to honour him with more visits. At this time, the sub-prior went to meet the provincial of the order at Ulm, informed him of what had been done, and advised a meeting of the principal fathers of the order, at Pfortzheim, at the time of holding the chapter, when the prior and the reader would attend. Eight days after Easter, the four principals of the monastery, after some preparation, waited upon Jetzer, and gave him two papers, containing the opposite doctrines concerning the conception of the Virgin, and directed him to request at her next visit that she would tear that which was false; and, the night following, this was done by the reader, who personated the Virgin.

Some of the friars affecting to doubt whether the apparition might not be that of an evil spirit, Jetzer was directed to request the next time the Virgin appeared, that she would repeat the *Pater-noster*, the *Ave Maria*, and the *Apostles' Creed*. This she readily did, and at the same time pretended to bring him a lighted candle from heaven.

At another time, this virgin, pretending by some trick to change a white wafer into a red one, as a proof of the reality of the vision, Jetzer, forgetting his promise not to stir from the bed on which he lay, jumped out, and, seizing the pretended virgin, discovered the imposture.* They then told him that they had done this in order to try whether he was a man easy to be imposed upon; and that not being able to deceive him, they now had no doubt of the truth of the former appearances; and shewing him that other wafers could not be coloured with blood as that was, he was made

could be effectual, they must renounce God; and he not only did this himself, but by a formal act put in writing, signed with his blood, he dedicated himself to the devil: it is true, he did not oblige the rest to this, but only to renounce God. The composition of the draught was a mixture of some fountain water and chrism, the hairs of the eye-brows of a child, some quicksilver, some grains of incense, somewhat of an Easter wax-candle, some consecrated salt, and the blood of an unbaptized child. This composition was a secret, which the sub-prior did not communicate to the other friars. By this the poor friar Jetzer was made almost quite insensible. When he was awake, and came out of this deep sleep, he felt this wonderful impression on his body; and now he was ravished out of measure, and came to fancy himself to be acting all the parts of our Saviour's passion: he was exposed to the people on the great altar, to the amazement of the whole town, and to the no small mortification of the Franciscans." *Enræct*, pp. 30—32.

* "He well-nigh killed a friar that came to him personating the Virgin in another shape, with a crown on her head. He also overheard the friars once talking amongst themselves of the contrivance and success of the imposture, so plainly, that he discovered the whole matter." *Ibid.* p. 32.

to believe that the red wafer was really one that had been made so by the Virgin, and that they had taken it from the altar where she had deposited it.

After this, the other actors being gone to the chapter to consult with their brethren how they should conduct themselves in the present circumstances, the sub-prior appeared to Jetzer again, as the Virgin, and persuaded him to receive the four remaining marks of her son's passion; and he impressed them upon his feet, hands and side, with a hot iron, which made him roar with pain.* But he was persuaded to bear it with patience and gratitude.

The prior and reader being returned from Pfortzheim, and, after discoursing with Jetzer, finding that he had some suspicion of a trick with respect to the red wafer, they determined to take him off by poison. But he, suspecting that there was something noxious in some soup † that was given him, gave it to some young wolves, and they died in consequence of it. Still, however, he was made to believe, that though the soup had killed the wolves, it would not have hurt a man.

In the mean time, the sub-prior, personating the Virgin Mary, and another friar, coming to dress his wounds, he discovered who they were. But again they said they did it only to try him.

They then contrived to make a statue of the Virgin Mary appear to shed tears of blood, and to hold a conversation with an image of Jesus, who complained of the honour done to her; in derogation of that which was due to himself only. ‡ And when Jetzer acted the passion of our Saviour, as he had been instructed to do, they would have given him the red wafer which was poisoned; but he declined it, and took another. Many of the people of the town were permitted to see this miracle of the tears of blood, but several of them thought it to be only a trick; and when after this exhibition one of the friars was concealed behind a board in the wall, near the image of the Virgin, in order to make her seem to

* See Burnet's different account, *supra*, p. 64, Note §.

† "A loaf prepared with spices," says *Burnet*, p. 33.

‡ "The Dominicans gave him some other draughts, that threw him into convulsions; and when he came out of those, a voice was heard, which came through that hole, which yet remains, and runs from one of the cells, along a great part of the wall of the church: for a friar spoke through a pipe, and at the end of the hole there was an image of the Virgin, with a little Jesus in her arms, between whom and his mother the voice seemed to come. The image also seemed to shed tears; and a painter had drawn those on her face so lively, that the people were deceived by it. The little Jesus asked, why she wept; and she said, it was because his honour was given to her, since it was said that she was born without sin." *Ibid.* p. 32.

converse with Jetzer, he discovered the cheat by the motion of the board, and openly reproached them all as impostors.

The council of Bern, being at a loss what to think of the affair, desired the provincial of the Dominicans to inquire into it; and he sent two deputies to Jetzer, who, after using very harsh language, and ill treatment, made him promise that when the bishop of Lausanne came to examine him, (as they had heard that he would,) he would not divulge any thing to the prejudice of the order. The bishop accordingly came, but he could not discover any thing; as they had taken down the cell of Jetzer, and also that which was next to it, lest their apparatus for imposing upon him should have been found out.

The prior then personated St. Bernard; and, after discoursing with Jetzer in that character, would have gone out of the window like a spirit, that had no occasion to tread the ground. But Jetzer, discovering the trick, pushed him with such violence, that the sub-prior and the steward, who waited without to receive him, were obliged to carry him away, and take care of his wounds.

About this time, Jetzer refused to have his wounds dressed by the friars, and then found that they healed of themselves in three days. And when the sub-prior and the steward entered his room, one of them in the character of the Virgin, and the other in that of St. Catherine of Sienna, he knew them by their voices, and, falling upon them, he wounded one of them in the shoulder, and stunned the other with a blow of a hammer. In defending themselves, however, they struck him a blow on the cheek, which was swelled eight days. He then complained to the prior, and to the reader, of the imposition, in very harsh language. And after this he surprised three of the friars in the chamber of the prior regaling themselves in company with women, and sharply reproved them for their conduct.

Finding that they could not impose upon him any more, they compelled him, by harsh usage and torture, to take an oath that he would never discover the imposture; but not depending upon this, they put a poisoned wafer into his mouth as he was acting the passion of our Saviour, which they had persuaded him to do once more; but, suspecting their intention, he did not swallow it, and spat it out when the ceremony was over.*

* "That failing, they used him so cruelly, whipping him with an iron chain, and girding him about so strait with it, that, to avoid farther torment, he swore to them, in a most imprecating style, that he would never discover the secret, but would still carry it on." *Burnet*, p. 33.

Still hoping to deceive him, they dressed a person to resemble the Virgin, who spoke to Jetzer when he was on his knees before the great altar. But, being now well apprized of their tricks, he replied, *Thou art not Mary, but the devil*, and drew his knife in order to wound her; when she put out the candle, and escaped.

On the 24th of September, the reader and the sub-prior went to Rome to consult with their general. He being absent, they applied to his vicar-general, who enjoined them to proceed no farther, promising to procure a brief from the Pope to prevent any inquiry into the business. But the citizens of Bern not being satisfied, the affair was brought before their council, and the prior and Jetzer were both examined; when nothing being discovered, the latter was conducted to Lausanne: but thinking himself bound by his oath, he professed, when he was interrogated, that he believed the truth of the visions. The council of Bern not being satisfied with this, he was examined by torture; when he confessed all that he knew,* and the bishop wrote to Rome, to consult his superior upon the business, which now appeared to be of considerable importance.

In the beginning of A. D. 1508, Paul Hughes, the vicar of the order, with other ecclesiastics, arrived; and to cover the disgrace of the order he degraded Jetzer.† But being then examined again before the council, and confronted with all that were concerned in the imposture, he persisted in his evidence against them, and in his account of the scandalous lives that they led.

On the 5th of February, Jetzer persisting in his evidence when again put to the torture, the four friars were apprehended, and committed to the custody of soldiers. The Pope (Julius II.) being then applied to, and all the four being examined *in his presence*,‡ they confessed the whole, and begged for mercy; but, after much formality in the proceedings,§ the judge appointed by the Pope sentenced them to be first degraded, and then burned alive; and this was executed on the 31st of May, in the presence of an infinite

* *Burnet* says, "he deluded them till he found an opportunity of getting out of the convent, and of throwing himself into the hands of the magistrates, to whom he discovered all." *Travels*, p. 33.

† "The provincial appeared concerned; one of the friars said plainly, that he was in the whole secret; and so he withdrew: but he died some days after at Coustance, having poisoned himself, as was believed." *Ibid.* p. 34.

‡ This does not appear from *Burnet's* account.

§ "The matter lay asleep some time; but a year after that, a Spanish bishop came, authorized with full power from Rome." *Ibid.*

number of spectators.* Jetzer was made to walk in the streets of Bern with a mitre of paper on his head, exposed upon a ladder for one hour before the house of the provost, and banished from Upper and Lower Germany.

Thus ended this bold attempt to impose upon the world by a pretended miracle, which naturally led persons to suspect that other miracles pretended to have been wrought in proof of other doctrines, and especially of purgatory, and others in which the emoluments of the priests, monks or friars were concerned, might have no better foundation, though it was impossible to prove the imposition.†

This story is alluded to in that admirable poem of Buchanan, entitled *Franciscanus*, the object of which was to expose the order of Franciscans, and the friars and monks in general.‡ With the same view he dwells more largely on the case of a nun, who, being pregnant, but to disguise her sex was dressed like a man, was delivered of a child in the vessel in which she, together with the monk with whom she had cohabited, was sailing on the river Loire, in France, to go to Bourdeaux.

We are not, however, to infer that all the members of these religious orders were thus licentious; though in certain periods, and especially a little before the Reformation, the generality of them perhaps were so. There were among them at all times numerous examples of the most fervent piety, though debased with much and gross superstition. They really renounced the pleasures and vanities of this life, in order to facilitate, as they thought, their preparation for another.

SECTION X.

Articles relating to Church Discipline.

IN this period some new festivals were introduced into the church. In A. D. 1441, the Council of Basil decreed the festival of *the Visitation of the Virgin Mary* to be cele-

* At Bern, says *Burnet*, "in a meadow on the other side of the river, over against the great church. The place of their execution was shewed me, as well as the hole in the wall through which the voice was conveyed to the image." *Travels*, p. 34.

† "It was certainly one of the blackest, and yet the best carried on cheat that had been ever known; and no doubt, had the poor friar died before the discovery, it had passed down to posterity as one of the greatest miracles that ever was; and it gives a shrewd suspicion that many of the other miracles of that church were of the same nature, but more successfully finished." *Ibid.*

‡ "An. 1537. Rex [James V.] Buchananum, forte tum in Aula agentem, ad se advocat, et ignarus officiosum quæ ei cum Franciscanis esset, jubet adversus eos carmen scribere. Ille utrosque juxta metuens offendere, carmen quidem scripsit,

brated the 2d of July. In A. D. 1456, pope Calixtus III. confirmed the celebration of the festival of *the Transfiguration*; an office was composed for the purpose, and indulgences annexed to the observance of it, similar to those annexed to the observance of the festival of *the Holy Sacrament*. In A. D. 1476, Sixtus IV., in order to guard against the plague, and an inundation with which the city of Rome had been afflicted, granted indulgences to “those who would observe this festival of the Holy Sacrament, and that of *the immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary*,” so expressed in the bull. This order was received with much satisfaction, because, though the same had been ordered by the Council of Basil, that council was by many considered as schismatical. In A. D. 1481, the same Pope established the festival of *St. Joseph*, ordering the observance of it to be universal; whereas it had before this time been confined to the cloisters of the Carmelites, the Franciscans, and perhaps the Dominicans.

The jubilee in A. D. 1450 was frequented by more persons than any former one. Many were crushed to death, in the churches and other places. Ninety-seven persons were thrown off the bridge of St. Angelo, and drowned, on occasion of a mule passing over it. Persons of great distinction attended this jubilee, and among them the count of Cilley, in Stiria, a man addicted to every kind of vice, and who continued to be so after his return. The people of Poland and Lithuania were allowed the benefit of this jubilee, on their paying half as much money as the journey to Rome would have cost them, of which the king was to have one half for the expenses of the war against the Turks. One fourth was to be at the disposal of queen Sophia, for the purpose of giving portions to young women, and the remaining fourth was to be applied to the repairs of churches in Rome. This, being more than was wanted, was reduced one half, and still was a great sum.

In A. D. 1470, Paul II. reduced the term of the jubilee to twenty-five years, to commence in A. D. 1475. The jubilee in A. D. 1500,* was not so well attended as the

et breve, et quod ambiguum interpretationem susciperet. Sed nec Regi satisfecit, qui acre et aculeatum posebat; et illis capitale visum est, quenquam ipsos nisi honorifice ausum attingere. Igitur acrius in eos jussus scribere, eam silvam, que nunc sub titulo Franciscani est edita, inchoatam Regi tradidit.” *G. Buchan. Vita, ab ipso scripta, biennio ante mortem.* Prefixed to his *Historia*, 1762. See also *Brit. Biog.* III. p. 56. *Biog. Brit.* II. p. 679.

* “When the Pope sent over [to England] Jasper Pons, a Spaniard, as his receiver-general, who published the rates for obtaining this heavenly grace, as we

preceding, on account of the wars in Italy. Also the same indulgence was granted to those who did not go to Rome, on their paying a certain sum of money, which it was pretended would be employed in the war against the Turks. Notwithstanding this, Rome exhibited on this occasion a scene of the greatest disorder, says Mariana, especially among the clergy, who ought to have set a better example.

Among other regulations to secure the decent celebration of public worship, it was ordered in the Council of Basil, in A. D. 1435, that all persons should bow on the pronouncement of the name of Jesus. It was at the same time forbidden to say mass in so low a voice that no person could hear it. Also plays performed in churches by children were forbidden, together with masquerades, and sales in churches and churchyards. Dances and plays in churches were forbidden at a council held at Sens, in A. D. 1485.

In March 1471, Galeazzo Sforza, duke of Milan, accompanied by his duchess Bona, sister of the duke of Savoy, paid a visit to Florence, where they took up their residence with Lorenzo de Medici, but their attendants, who were very numerous, were accommodated at the public charge, and this occasioned a scene of general riot and dissipation. *Machiavelli* says, it was the first time that an open disregard

find them specified in an old roll not long since to be seen in the custody of that learned antiquary Sir *Simon D'Ewes*, as followeth:—

“ ‘The taxe that every one shall put into the cheste that woll receive the gret grace of *jubeley*.

“ ‘*First*, Every man and woman, what degree, or condition, or state soere they be, if hee bee archbischopp, duke or oder dignitie, spiritual or temporal, havng londs to the yerely valour of 2000*l.* or above, if they will receyve this gret indulgens and grace of this *jubeley* for themselves, and their wyfs, and chylidren not maryed, shall, without disceyt, put into the cheste, ordeined for that entent, of true and laulful money, *3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.**

“ ‘*Item*, Every man and woman that hathe londs and rents to the yerely valour of 1000*l.* must pay for themselves and wyfs, *40*s.**

“ ‘All those that bath londs, &c. to the yerely valour of 400*l.* must pay *1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.**

“ ‘Those that hath londs to the yerely valour of 100*l.* must pay *6*s.* 8*d.** Of forty pounds per Ann. *2*s.* 6*d.** Twenty pounds per Ann. *16*d.**

“ ‘*Item*, All men of religion, havng londs, &c. to the yerely valour of 2000*l.* must pay for themselves and their covent, *10*l.** Those that have londs to the yerely valour of 1000*l.* must pay for them and their covent, *5*l.* 6*s.**

“ ‘*Item*, Covents of 500*l.* per Ann. *3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.** Of 200*l.* per Ann. *20*s.** Of 40*l.* per Ann. *10*s.**

“ ‘*Item*, Secular men and women that have 1000*l.* goods, *40*s.** Those that have 400*l.* goods, *6*s.* 8*d.** Those whose moveables extendyth to 200*l.* must pay for themselves and wyfs, *3*s.* 6*d.** Those whose moveables bee withyn 200*l.*, and not undre 20*l.*, must pay *12*d.**

“ ‘*Item*, Those whose goods, moveables, extendeth not to 20*l.* shall pay for themselves, their wyfs and chylidren, as shall please them of thyr owne devotion.’ ”

Hist. of Popery, II. p. 410.

was avowed in Florence of the prohibition of eating flesh in Lent.*

The evils which arose from the privilege of asylum in churches and churchyards, in England, was great in A. D. 1488, all kinds of criminals being, by that means, screened from the pursuit of justice. Henry VII. applied to the Pope for a remedy: but all that was done was to order, that if any person quitted his asylum to commit any new crime he lost the privilege; that debtors might be compelled to satisfy their creditors, and, that traitors, though they could not be forced from their asylums, should be kept in view, and prevented from acting against the king.†

We have seen the first establishment of the *Inquisition* in a preceding period; but it was not fully established in its present form, at least, in Spain, till A. D. 1478, when certain officers were appointed for the sole purpose of judging in articles of faith, heresy and infidelity, independent of the bishops.‡ The occasion of this establishment was the relapsing of many Moors and Jews, and their perverting others. After the taking of Granada, the inquisition was extended to all the conquered countries, afterwards to Sicily and Sardinia, and all the other states of the king of Spain, except Naples and the Low Countries, where the people always revolted on every attempt to introduce it. It had now got the title of *the holy office*, and besides heresy, took cognisance of sortilege, sodomy and polygamy. The king appointed an *Inquisitor-general* for all his dominions; § and he, with the consent of the king, appointed particular inqui-

* Roscoe's *Life of Lorenzo de Medici*, 1797, p. 137. (P.) "Now there was one thing to be seen, which our city had never beheld before; for it being the holy time of *Lent*, during which, the church commands abstinance from flesh, his [the duke of Milan's] court, without any respect to God or the church, would feed on nothing else." Machiavel's *Florence*, 1674, B. vii. p. 58.

† See the account of this *bull* of Innocent VIII. which Alexander VI. confirmed in 1493. *Rapin*, l. xiv. v. p. 117.

‡ The man who put the finishing hand to the inquisitorial system in Spain, and brought it to its present form, was Thomas a *Terrecremata*, confessor to Ferdinand and Isabella. He was made inquisitor-general of all Spain, and also the chief instrument of the expulsion of the Jews and Moors. *Robinson*, p. 328. (P.) *The Holy Inquisition*, 1681, pp. 78—81. *Limborch*, B. i. Ch. xxiv. l. pp. 120—121.

§ "But lest inquisitors, made by royal authority, should not do their business thoroughly, pope Sixtus *Quartus* appointed seven censors; first in Seville; elsewhere he appointed Dominicans to look to the *sacred office*, and in a manner revoked that power he had granted the king; and in 1484, Innocent VIII. constituted *Terrecremata* inquisitor general, who is now authorized both by pope and king." *The Holy Inquisition*, pp. 80, 81.

"The method of this tribunal, now in use, is this: the king proposes to the Pope the supreme inquisitor of all his kingdoms, whom the Pope confirms in his office." *Limborch*, B. i. Ch. xxiv. l. p. 122.

sitors for each place. The king also appointed a council or senate, to assist the inquisitor general. His officers, whose business it was to apprehend the prisoners, were called *Familiars*.*

In about A. D. 1440, great numbers of persons were, at the instigation of the inquisitor, driven out of Biscay to Valladolid, and Domingo de Calcedar, and burned alive at those places, for refusing to abjure doctrines condemned by the church of Rome.†

In A. D. 1485, the erection of the inquisition occasioned much disturbance in Spain, many persons being put to death in it, and among them there were said to have been many that were innocent. Some of the chief nobility joined the complainants: ‡ saying, the inquisition was a violation of their liberties, that the inquisitors were not content with the confiscation of the goods of persons accused, that the informer was allowed to be a witness, that the accused had no knowledge of his accusers, and that there was no confrontation of witnesses. From complaints they proceeded to open revolt. The states of Arragon intreated Ferdinand to regulate the tribunal of the inquisition on the model of other tribunals, and forbid the confiscation of goods.§ One of the inquisitors was murdered in a church ¶ by a band of persons; but he was afterwards canonized as a martyr.

In A. D. 1517 also, strong remonstrances were made against the proceedings of the inquisition in Spain. Complaints were made that innocent persons were put to death in it, and a deputation was sent to the king, at Brussels, requesting, as before, that their proceedings might be made to conform to those of other tribunals, that the informer should not be a witness, that the accused should know his accuser, and that witnesses should be confronted. The Jews and Moors strengthened this application by the offer of a large

* “Which Dominic called Christ’s familiar soldiers—*Familiares Christi milites*, ‘Ut accerrime hæreticos insectarentur, et impetu quam possent maximo, in illorum perniciem irruerent.’ So A. Paramo words it, that they might persecute heretics with the greatest violence, and endeavour their destruction by all possible means.” *The Holy Inquisition*, p. 60. See also M. Geddes, l. pp. 388, 391. *Limborch*, B. ii. Ch. ix. l. pp. 187—190.

† *M. Geddes’s Tracts*, 1730, l. p. 455. (*P.*) *Spanish Protestant Martyrology*.

‡ Yet, according to M. Geddes, “there is not a nobleman in the kingdom that is not in” the office of *familiar*, allured by “the same plenary indulgence granted to every single exercise of this office, as was granted by the *Lateran* council to those that succoured the Holy Land.” *Tracts*, l. p. 388.

§ *The Holy Inquisition*, p. 85. *Limborch*, B. i. Ch. xxiv. l. p. 126.

¶ “Peter Anacrusis of Aragossa, as he was saying his prayers before the high altar. The murder was imputed to the Jews. The murderers all suffered the most dreadful punishments.” *Ibid.*

sum of money.* But cardinal Ximenes represented, that if the inquisition was reformed, they would be liable to be murdered, and there would be an universal revolt through Spain. This had its effect, and nothing was done.

Some time before this, viz. in A. D. 1510, the people of Naples revolted against the inquisition which the Spaniards had introduced into that city. In order to appease the tumult, the viceroy ordered all the Jews, who were newly arrived from Spain, whether converted or not, to leave the kingdom; and there being then no pretence for the establishment of the inquisition, he abolished it, with the advice of the Pope himself, interested as he was in keeping it up.

The liberty of the press, after the invention of multiplying books by printing, could not fail to alarm the governing powers in the church, in this age of reading and thinking. At the Council of Lateran, in A. D. 1515, it was decreed, that, since many books, containing pernicious doctrines, and offensive to persons in high stations, had been printed, nothing should for the future be published in Italy till it had been examined by persons appointed by the Pope, and in other places, by the bishop of the diocese, or the inquisitor of the place, under pain of excommunication, to be pronounced without delay.

No council ever met with better intentions than that held at Basil; and notwithstanding the opposition the members met with from the Pope, and the coolness of the Christian princes, they made several useful reforms; but as the credit of the council sunk, they came to have no effect. They ordered, that no town or place should have an interdict laid upon it, except for the fault of the whole town or its governor. For the ease of scrupulous consciences, they decreed, that it was safe to communicate with any person who was not excommunicated by name, and when the excommunication had been pronounced by a competent judge, and properly notified. They ordered, that nothing should be taken for provisions, collations, elections and institutions, at the court of Rome, for any benefice whatever, on the pretence of *annates*, or any other cause; that, if the Pope himself should act contrary to this decree, he should be

† “Eight hundred thousand pieces of gold, if he would command that the witnesses at the tribunal of the inquisition should be always made public. The young king, who was about eighteen years old, had a great mind to the money; but cardinal Ximenes shewed him the great danger of such a method.” *Limborch*, B. i. Ch. xxiv. *ad fin.* l. p. 151.

denounced to the council. The Pope and his legates protested against this decree, but in vain. They condemned all expectative graces, mandates, and reserves of benefices, which the popes had been used to appropriate to themselves. They reduced the number of cardinals to twenty-four. They ordered, that nephews of popes or cardinals should not be eligible to this dignity, that they should not be under thirty years of age, their revenues should be derived from the lands and places belonging to the see of Rome, that they should be the Pope's council, and sign all his acts.

Pope Eugenius, in his defence of the archbishop of York, whom he had made a cardinal against the archbishop of Canterbury, carried the origin of the cardinalship as high as the Old Testament, and asserted its dignity above that of an archbishop. These, he said, presided over particular churches, but that the cardinals had the jurisdiction of the whole church, in conjunction with the holy see.

The business of *confession* was so gainful to the church, that it was watched with the most scrupulous attention. At the Council of Tortosa, in A. D. 1429, it was ordered, that physicians should not pay three visits together to any person who had not confessed. And, at a council held at Paris, the same year, physicians were directed to exhort their patients to confess, before they administered any medicines to them, and not to administer any if they refused.

Extreme unction by its denomination implies, that it is not to be repeated. Notwithstanding this, Pius II., though he had received this sacrament when he had been supposed to be at the point of death, but had recovered, received it a second time before he actually died. At the time, however, there was much dispute about the propriety of it.

SECTION XI.

MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES.

I. *Of the Waldenses and Jews.*

ABOUT A. D. 1506, the Waldenses being, like the primitive Christians, accused of shocking enormities, Lewis XII. desired the parliament of Provence to inquire into the facts, and punish them as they should appear to deserve. In consequence of this, many persons being falsely accused were put to death; but the king, who meant well, hearing that the people were innocent, made farther inquiry, and

finding that they were not guilty of any of the crimes laid to their charge, put a stop to the persecution; saying, that those who had suffered were better than himself and his Catholic subjects.*

The cruel persecution of the Jews was carried on in several places within this period, though, in other respects, more enlightened and liberal than the preceding. At the Council of Basil, in A. D. 1434, Christians were forbidden to have any communication with Jews, and to sell, or pledge to them any ornaments of churches. They were ordered to wear a particular dress, and to live as much as possible by themselves. At the same time, those of them who would become Christians were allowed to retain what they had got by *usury*, provided they did not know to whom it belonged. At a council at Frisingue, in A. D. 1440, Jews were forbidden to lend on usury, to have Christian domestics, to have their windows or gates shut at Whitsuntide, to appear in public in passion week, to say any thing against religion, the Virgin Mary, or the saints, when the sacrament was carried to the sick. It was also ordered, that no Christian should go to the bath along with them, or take their medicines.

Ferdinand and Isabella, after expelling the Moors from Spain,† issued an edict, in A. D. 1492, by which all the Jews were ordered to leave the country in the space of four months, if they did not embrace Christianity; and all who could not afford to pay for their passage out of it were made slaves. Mariana says, that seventy thousand families and eight hundred thousand persons left Spain in consequence of this edict. But the Jews say they were not less than a hundred thousand families. The favour that the learned Abrabanel had with the king and queen could not save him. He went with the rest of his brethren into exile into Italy.‡ Great numbers, however, gave way to the storm, by pretending to become converts to Christianity; but they were narrowly watched by the officers of the inquisition.

John II. of Portugal, permitted the Jews to take refuge in his country, but he made each of them pay him eight crowns of gold; and Emanuel, who succeeded him, marrying the

* *Laval's* Hist. of the Reformation in France, I. pp. 49, 41. P.

† “The taking of the city of Granada, in 1492, though it put an end to the Moorish government in Spain, where it had lasted 700 years, yet it did not clear the country of the Moors.” M. Geddes on the *Expulsion of the Moriscoes*. *Tracts*, I. p. 1.

‡ Dying at Venice, in 1508, aged 71. *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* I. p. 18. On Jews who fled into “the East,” see Sandys's *Europa Speculum* in 1599, Ed. 1687, pp. 184, 250.

daughter of Ferdinand, banished both the Moors and Jews, and not allowing them to take their children that were above fourteen years of age, some killed themselves, and others their children.* Those who fled being obliged to go from one port to another, and many delays being purposely thrown in their way, many of them were entirely impoverished.†

In A. D. 1494, twelve Jews and two Jewesses were executed in Hungary on the charge of killing a Christian, and drinking his blood. But they suffered the most by the inquisition in Spain and Portugal; so that great numbers, finding it inconvenient to leave the country, outwardly conformed to the Catholic religion. In A. D. 1498, two hundred and eighty Jews, in Spain, made profession of the Christian religion.

In A. D. 1506, the populace of Lisbon rose upon the Jews, on the occasion of one of them, who had been newly-converted, exposing a pretended miracle, while he was attending divine service. He was immediately dragged out of the church, and burned in the middle of the street. The people were headed by two monks, and they made a dreadful massacre of the newly-converted Jews, sparing neither men, women nor children. This massacre continued three days; and about two thousand persons perished in it. The king, however, was much offended, and the two monks were punished with death, and their ashes thrown to the winds.

In the fifteenth century, Paul of *Burgos*,‡ who had been a Jewish Rabbīn, embraced Christianity,§ and was made bishop of Carthageua, and afterwards of Burgos. He wrote, among other things, a work entitled, *Scrutinium Scripturarum*, which has been printed. He had a large family, which subsists still in Spain, and in much splendour. He died in A. D. 1431. ||

* "The king commanded all their children that were under fourteen years of age to be taken from them, and to be baptized by force. Several parents threw their children, that were under that age, into the river, and into wells, and themselves after them." *M. Geddes*, l. p. 7.

† "The time appointed for their embarkation being expired, and no ships being permitted to take any of them on board, they did, rather than be made slaves, again consent to be baptized. The Jews baptized in this manner, are reckoned to have been above 800,000 men, women and children." *Ibid.*

‡ Where he was born. He was also called Paul de *Sancta Maria*. *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* IV. p. 905.

§ Converted, according to a biographer, by reading the *Summa* of *Aquinas*. His three sons were baptized with their father. Two of them became bishops, and the third an historian. *Ibid.*

|| *La Croze's Ethiopie*, p. 54. (P.) In 1435, aged 82, says a biographer, when he was patriarch of Aquileia. *Ibid.*

In A. D. 1514, a professor in the academy at Marburg, of the name of Victor, being shocked at the mystery of the Trinity, renounced Christianity, for Judaism, and retired to Thessalonica, taking the name of Moses Pardo.*

II. *Of the Propagation of Christianity.*

Little occurs about the propagation of Christianity in any form within this period. In A. D. 1490, the king of Portugal sent missionaries to Congo, and the king of that country was baptized. But finding that he would be allowed to have no more than one wife, he returned to his former religion, though his son persevered in the profession of Christianity.

III. *Of the Moors in Spain.*

On an apprehension of a revolt of the Moors in Spain, in A. D. 1499.† king Ferdinand, by the advice of Ximenes, summoned the Moorish priests and monks before him at Granada, and by threatening them with death, engaged them to become Christians, and endeavour to convert other Moors. On this occasion the number baptized was very great. Among others, a Moorish prince, of the name of Zagri, ‡ was converted, and he afterwards became a zealous Catholic. But in general it could not be supposed that many of these conversions were real. § At this time it was said, that five thousand copies of the Koran were burned. || This persecution occasioned a sudden revolt of the Maho-

* *Basnage*, IX. p. 844. (P.)

† “Ferdinand and Isabella, having returned to visit their new conquests, did find that in the seven years the Granada Moors had been under their government, few or none of them had been converted to Christianity.” *M. Geddes*, l. p. 8. The subsequent severity of Ximenes appears to have occasioned the revolt.

‡ “Who had been in a high command, in armies, and had in his younger days fought hand to hand with Gonzalo, the great captain.” *Ibid.*

§ On Ximenes’s cruelty, and Zagri’s forced conversion, see *Ibid.* pp. 9, 10.

|| Ximenes “ordered all the books that treated of philosophy and medicine to be preserved, burning all the rest, in the market-place of the city, to the great mortification of the Moors, who had not changed their religion.”—Yet when “the bishop of Granada ordered the psalms, gospels, and epistles, to be translated into Arabic,” for the use “of Ximenes’s converts,—that bishop was much blamed by Ximenes, who thereupon declared, ‘that whosoever the Bible should come to be translated into vulgar tongues, it would be of pernicious consequence to Christianity.’” *Ibid.*

Ximenes “commanded the children of all the Moors, who were called *Elkes*, to be taken from them, and baptized; upon pretence, that their ancestors were anciently Christians, who had apostatized to the Mahometan sect.” *Ibid.* pp. 11, 13, 14.

metan Moors, and about a hundred thousand of them appeared in arms; but having no plan, or regular commander, they were soon dispersed.*

IV. *Of the Turks.*

The recovery of the Holy Land was in this period wholly despaired of by the Christians in the West, and instead of measures of offence, their great object was to defend themselves against the Turks. The great object of the council of Mantua, in A. D. 1459, was to promote the union of all the Christian powers against this formidable enemy. Pius II. had this business much at heart, and to appearance he brought the princes of Europe to enter into his measures; but dying as he was ready to embark in person on the expedition, † the enterprise came to nothing.

V. *Of Unbelievers.*

There were, no doubt, many unbelievers in this, as well as the preceding periods; but as they had no interest in being martyrs, they would naturally disguise or deny their

* *M. Geddes*, I. pp. 11. 16. The following passage introduces, in no very favourable light, the name of a divine who, in his latter years, became justly distinguished in the history of the Reformation of the Church of England:

“The news of the great cruelties exercised on the Moors of Granada by the Spaniards, to force them to turn Christians, having been carried to Grand Cairo, together with a copy of the articles whereon Granada had been surrendered to Ferdinand; the Soldan and his mamalukes were so enraged thereat, that they threatened to treat all the Christians, but particularly the Latin Christians at Jerusalem, after the same manner as the Spaniards had, contrary to their oaths, treated the Mahometans that were their subjects.

“Ferdinand immediately dispatched the learned Peter Martyr, with the character of his ambassador, to the Soldan, to satisfy him of his having observed the capitulations he had made with the Moors, and of his having never forced any of them to change their religion. Peter Martyr being arrived at Grand Cairo, did with great difficulty obtain a private audience by night of the Soldan, who durst not, for fear of the mamalukes, give him one publicly; at which audience, in conformity to what is said of an ambassador, *being one sent to lie abroad for his master's service*, Peter did assure the Soldan that all that he had been told of his master's having broke his oath with the Moors, in having persecuted them to make them turn Christians, was notoriously false; his master and mistress being too good Christians themselves, to do a thing that was so contrary to their religion, as the forcing of people by severity to embrace it.” *Ibid.* pp. 18, 19.

M. Geddes, on the *lying* ambassador, must refer to the story in Walton's *Life of Sir H. Wotton*, who, on going ambassador to Italy in 1604, wrote in the *Albo* of a learned friend at *Augusta*, the following passage:—*Legatus est vir bonus peregrè missus, ad mentium rei-publicæ causâ.* See “*Walton's Lives*,” Oxford, 1805, pp. 167—170.

† At Ancona, in 1464. See *supra*, p. 4, Note *.

principles.* According to the philosophy of these times, originally derived from Averroes, they held that there was only one soul in all men, and of course that all separate consciousness ceased at death. At the Council of Lateran in A. D. 1513, a decree was made against the philosophers who taught this doctrine, as also that of the eternity of the world, and others of a similar tendency. They had been taught by Peter Pomponatius, a professor of philosophy of great reputation at Padua. However, he always said that, though there is no proof in natural reason for the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, it was established by the Scriptures, and the authority of the church.† Sigismund Malatesta, prince of Rimini, who commanded the armies of the Siennese and Florentines, and who had the character of being the greatest general of these times, was a man without any religion, openly denying the immortality of the soul. He was excommunicated by Pius II. for refusing to pay a tax to the church. At length, being defeated by the troops of the Pope, he confessed his errors, and received absolution.

VI. *Of Superstition.*

Many instances of *superstition* occur in this as well as former periods; and as they are instructive, as well as amusing, I shall recite a few of them. In A. D. 1480, the inhabitants of Perugia had a warm contest with those of Clusium, assisted by the Siennese, about the ring which Joseph gave to the Virgin Mary when he married her. The former said that they got the possession of it in some miraculous manner, and were ready to expose their lives and fortunes for the recovery of it from the latter, who had stolen it from them. Pope Sixtus IV., not choosing to hazard his authority on the occasion, did not venture to decide in the cause; but Innocent VIII. confirmed the inhabitants of Clusium in the possession.

In A. D. 1492, the title written by Pilate for the cross of Christ was pretended to be found in Rome, and was said

* Herman de *Ruswick*, on the charges of rejecting both *Testaments*, the existence of angels, and the soul's immortality, &c., was imprisoned in 1499, but released on his abjuration. Being charged with again publishing his opinions, he was burned at the Hague in 1512. See *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* III. p. 508.

† See "Peter Pomponatius *de anima immortalitate*," in Blackburne's *Hist. Yru.* Ch. iii. Ed. 2, pp. 8—12. Also Vol. III. p. 377.

to have been sent thither by Helena, the mother of Constantine. Another title being pretended to be found at Thoulouse, and to have been there long before the discovery of that at Rome, Alexander VI., in A. D. 1496, published a bull, in which he asserted the authenticity of that at Rome, and granted indulgences to those who should visit the church in which it was kept the last Sunday in January. In the same year, the Turkish emperor Bajazet sent the Pope the iron head of the lance with which it was said the side of Jesus had been pierced. All the clergy in Rome, accompanied by the Pope himself, went in solemn procession to receive it. However, the emperor was said to have the same relic at Nuremberg, and the king of France at Paris.

Judicial astrology was in great credit in these times, though always regarded with suspicion by the friends of religion. In A. D. 1493, one Simon Pharos, a professor of judicial astrology, having been forbidden the practice of his art by the archbishop of Lyons, appealed to the parliament of Paris. They referred the cause to the faculty of the university, who, in A. D. 1494, declared the art to be "pernicious, fabulous, superstitious, an usurpation of the honour of God, a corruption of good morals, and invented by dæmons for the destruction of men." The parliament, in consequence of this opinion, confirmed the decree of the archbishop of Lyons, and forbade the exercise of the art.

Of the Art of Printing, and the Progress of Literature.

Notwithstanding this superstition, this was the age in which the foundation was laid for the advancement of literature in all future ages, by the invention of the art of *printing*. This noble art, to which religion and literature are so much indebted,* was invented about A. D. 1440.

* "An art," saith *Cardan* (*de Artibus, artificiosisque Rebus*, l. xvii.), "nulli nec utilitate, nec dignitate, nec subtilitate secunda (inferior to no art, either for usefulness, or dignity, or curious ingenuity). *Qua una cum omnibus in terra ceterisque arcibus celestibus facile potest.* (Which alone may vie with all the inventions of all the ancients) saith *Bodin*, in his *Method of History* Ch. vii. *Foscatius* l. i. c. de *Inj. et Phil. Gallorum*) goes higher, and tells us, *Non debium est, sapere in eorum natura ferè munificentiæ, excogitata librorum excendendorum ratione. Cujus inventio, si verum fatemur, nullo vitæ miraculo postponendum.* The munificence of nature, by this invention of printing, outdid herself, and exhausted all her exchequer. An invention, that, if we will speak truth, yields to none of the miracles of life." *Hist. of Popery*, II. pp. 304, 305.

"The press, that *villanous engine*," says Andrew Marvel, "invented much about the same time with the Reformation, hath done more mischief to the discipline of

There has been much disputing about the origin of it; but it is with the greatest probability ascribed (as I think is clearly proved by Dr. Cogan)* to Laurence Coster, a magistrate of Haerlem in Holland, about A. D. 1430. But a servant of his, John Geinsflesche, having robbed him of his types, which were made of wood, and joining J. Faustus, a person of property at Mentz, and afterwards Guttenberg of Strasburgh, and they taking into their service P. Schæffler, an ingenious young man, who discovered the method of casting metal types, and then printing books in Latin, while Coster only printed a few in Dutch, the Germans carried away the honour of the invention. †

At first their printed copies were sold as manuscripts; but appearing to be too numerous, and too like one another, to have been executed in that way, the secret was discovered; and from Germany the art was soon carried to other parts of Europe. ‡ This art, by making books cheap, put it within the power of the poor, as well as the rich, to acquire knowledge.

The literature of Europe gained much by the extinction of the Greek empire by the Turks, many learned men leaving Constantinople, and being received with much distinction in Italy, especially by the Medici of Florence. Till this period very few Europeans understood any thing of Greek.

our church, than all the doctrine can make amends for. 'Twas an happy time when all learning was in manuscript, and some little officer did keep the keys of the library. When the clergy needed no more knowledge than to read the liturgy, and the laity no more *clerkship* than to save them from hanging. But now since printing came into the world, such is the mischief, that a man cannot write a book but presently he is answered. There have been ways found out to banish ministers, to fine not only the people, but even the grounds and fields where they assembled in conventicles; but no art yet could prevent these seditious meetings of letters. O printing! how hast thou disturbed the peace of mankind! That lead, when moulded into bullets, is not so mortal as when founded into letters! There was a mistake sure in the story of Cadmus; and the serpent's teeth which he sowed, were nothing else but the letters which he invented." *Rehearsal Transposed*, Ed. 2, 1672, pp. 3, 4.

* In the account of his journey along the Rhine. (*P.*)

† "Hadrianus Junius, in his *Historia Batavica*, tells us that, in the year 1447, one *Laurence* at *Haerlem* discovered the business, by characters, carved on beech-wood; and that after he had experimented it with some success, *Jack Faustus*, his man, ran away both with the art and the tools, and set up the trade at Mentz." *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 305. See also *Bowyer's Orig. of Printing*, Ed. 2, Es. 2, apud *Biog. Brit.* I. p. 324, Dr. Kippis's Note.

‡ "About this time (1455) says *Carton*, the craft of empyrinting was first found in *Mogoune* in *Almayne*." See "A Dissertation concerning the Origin of Printing in England," *Middleton's Works*, III. pp. 232—234.

† To England probably "soon after the year 1471," by *Carton*, who set up his press in Westminster Abbey. See *Middleton*, III. pp. 229—264. *Biog. Brit.* III. p. 358. On the prior claim of *Oxford*, see *Ibid.* I. p. 323, Note.

It was in favour of free inquiry that Lewis XI. of France, gave leave to read the works of Occam, and other *Nominalists*, which had been prohibited in the university of Paris; the advocates for them, pleading their merit, in opposition to the doctrine of a professor at Louvain, concerning the certainty of future events.

Biblical knowledge is much indebted to cardinal Ximenes, who, in A. D. 1502, began the construction of a *Polyglot Bible*, employing the most learned men that he could find in Hebrew, Arabic and Greek, in the execution of it. But it was not printed till A. D. 1515, when it was dedicated to Leo X. * The cardinal himself defrayed all the expense of this work, which was very great.

* " Cardinal Ximenes printed A. D. 1515, his Polyglot Bible of *Complutum*, which contained the Hebrew text, the Chaldee paraphrase of Onkelos, on the Pentateuch, the Greek Septuagint version of the Old Testament, and the Greek original of the New, and the Latin version of both. It was prepared for the press by the study and care of the divines of the university of Alcalá, (*Complutum*,) and others called thither to assist in this work. But the whole being carried on under the direction and at the cost and charges of cardinal Ximenes, it hath the name of his edition." Prideaux's *Con.* Pt. ii. B. i. 1749, III. p. 82.

PERIOD XXII.

FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY, A. D. 1517, TO THE CONCLUSION OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT, IN A. D. 1563.



SECTION I.

Of the Proceedings of Luther, till they attracted the Notice of the Pope.

WE have seen in the course of this history the amazing and almost incredible progress of corruption and abuses of every kind, both in doctrine and discipline. At the period to which we are now arrived, the call for reformation was loud and universal, the necessity for it being in all respects apparent.* Through all Europe, ignorance, especially of the Scriptures, and of theology, was extreme. Divines in general knew nothing of the Bible, but through the Vulgate version,† and they studied nothing but what was called *scholastic theology*: or the works of Lombard, Aquinas, and Scotus, the subjects of which were subtleties of the most trifling kind. Public worship consisted of mere ceremonies, and was read in a language not understood by the common

* Machiavel, who died in 1527, thus reflects, in the first book of his *Discourses*, on Christianity as he found it professed in Italy:

“Which religion, if it were maintained among the princes of the Christian republic, according as by the institutor thereof it was ordained, the Christian states and republics would be far more in unity, and enjoy more happiness far, than now they do: nor does any thing give us so shrewd a conjecture of the declining of it, as to see that those people that are nearest neighbours to the church of Rome, head of our religion, are the most irreligious. And whosoever would well consider the original grounds thereof, and look upon the present use how much this differs from those, without question he would judge the ruin or scourge thereof were near at hand.” *Machiavel* “upon the first Decade of T. Livius.” 1663, p. 57. See also Villiers’s *Essay*, pp. 58—60.

† “The famous Latin Vulgate, which for eleven hundred years was the general text-book of all the Western churches.” A. Geddes’s *Prospectus*, 1786, p. 44. On the “corrections and alterations” of the *Vulgate*, see p. 49.

people, and religion in general consisted in little besides the worship of images, pilgrimages to particular relics, paying tithes, and purchasing indulgences.

Church livings were given to those who paid the most for them, and generally to foreigners. At Geneva, of a great number of canons in the cathedral, all were foreigners, except one. The greater part of the clergy never preached at all, but left that business to the monks, or the mendicants; who, instead of explaining the Scriptures, and inculcating the principles of sound morality, generally amused their hearers with idle legends. The great business of the clergy, secular and regular, was to get all the money they could from the laity, especially for the redemption of souls out of purgatory, granting liberty to eat meat in Lent, and burying in holy ground. Church discipline was fallen into the greatest abuse, by excommunications on frivolous pretences, and absolutions purchased with money. And the generality of the clergy, instead of shewing good examples, were debauched in the extreme. As an example of this, I shall quote the complaints of the people of Bern, addressed to the bishop of Lausanne, in A. D. 1477.

“We see clearly,” they say, “that the clergy of our parts are excessively debauched, and addicted to impurity, which they practise openly, and without shame. They keep concubines, they stroll by night round the houses of prostitutes, and so impudently, that they have no restraint from honour, conscience, or the fear of God. This gives us great concern. Our ancestors had a police, which put a stop to these disorders when the ecclesiastical tribunals were relaxed in this respect.”*

In A. D. 1533, the people of Lausanne, among twenty-two different articles of complaint against the clergy say, that “some of them had murdered the citizens, at one time two in one day, without any punishment; that some of them had beat the citizens with their fists in the church, and in the midst of divine service; that they were all whoremasters, especially the canons, and debauchers of married women, whom they refused to leave, though ordered by the bishop: that they often abused and fought with one another in the church; that they went through the streets by night, disguised as soldiers, with naked swords; that some of them took poor girls by force, and ravished them in their own

* Ruchat's *Preliminary Discourse*, p. 19. (P.)

houses; that they were public gamesters, blasphemers, and revealed the secrets of confession; that they falsified wills in their own favour; that many of them had a great number of children, whom they sent a begging, instead of maintaining them," &c. &c. &c.*

The reformation was no less necessary in the head than in the members: all the popes of these times being men of ambition, and some of them addicted to vices the most disgraceful to human nature. Yet they were possessed of the most absolute authority, and laid all Europe under contribution. They drew immense sums from the clergy also by *annates*, pensions reserved from livings, and tenths, sometimes double and treble, on church revenues, all on divers pretences of religion.

After many attempts to procure a reformation of the numerous abuses with which we have seen that the Christian church abounded, and which were increasing every day, all of which had been prevented from having any considerable effect by the exertion of the civil power, always directed by the popes, it pleased God that a solid and permanent reformation at length arose from a quarter from which nothing of the kind had been expected, viz. from a person of the order of monks, which had always been peculiarly devoted to the interest of the see of Rome. To this reformation nothing that had been done by any of the preceding reformers, the Waldenses, Albigenses, Wickliffites, or Hussites, at all contributed. Indeed, in every view, the concurrence of circumstances that assisted in bringing about this extraordinary revolution deserves the closest attention, on which account I shall be the more particular in the detail of them. And as the characters and conduct of the several popes in this

* Ruchat's *Preliminary Discourse*, p. 19. Complaints of this kind we have seen to have been made in several of the preceding periods, and many of the abuses here enumerated were attempted to be corrected by particular synods and councils, especially that of Basil. But the effect of the orders and regulations that were given for this purpose was partial, and never of long continuance, so that there were frequent calls for the repetition of them.

We are not, however, to consider this state of things in Switzerland (which is probably exaggerated) as that of all Christendom. There were, no doubt, in the very worst times many of the clergy, and also of the monks and friars, of exemplary characters. Literature had unquestionably at this time made considerable progress; and certainly the clergy in general excelled the laity in this respect. We should make some allowance for the vices of the clergy from considering the character of the times in which they lived. And it would be against all probability to suppose that the wealthy clergy were ever more dissolute than the equally wealthy laity. That the character of great numbers of the feudal barons was profligate, and violent, in the extreme, all history bears witness. . . . P.]

period were among the most considerable of these circumstances, it will be necessary to attend to them.

On the death of Julius II., Leo X., of the family of the Medici, was elected Pope, at the age of thirty-seven.* He was a man distinguished, as were the rest of his family, by the love of literature; but with this he was a lover of pleasure, and had little knowledge of, or respect for, religion.† His court being a scene of luxury and boundless profusion, among other measures to recruit his exhausted treasures, he was advised by cardinal Pucci, his cousin-german, a man ignorant of ecclesiastical discipline, of the councils, or canons, to make a new publication of *indulgences*, on the pretence of a want of money to complete the church of St. Peter at Rome.

These indulgences, we have seen, were originally relaxations of canonical penances, granted at the intercession of confessors, and other persons of eminent piety, and afterwards, for money to be expended in pious uses, especially for the recovery of the Holy Land, and in the wars against infidels and heretics. In later times it had been pretended that this power arose from a superabundant stock of merit in the church, that of saints, martyrs, and confessors, but more especially that of Jesus Christ; his sufferings having been more than sufficient for the purpose for which they had been endured. This stock of merit was allowed to be at the disposal of the Pope, and from the nature of it, it might be applied not only to the remission of penance in this world, but of the pains of purgatory, and final damnation in the next. The value of these indulgences it had been the business of those who published them, and who had a profit from their sale, to exaggerate in the most ex-

* "At thirteen, he was made a cardinal." *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 30.

† *Voluptatibus*, (says their own *Onuphrius*.) *venationibus, aucupis affusè deditus, luxu et splendidissimis convivis, musicæque magis quam tantum Pontificem deceret, totus impunderet.* (A man abundantly addicted to pleasures, hunting, hawking, and to luxury, splendid banquets and music, more than became so great a Pontiff.) As for his religion, you may take an estimate of it from that discourse of his with his secretary, cardinal Bembo, who talking, one day, of indulgences, and urging a place of Scripture, his vile Holiness nimbly replied, *Quantas divitias nobis comparavit hæc fabula Christi!* (What abundance of money have we got by this fable of Christ!) See *Bale*, Otho Melander, (Jo. Ser. 145, *Ibid.* p. 308)

Bishop *Bale*, though a contemporary of *Leo*, was not the best authority for a charge of impiety against a Pope. Mr. Granger justly remarks that "the intemperate zeal of this author often carries him beyond the bounds of decency and candour, in his accounts of the Papists." *Biog. Hist.* Ed. 2, 1775, I. p. 139.

Yet a biographer, of *Leo's* own religion, thus describes the *Holy Father*: "Le théâtre, la chasse, l'amour, varioient tour-à-tour ses plaisirs; en un mot, il vécut, non pas en Pontife, mais en Prince voluptueux." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* IV. pp. 86, 87.

travagant manner: and on this occasion they exceeded every thing that had been done before in the same way.

These indulgences allowed those who purchased them, to eat eggs, milk, cheese, and butter, during Lent, and on other fast days, and also to choose their own confessors. But what was more, the purchasers had the assurance of the entire remission of all their sins, and deliverance from the pains of purgatory for all those for whom they interested themselves.

All the revenue that should arise from the sale of these indulgences in Saxony, and as far as the Baltic Sea, the Pope was said, but it seems without sufficient authority,* to have given to his sister Magdelane, for whom he had a particular affection, and who was married to Francis Cibo, a natural son of Innocent VIII. In order to make the most of the privilege, she employed bishop Arambauld,† who had a licence from the Emperor to publish all indulgences, and who sold them to the highest bidder; the Pope having given orders to Albert of Brandenburg, elector of Mentz and archbishop of Magdeburg, (a man whose character resembled in all respects that of the Pope himself) to cause them to be preached through all Germany; and he was allowed one half of the profits. The Franciscans having declined the office, he employed John Tetzel, [*Iceelius* or *Tecelius*.] a Dominican, who had with great success preached indulgences for the knights of the Teutonic order. This man had a strong voice, and was possessed of every art by which to recommend his goods to the populace, but he was a man of profligate manners, who had been sentenced to death for the crime of adultery, by the emperor Maximilian, but had been pardoned at the intercession of Frederic, elector of Saxony.

Tetzel and his companions did not fail to magnify their office. They had the impudence to say that “the red crosses elevated in the churches in which they preached, with the arms of the Pope annexed to them, had the same virtue as the cross of Christ; that Tetzel himself had saved more souls by the indulgences that he had disposed of, than St. Paul by all his preaching; that as soon as the sound of the money that was paid for them was heard in the *basin* in which it was received, the souls for whom it was given were released from purgatory: that repentance and contrition were

* Roscoe's *Life of Lorenzo*, II. p. 252. (P.) † See *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 392.

not necessary; that these indulgences ensured a pardon for every crime and blasphemy that could be imagined; and, in short, that no crime was absolutely unpardonable, but that of despising these indulgences.”*

These assertions the confessors were obliged by an oath not to contradict, but to confirm. Such was the impudence of this Tetzal, that the bishop of Meissen said he should be the last who should make a traffic of indulgences in Saxony. And a circumstance which added much to the indignation with which this conduct was viewed, was the manner in which these preachers spent much of the money which they got from the people, as in taverns and places of debauch.† They also paid their hosts and servants, &c. with indulgences, instead of giving them money.

Notwithstanding these shocking abuses, such was the blind superstition of the people, that wherever these preachers came, they were received with triumph. When they entered any city they had the Pope's bull covered with a stuff of silk, and embroidered with gold, carried before them, preceded by the magistrates and the people, carrying lighted candles. The bells were rung, and instruments of music played upon. The red cross, above-mentioned, was then elevated in the church, and the preacher mounting the pulpit made such an harangue as has been mentioned. The form of the absolution signed by Tetzal concluded with these words: “I re-establish you in the innocence which you received at your baptism, so that if you die soon, the gate of punishment will be shut, and the gate of happiness open to you: and if you do not die soon, this grace will be reserved and secured to you.”

These horrid abuses, however, proceeded without open opposition till they excited the attention of Martin Luther, a man raised up by Divine Providence for the great work of an effectual reformation, and endued with talents, and a temper suited to it.‡ He was born November 10, A. D.

* “Pontificis dignitatem et potentiam, indulgentiarumque virtutem et efficaciam, impudenter predicabat, nullum posse admitti tantum scelus vociferans, quod ejus rei beneficio non sit condonatum; eorumque animas qui crucientur igni purgatorio, simul et nummus in *areolam* sit iniectus, in cælum è vestigio subvolare solutas pennis. Eoque impudentia et blasphemia progrediebatur, ut clamaret, si quis vel sanctissime Virgini Mariæ vim intulisset, peccatum istud horum diplomatum virtute condonari posse.” (Lonicerus's Theat. Hist. fol. 241.) *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 307.

† “Ils tenoient leurs Bureaux dans des cabarets, où ils dépensent en débauches une partie de revenus sacrés qu'ils recevoient.” *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* V. p. 526, art. *Tetzal*.

‡ “One of those extraordinary men, who seem born to achieve wonderful feats, who, with his single arm, shook the fabric of papal power to its very foundation,

1483, at Eisleben, in the county of Mansfeld, and in that city his father,* who had some property in the mines in that neighbourhood, was a magistrate, respected for his probity. Luther having been educated at Eisuach,† finished his studies at the university of Erfort in Thuringia,‡ and at the age of twenty-two, A. D. 1505, he entered the monastery of *Augustines* at Erfort, being induced to do so, though contrary to the wishes of his father, by the sudden death of one of his companions in a storm, by which his own life had been in danger.

The first months of his residence in the monastery he was very melancholy, owing in some measure to his ill-usage by the prior, who employed him in the meanest offices, and often sent him to beg in the city, which was particularly disagreeable to him. But he was relieved by the interposition of the vicar-general, John Stupitz, who had been very attentive to him during his melancholy; telling him that God had great views in his trials, and that by this means he might be prepared for some great work. By his orders he had liberty to study, and to this he soon attached himself with uncommon ardour.

He had been a year in the monastery when he for the first time saw a Latin Bible,|| having till then known only those passages of Scripture which are contained in the liturgy and breviary. His favourite study for some time was scholastic theology, when he was an admirer of the writings of Occam, which he preferred to those of Scotus or Thomas Aquinas. He also read with care the works of Gerson. For his amusement he applied to music, dissipating his melancholy by singing psalms and hymns. He also exercised himself in the art of turnery, and used to say, that in all events, he could get his living by the labour of his hands.

In A. D. 1507, Luther took holy orders, and the year

and inflicted a wound on Roman infallibility, from which it never recovered." A. Geddes's *Apol.* p. 99.

* John, who was originally a labourer in the mines. Luther's mother "Margaret Liedeman was adorned with such virtues as became an honest matron." He was, says *Chronicon Carionis*, p. 934, "humili, honestissimo tamen natus loco." *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 306.

† "He learned the rudiments of grammar, while at home with his parents, and at thirteen was sent to a school at Magdeburgh, where he stayed only one year; and at that time such was the poverty of his parents, that young Luther, as Melchior Adam relates, was obliged *manducato vivere pau.*, or to solicit charity for his support. From hence he was removed to Eisuach." *Life*, prefixed to Villiers's Essay, p. 1.

‡ "Where he applied himself, with great assiduity, to read the best ancient writers, and at the age of twenty took a Masters' degree." *Ibid.* p. 2.

|| Which "he found turning over the books of the library." *Ibid.* p. 3.

following he was called to teach philosophy at the university of Wittenberg, where he greatly distinguished himself by his superior knowledge and acuteness, and also by the freedom of his sentiments, which led one Martin Polichius, who had himself acquired so much reputation as to have got the title of the *light of the world*, to say that this young monk would disturb the doctors, and change the system of the schools.

On occasion of some difference in his order, Luther was sent to Rome, where he was much shocked at the impiety of the Italian priests;* who seeing him officiate with much devotion, laughed at him, and bid him make more haste. On his return he was made doctor of divinity,† October 19, A. D. 1512. He then applied himself to the study of the Greek and Hebrew, that he might read the Scriptures in the languages in which they were written. On this he abandoned scholastic theology and the philosophy of Aristotle,‡ as abounding with vain subtleties; and as he always delivered his sentiments with great freedom, he was suspected of heresy some years before his dispute about indulgences. At this time his lectures were much crowded, being heard with much admiration to explain the Scriptures in a plain and clear manner, without any of the terms used in the schools; and using no authorities for his opinions besides the Scriptures themselves, or the writings of Christian fathers, a method of teaching then quite new.

In a very early period Luther embraced the doctrine of justification by faith without works, having been taught it by an old monk, who comforted him in his sickness; and his reading of the Scriptures, together with the works of Austin, confirmed him in that opinion. And he then published some theses on the subject of free-will. Being ordered by his general, Stupitz, to visit the monasteries in Misnia and Thuringia, he explained his sentiments with so much freedom that he gave great offence to George, duke of Saxony, before whom he preached, so that from that time

* "Seven convents of his order," (the *Augustines*,) were "engaged in a controversy with their vicar-general." Luther says, "I performed mass at Rome; I saw it also performed by others, but in such a manner, that I can never endure to think of it without the utmost horror." *Life*, p. 3.

† "At the expense of Frederic the elector, who had often heard him preach." *Ibid.*

‡ "One of his principal objects was to overturn the *scholastic divinity*, by banishing *Aristotle* from the domain of theology, and by demonstrating, from this singular compound of the logic of pagan philosophy with the doctrine of Christianity, how much the first had been misunderstood, and both had been corrupted." *Villiers*, pp. 63, 64.

he conceived a great dislike to him. He also made himself obnoxious to the Dominicans by the contempt which he expressed for Thomas Aquinas.

Such were the character, the general conduct, and sentiments of Luther, when Tetzel, in A. D. 1517, came to publish his indulgences in the diocese of Magdeburg. Luther had not at that time given any particular attention to the subject, but seeing the people crowding to buy them, he said, in his sermon,* that there were things more pleasing to God, and of more importance to salvation, than running in such crowds to purchase pardons. The elector, [Albert] however, who had at great expense procured for his church of All Saints many relics and indulgences, in order to draw the devotion of the people to it, not being pleased with the liberty he took, Luther, who was unwilling to offend him, and who was not as yet apprized of the magnitude of the evil, was silent on the subject. But his attention was forcibly recalled to it by the reports of the extreme rapaciousness, and the scandalous lives of those who published these indulgences; and especially by some who confessed to him refusing to submit to the penances that he imposed, on the pretence of their being possessed of indulgences which superseded them. These people complaining to Tetzel, he was much enraged at it, and threatened with the inquisition all who doubted the authority of the Pope. He even prepared a pile of wood in the public square of Wittenberg, in order to burn them in effigy.

This violence gave fresh provocation to Luther, and examining the subject afresh, he composed several *theses* upon it, and drew ninety-five *conclusions*; but they were all calculated to correct the abuses, and not to abolish the use of them. Among other things he advanced, that "the life of a Christian ought to be a perpetual penance, that the Pope has only the power of remitting canonical penances, that the canons of penance do not extend to the dead, that the treasure which the church distributes is not that of the merits of Christ or of the saints, because neither of them depends upon the Pope, that the true treasure of indulgences is the gospel, that the gospel was the net with which the apostles caught men, but that indulgences are a net with which priests fish for money."

Besides these logical *theses* and *conclusions*, he proposed some plain questions for the use of the common people:

* "From the pulpit in the great church at Wittenberg." *Life*, p. 8.

such as these: "Why does not the Pope, who takes so many souls out of purgatory for money, do the same out of charity? Why does the anniversary of the dead subsist by alms, if souls are delivered out of purgatory by papal pardons?" He concluded, however, with declaring, that he was willing to receive instruction if he was in an error, and that he was far from preferring his own opinion to that of all the world; but that he was not so silly as to prefer the fallibility of man to the word of God.

It was impossible but that such plain good sense as this, must make an impression on many persons. Having maintained these propositions in the university of Wittenberg, Luther sent them to the archbishop of Magdeburg, and also to the bishop of Brandenburg, in whose diocese Wittenberg was; when the latter advised him to take care of himself; for that, in attacking the power of the church, he might bring himself into a disagreeable situation. Notwithstanding this caution, Luther preached two short but plain sermons, one on the subject of indulgences, and the other on repentance, in which he advanced that it was not certain that souls can be redeemed from purgatory; that satisfaction for offences, consisting in good works, ought not to be dispensed with, and that sinners ought not to apply for indulgence from them. He advanced other things equally solid and useful.

Such was the effect of these *theses*, that they were circulated with extreme rapidity through Germany; and the people in general began to open their eyes, and to despise the indulgences as useless, so that there was a general aversion to the publication of them; and Tetzel coming to Friberg a short time afterwards, not only got little or nothing, but was very near being killed by the miners. Every body was astonished that a simple monk should have the zeal and the courage to oppose the extortions of the Pope and his ministers, when so many bishops and powerful ecclesiastics kept a profound silence, and left their churches a prey to avarice and imposture.

But Tetzel, depending upon the protection of the Pope, condemned the *theses* of Luther to the flames, as full of heresy and blasphemy; and after burning them in public, he attempted the refutation of them in two disputations, which he printed. In the first of them he maintained that "alms given for the release of souls from purgatory, are of more value than those that are given to the poor; and in magni-

fyng the virtue of indulgences. he said, that, “ should a man have ravished the blessed Virgin he could absolve him both from the crime and the punishment.” In the second he asserted, “ the authority of the Pope to be supreme with respect to councils and the universal church ; that he alone, as the husband of the church, has the power of granting indulgences ; and that it was blasphemy to say that Leo X. had less power in this respect than St. Peter himself !” He concluded with saying, that “ whosoever should write against indulgences, or the power of the Pope, must expect eternal damnation hereafter, and the most rigorous punishment at present ;” adding, from the Pentateuch, *every beast that touches the mountain shall be stoned.*

These propositions of Tetzel being brought to Wittenberg, were publicly burned by the students, to revenge the affront offered to their master ; but Luther himself had no hand in it. He despised every thing that Tetzel had done. but he published more *theses*, in which, without speaking of indulgences, he undermined the foundation of them, attacking the merit of good works, on which it was pretended that they were founded ; and maintained the doctrines of election and predestination. All this passed in A. D. 1517.

In the year following, Luther attended the chapter of the Augustines at Heidelberg, where, in the presence of the elector palatine, to whom the elector of Saxony had given him recommendations, and Laurent *de Bibra*, bishop of Wurtzburg, a man of piety and good sense, well disposed to a reformation, he proposed more *theses* on the subject of free-will, good works, and justification by faith alone ; in which it was said that he discovered the subtlety of St. Paul, but not that of Scotus. This was the account that was given by Martin Bucer, then almoner of the elector Palatine ; who said that he maintained the sentiments of Erasmus, but more openly. On this occasion Luther gained so much of the esteem of the bishop, that before he died, which was in the year following, he wrote to the elector Frederic to conjure him not to suffer a good and honest man like Luther to leave his estates, an advice which he did not forget. In all this, Luther only proposed subjects for discussion. He respected the decisions of the church ; but perceiving the weakness of the scholastic doctrines, and the gross abuses of the papal authority, he began to reject every thing that was not founded on the Scriptures. The first who undertook the defence of Tetzel against Luther were

Sylvester *de Pricrio*,* master of the sacred palace, and John *de Eyk*. or *Eccius*, professor of theology at Ingoldstadt, a friend of Luther; who, by order of his bishop, made some critical remarks on his *theses*, and with more asperity than became a person who professed friendship. Among other accusations, he insinuated that he was tainted with the venom of Bohemia, which at that time was the most injurious reflection that he could have thrown out. Luther answered with equal severity, but though without any respect to the schoolmen, with due regard to the authority of the Pope, ascribing the abuse of indulgences to his flatterers.

Pricrio's treatise was in the form of a *dialogue*, dedicated to Leo X. In it he expressed great contempt for Luther, and asserted the authority of the popes, in the highest terms; taxing with heresy all who denied it. In answer to him, Luther insisted upon his maxim of trying every thing by the Scriptures, which he maintained on the authority of St. Austin. He now proceeded farther than he had done before, attacking the infallibility of the Pope and even that of councils. He did not omit to censure the power which the popes claimed over the rights of princes, and did not fail to mention the tyranny of Boniface VIII., and the bloody wars of Julius II. And as Pricrio had insinuated that he would not have written as he did, against indulgences if he had had a bishoprick, and a church in which he could have published them himself, he said that, if these had been his views, the method of succeeding in them was well known, and even resounded in the streets of Rome; alluding to some popular ballads in which the venality of the court of Rome was exposed.

Luther also took this opportunity of publishing an explanation and proof of his original *theses*, written some time before; a work composed with much care, but in which he was far from rejecting the authority of the Pope, or the generally-received doctrines. On the contrary, he censured the Bohemians for rejecting the doctrine of purgatory; saying that they preferred a doctrine of fifty years' standing to the ancient faith of the church. This work he dedicated to Leo X., expressing his persuasion that he would do him justice; complaining of the conduct of his enemies, and the indecent manner in which indulgences had been published;

* "So called from a village near *Sarona*, where he was born. His proper name was *Mozolino*. He was general of the Dominicans, at his death in 1520." See *New. Dict. Hist.* IV. p. 612, art. *Mozolino*.

and avowing his submission to the holy see in the most respectful manner. He concluded with saying, "I submit to your judgment my person and my writings. You have the power of taking my life, or of giving it to me, to approve or to condemn me as you please. Whatever you pronounce I shall receive it as the award of Jesus Christ, who presides in your person, and speaks by your mouth."

This work Luther sent to the bishop of Brandenburg, and also to his vicar Stupitz. This bishop disapproved of the shameful traffic of indulgences, but he thought the doctrine of Luther still more dangerous. Writing to Stupitz, Luther reminded him of an excellent remark of his, which he said he would never forget, viz. that there is no true repentance that does not begin with the love of God and of virtue. This he said was the first light he received on the subject; and after desiring him to transmit his book to the Pope, he concluded in this memorable manner: "I have no fortune, and I wish for none. If I had any reputation, I am daily losing it. I have only a weak body, subject to continual illness. Let them take my life by violence, or in any other way, I am ready to obey God. They cannot shorten my life much. Jesus my master, and my redeemer, is sufficient for me, and as long as I live I will sing hymns to his honour."

SECTION II.

The Progress of the Reformation from the Time that Luther attracted the Notice of the Pope, to the Advancement of Charles V. to the Empire, A. D. 1519.

HITHERTO the dispute about indulgences had been confined to the monks. The grandees, indeed, as well as the common people, had been spectators, but they had taken no part in it. And had the Pope contented himself with imposing silence on the disputants, the affair might have proceeded no farther. Leo himself is said to have been inclined to this measure; saying that Luther was a man of spirit and ability, and that all the dispute arose from the quarrels and jealousies of the monks. But happily for the interest of the reformation, and the progress of truth, he was overcome by the importunity of the Dominicans, and especially of James Hochstrat, of the monastery of Louvain,*

* Prior of the convent of Dominicans at Cologne where he died. "Erasmus et tous les savans, font un portrait très-désavantageux de son cœur. Il exhortoit le Pape, dit Maimbourg, de n'employer contre Luther que le fer et le feu. On a de lui

who told him that his authority and his interest were at stake. He, therefore, proceeded so far as to cite Luther to appear before him, but perhaps without intending him any harm. Luther, however, when he received the citation, which was in August 8, A. D. 1518, concluded that his ruin was determined, but he did not on that account hesitate in forming his resolution. Writing to George Spalatin, a person of great authority in the court of the elector of Saxony, who had been tutor to his nephew, and to the duke of Lunenburg, he said he was able to defend himself, that he did not expect to escape violence, but that, at all events, the truth should be defended. This he wrote when he had no expectation of protection from the elector, or any other person.

Stupitz, writing to him at this time, says, "The world is violently set against the truth, it has few protectors, and those very timid. I am of opinion that you quit Wittenberg for some time, and come to me, that we may live and die together. Your prince is of the same opinion. That is enough." The elector was not a little embarrassed, as he did not wish to quarrel with the Pope, who had ordered him,* on the obedience which he owed to the church of Rome, to deliver the heretic Luther into his hands. Cajetan,† his legate in Germany, also had orders to require all persons, ecclesiastical or secular, the emperor alone excepted, to deliver him up, and that under pain of excommunication, interdict, and deprivation of goods and dignity, to any who should afford him retreat or protection.‡ Accordingly, the elector promised to send Luther to Rome.

The diet of the empire was this year held at Augsburg, and one of the commissions which the legate Cajetan had, was, to terminate the affair of Luther, and if possible, by inducing him to retract what he had advanced. If he refused to do this, he was to demand him of the elector; and if he should refuse to give him up, he was to excommunicate Luther and all his adherents. In order to accomplish this, he had prevailed upon the emperor Maximilian (who, however, was known to have an esteem for Luther) to promise that if he should be condemned, he would see that the sentence should be executed.

un grand nombre d'ouvrages de controverse, fruits d'un zèle amer." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* III. pp. 334, 335.

* The "letter to Frederic" was "dated August 28, 1518." *Life*, p. 10.

† Thomas de Vio, named *Cajetan* from *Cajeta*, where he was born in 1469. He was created a cardinal in 1517, and died at Rome in 1534. See *Vio*, in *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* V. p. 731; *Cajetan*, in *Gen. Biog. Dict.* 1784, III. pp. 73, 74.

‡ "And promising a plenary indulgence to all who should assist in delivering him up." *Life*, p. 11.

Luther, knowing that at Rome his enemies would be his judges, got Spalatin to entreat the elector to obtain the Pope's leave to have commissioners appointed to examine him in Germany. But all that could be done was, to have the legates take cognizance of the affair at the time of the diet. Accordingly, Luther being assured by the elector that he should not be sent to Rome, went to Augsburg. But previous to this, he had given more offence by the publication of a sermon on the abuse of excommunication, in which he maintained, that an unjust excommunication does not deprive a Christian of communion with Jesus Christ, and that such an excommunication, endured with patience and humility, is the greatest virtue. He asserted, however, that men ought to bear with patience the chastisements of the church, since it was the power of Jesus Christ which she exercised, though it might be in the hands of Herods, or of Pilates.

Before he set out, the members of the university of Wittenberg, which Luther had already made very famous, wrote to the Pope in his favour; assuring his holiness that he was orthodox, and faithful to the holy see: and they requested Charles de Miltitz to interpose his good offices in his favour. But this produced no good effect, and Cajetan had orders to insist on Luther's recantation. This prelate, however, endeavoured, in the first instance, to get Luther into his power, that he might send him to Rome; but Luther, apprized of his danger, declined seeing him till he had obtained a safe-conduct of the emperor, which was readily granted, and the Pope and the cardinal thought proper to dissemble their chagrin.

Luther being introduced to Cajetan, which was on the 11th of October, was willing to speak on his knees before him: but the cardinal very politely would not suffer it. However, after hearing him with great patience, he required of him three things—that he should retract what he had advanced respecting indulgences and justification by faith alone, that he should keep silence on the subject for the future, and in general refrain from any thing that might disturb the church. But gradually, and without design, entering into a dispute on the subjects, Cajetan appeared to be altogether unacquainted with the Scriptures,* to which

* It was probably after this period that, according to *Sixtus Senensis*, he undertook "a literal translation of all the books of the Old and New Testaments from the originals. The *Revelations* he omitted, saying, that to explain them, it was necessary for a man to be endued, not with parts of learning, but with the spirit of

Luther constantly appealed, and insisted chiefly on the bull of Clement VI., in which Luther said, that the Scriptures were falsely quoted; and to this bull he opposed the sentiments of the faculty of theology at Paris, and the writings of Gerson. Cajetan, provoked at this, said they would chastise the divines at Paris, and that Gerson and his disciples were condemned already. In this altercation the cardinal did not fail to magnify the authority of the Pope, as superior to that of the councils, or even that of the Scriptures.

The next day Luther again waited upon the cardinal, accompanied by four counsellors of the empire, a notary, and another witness, when he read a protestation of respect for the Roman see, but declared that, being persuaded that he had not advanced any thing but what was orthodox, he could not retract, till he was convinced of his error; that he was willing to appear before any proper tribunal, to give an account of his writings, and that he would submit to the judgment of the universities of Basil, Friburg, Louvain and Paris. The cardinal, paying no attention to this, resumed the dispute, without giving Luther time to reply; when both Stupitz and Luther asked leave to defend themselves in writing, Luther saying, that they had disputed enough the day before. To this the cardinal, recollecting the part he ought to have acted, said he had not been disputing, he had only been instructing him, and that with gentleness, out of regard to his illustrious prince, Frederic. Confiding too much in his powers, he had gone out of his province of judge, to which it had been his wisdom to have adhered.

In this last interview Luther presented his answer in writing to the cardinal's objections, in which he sufficiently shewed his unwillingness to quarrel with the court of Rome. For, he concluded with expressing his submission to the judgment of the church, and desired the legate to instruct him, and intercede with the Pope for him, "to have compassion on a soul that only sought the truth, and who refused to retract only, because he could not do it without prevarication." The legate received this answer with disdain,* and only said that he should send it to the Pope. But resuming the dispute, Luther, by his acute remarks on

prophecy." According to F. Simon, *Cajetan* "knew nothing of the Hebrew;" but employed a Jew and a Christian, "who understood the language well, to translate the Hebrew words exactly according to the letter and grammar." See *Gen. Biog. Dict.* III. p. 74.

* "And commanded *Luther* not to appear again before him, unless he brought a recantation with him." *Life*, p. 13.

the bull of pope Clement, which he had requested to be read, greatly embarrassed the legate; who, finding himself unequal to the contest,* sent for Stupitz, and ordered him to employ all the authority he had over Luther. This he promised to do, but when the legate desired him to convince Luther out of the Scriptures, he replied that that was above his strength; for that he was not comparable to Luther either for genius, or knowledge of the Scriptures. Besides, in order that he might not be responsible for the consequences, he had absolved Luther from his vow of obedience.

Stupitz, willing to heal this breach, joined with Lincius in persuading Luther to give satisfaction to the cardinal; and he so far yielded to them, that he wrote him a letter, in which he asked pardon for the irreverence with which he had treated the Pope, blaming the violence of his enemies. He also promised to keep silence, and submit to the authority of others, though not to that of Thomas Aquinas; and said he was ready to do every thing except directly retracting what he had advanced, provided his enemies would be more moderate.

Hearing nothing from the cardinal, Luther appealed from the sentence of the Pope, to *the Pope better informed*, and leaving his appeal with a public notary, withdrew privately from Augsburg; † and when he was got to Nuremberg, he was, for the first time, apprized of the danger he had been in, the cardinal having had absolute orders to seize him and send him to Rome. This provoked him so much, that he said that such an order could only come from a villain. Stupitz and Lincius set out after him, without taking leave of the legate; and the former, fearing to suffer for permitting Luther to escape, sought an asylum in Saxony. When Luther was gone, the notary, not daring to carry his appeal, to the cardinal, exposed it in the public square of the city. But he, without taking any notice of it, wrote to the elector, reproaching him with procuring a safe conduct for a heretic already condemned, and with much haughtiness demanded of him either to banish Luther from his estates, or send him to Rome. The elector, offended at this conduct, only sent the letter to Luther, with orders to answer it.

* “Le cardinal Cajetan eut plusieurs conférences avec Luther; son zèle et son éloquence ne purent ramener dans le bercail, cette brebis égarée.” *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* V. p. 731, art. *Vio.*

† “On the 20th of October, 1518, at the instigation of his friends, convinced that he had more to apprehend from the cardinal’s power and resentment, than from his arguments.” *Life*, p. 13.

The measures of the cardinal having had no good success, he was much blamed by some for his vigour, and by others, for his tameness. The elector was at first inclined to send Luther out of his estates, and he was as ready to go; expressing himself with great piety and magnanimity on the occasion. But at length this prince came to a firm resolution to protect him, and in answer to the legate said, that he had sent Luther to Augsburg as he had promised, and that when he was there he ought to have been convinced of his errors, and not have been commanded by mere authority to retract; that orthodox universities had assured him that his doctrine was pure, and finally declared his resolution that the university of Wittenberg, the members of which had declared Luther's sentiments to be catholic, should not lose a professor of so much use to it.

At this time Melancthon, then in his twenty-second year, at the recommendation of Reuchlin,* who was his relation, came to be professor of Greek in the university of Wittenberg, and he proved to be of the greatest importance to Luther, and to the cause of the Reformation in general. Such was the reputation which at that early age he had acquired for his knowledge of the *belles lettres*, that Erasmus, writing to Œcolampadius, said, that if that young man lived, he would take from him the glory he had acquired.† With

* See *supra* p. . . . "Reuchlin, a philologist and very learned writer, who had taught in every part of Europe, excited in his native country, Germany, an enthusiastic eagerness for the study of languages, particularly *Greek* and *Hebrew*. The theological Inquisitors of Cologne, and, among others, the fiery Dominican, *Hochstraten*, [see *supra* pp. 52, 53,] who had solicited, and obtained an imperial edict, commanding the burning and exterminating of every *Hebrew* book, entered into a dispute with *Reuchlin*, and endeavoured to demonstrate that the study of *Greek* and *Hebrew* was pernicious to the faith.

"One of the *private soldiers of the army of Hochstraten*," thus warned his comrades. "A new language has been invented, which is called *Greek*. Guard carefully against it; it is the mother of every species of heresy. I observe in the hands of a great many people a book written in this language, which they call the *New Testament*; it is a book full of thorns and serpents. With respect to *Hebrew*, it is certain, my dear brethren, that all who learn it, are instantly converted to Judaism."

Yet "the *Hebraists* triumphed. *Ulrich de Hutten*, a young gentleman of Franconia, warm and of great talents, a warrior, poet, scholar, and also theologian, on this occasion wrote the celebrated letters from obscure men, (*Epistola Virorum obscurosum*;) a satire replete with spirit and point, which brought indelible disgrace on the opposite party. *Reuchlin* and some others were suspected of having contributed to them." *Villiers*, pp. 54—56.

Reuchlin continued a *Catholic*, to his decease in 1522. *Hutten* declared for the *Reformers*, but could serve them only by his shining talents. His character was dissolute, and he is supposed to have died a martyr to his own vices, at the age of thirty-five, in 1523. See *Gen. Biog. Dict.* VII. pp. 307—311.

† "De Melancthone et sentio procelere, et spero magnificè, tantum ut cum juvenem nobis Christus diu velit esse superstitem. Is prorsus obscurabit Erasmus." *Ep.* 354, Jortin's *Erasmus*, A. D. 1518, 4to. p. 144.

him Luther soon formed an intimate connexion, which nothing ever broke.

Prierio at this time made a second publication, in which he advanced such high maxims with respect to the power of the Pope, as though they had always been avowed by the zealous Catholics. it was thought unseasonable to insist upon at this conjuncture, as they gave Luther a manifest advantage. The Dominicans themselves were aware of this, and endeavoured to suppress the book. But Luther soon put it out of their power; for he himself reprinted it, with a preface, notes, and a conclusion, in which he no longer observed the measures he had hitherto done, with the court of Rome. "If these," said he, "are their pretensions, there is no remedy but some exemplary chastisement, to revenge the majesty of princes, and to exterminate those monsters, who would attribute to the Pope the rights of God and of all sovereigns;" adding, "If this be taught and believed at Rome, and if the Pope and the cardinals, which, however, I do not believe, be informed of it, I boldly declare that Antichrist is now sitting in the temple of God, and that he reigns in Babylon, that Babylon which is clothed in purple, and that the court of Rome is the synagogue of Satan. Farewell unhappy Rome, the wrath of God is come upon thee to the uttermost, as thou hast well deserved. Let us leave it to be the den of dragons, of evil spirits, and monsters. It is full of the idols of avarice, perfidy, and all wickedness, a new pantheon of impiety."

He also at this time published an account of the conferences at Augsburg, with very free reflections, in which he intimated a doubt whether the authority of the Pope was sufficiently proved by the words of Christ to St. Peter—"Upon this rock I will build my church." Besides this, he proposed another appeal to a council, though he did not intend to publish it till his sentence of excommunication, which he now daily expected, should arrive. But the eagerness of the public to get the writings of Luther was now become very great, and the printer shewing some copies of it, it was published against his will. This gave more offence than any thing that he had done before; though in fact this appeal implied nothing more than the superiority of general councils, to the Pope.

The court of Rome, seeing the spirit of Luther, the applause that his conduct met with, and the protection of the elector, which was now declared, and who might interest other princes of the empire in his favour, began to think

that they had acted with too much precipitation. They therefore wished to gain Luther by milder methods, and in this they were very near succeeding. With this view the Pope published a bull, November 9, establishing the doctrine of indulgences on the immemorial usage of the church, but without any reflections on Luther. On the contrary, his adversaries were censured for publishing some errors, when they were only sent to preach the word of God. It was expected that he would have submitted to this bull, and have said nothing more on the subject. But it was now too late. Luther had acquired more light, and was determined to pursue it.

In the mean time, the elector, dreading the power of the Pope, though determined not to deliver up Luther, took a middle course, by making him with his own consent a prisoner; and then he informed the legate that he was ready to deliver him up to any judicature that should be appointed to examine him, provided it was in Germany.

When Miltitz, the nuncio, arrived, and found the general esteem in which Luther was held, he dropped the design of carrying him to Rome, and endeavoured to reconcile him to the Pope; for he said that if Luther should be delivered to him, he believed it would require not less than twenty thousand men to conduct him to Rome. He therefore, began with praising the zeal and talents of Luther, and only blamed him for accusing the Pope of the extravagances of other persons. He said, that, as a monk, he owed submission to the holy see, and assured him that the Pope was ready to receive him into his favour; that he had already shewed his forbearance in deferring the sentence of excommunication, and that, as he had promised to submit to the Pope, he ought, if he was sincere, no longer to refuse his retractation, now that the Pope had decided in favour of indulgences. He also highly complimented the elector, and mentioned the great respect the Pope had for him, as he said he had shewn him by sending him *the golden rose*, which he brought with him.

In order to gain his point with Luther, the nuncio resolved to punish Tetzl, and with this view ordered him to meet him at Altemburg. Tetzl declined this interview, but Luther went thither, and met the nuncio at the house of Spalatin, in the beginning of January, A. D. 1519. There the nuncio spared nothing to flatter, and at the same time to intimidate Luther, but he could not prevail upon him to

submit implicitly to the judgment of the Pope. However, Luther believing that they now really wished that the differences should proceed no farther, proposed that they should be referred to some prelates in Germany, who should have private orders to delay the decision till the affair should be forgotten, and thus save both the Pope's honour and his own; and he named the archbishop of Saltzburg as one of his judges.

In this state of things the elector at first thought of writing to the Pope, to apologize for his conduct and that of Luther too; but on second thoughts he declined it. Miltitz went to Leipsic in his way to Coblenz, to meet Cajetan, without whose concurrence he had orders to do nothing definitively. And being informed of some scandalous conduct of Tetzél, who was then at Leipsic, he reproved him, and also his superior, with so much severity, that believing that he was to be made a sacrifice to the reconciliation of Luther with the Pope, he was reduced to a state of despair.* Luther hearing of it, wrote the letter of submission to the Pope which he had promised, and he did it in language expressive of the greatest humility, only declining to make a formal retraction of what he had written, as that would, indeed, be of no avail to the holy see, but of real prejudice to it. He acknowledged the power of the Pope as only inferior to that of Jesus Christ, and promised to exhort all persons to honour the see of Rome, and justify it from the profane exaggerations of the preachers of indulgences, and never more to touch upon the subject, provided his adversaries would renounce their impostures. In short, he engaged to do any thing to give his holiness satisfaction.†

This is usually considered as a most lamentable weakness in Luther, and a base compliance with the court of Rome. But his opinions were not as yet absolutely fixed with respect to the authority of the church of Rome, at least that of councils, on which it was in a great measure founded; and he was willing to comply as far as he could with the wishes of his most respectable protector. Also he, like

* "*Miltitz ayant reproché à cet Inquisiteur imprudent, qu'il étoit en partie la cause de désistres de l'Allemagne, ce religieux en mourut de chagrin, en 1519.*" *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* V. p. 527. "*Miltitz sent for John Tetzél, the Indulgence-monger, and in the Pope's name, rattled him severely; who so resented that usage, that he pined away for grief; which Luther understanding, wrote very kind letters to comfort him; but, he still languished and at last died in wretched discontent.*" *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 310.

† "He wrote a submissive letter to the Pope, although in general terms, on the 13th of March, 1519." *Life*, p. 20.

other good men, dreaded the consequences of such a schism as would be made in the church if he had not taken this step. That Luther had any fears on his own account, by no means appears; but if he had, they were the feelings of human nature, mixed with considerations of more importance. It was not, however, without a great contest with himself that he complied thus far. For he was then reading the decrees of the Pope, in order to prepare himself for the disputation at Leipsic, which will be mentioned hereafter; and he told Spalatin, who informed him of the wishes of the elector, that they made him doubt whether the Pope was not either Antichrist, or his apostle, so miserably was Jesus Christ crucified in these decrees. He added, "I am cruelly tormented to see the people thus imposed upon, on the pretence of the laws of Christ, and the Christian name." But if it was weakness in Luther to make such a submission, it was folly in the extreme in the court of Rome not to take advantage of it.

The progress of the Reformation was at this time favoured by a circumstance of an external nature, as it will be seen it was, several times afterwards. The emperor Maximilian died in the beginning of A. D. 1519,* and in the *inter-regnum* the elector of Saxony was vicar of the empire, not only in Upper and Lower Saxony, but in several other provinces; and the universal esteem in which he was held, was in some measure reflected upon Luther. It was also then in his power to afford him effectual protection, and it was known that he would do so. His writings were now read with the greatest eagerness, and his disciples were astonishingly multiplied through the whole empire. His courage and his doctrines were equally admired, and all persons wished to know something more of him. On this account there was a great resort of persons from all parts to Wittemberg; and many were heard with their hands joined, and their eyes lifted towards heaven, thanking God that that city was become another Zion, from which the light of the gospel would be diffused over all the world.

In the mean time, the elector of Treves, being an ecclesiastic, accepted the office of the judge of Luther, and the elector of Saxony was requested to send Luther to him. But he made so many reasonable objections to his cause

* "January 12. *Cureus* says, in his *Annals of Silesia*, that this Emperor, upon a certain time, lifting up his eyes to heaven, burst out into these words: *O eternal God, if thou didst not wake, how would this world be governed by me, a weak huntsman, and this wicked drunkard, Pope Julius?*" *Brandt*, p. 117.

being decided by him alone, which indeed had not been the proposal of Luther, and especially in the presence of Cajetan, who would certainly have directed all the proceedings, that the elector of Saxony proposed to bring him to the diet of the empire, which was to be held at Frankfort, to have the cause decided there: and this was acceded to: Luther absolutely refusing to make an unconditional retractation, which they again endeavoured to bring him to.

Luther was now much encouraged by the great increase of his reputation, and not only in Germany, but in all parts of Europe, where his writings were eagerly read, and with general approbation. He was more particularly flattered by a letter from Frobenius, the famous printer of Basil, and still more by one from Erasmus,* informing him of this circumstance. He could not, he says, express the alarm which his writings had occasioned among the monks, who, he said, mortally hated literature, as fatal to their theological majesty, of which he said they make incomparably more account than of that of Jesus Christ. He described their malice, and calumnies in the strongest language, and said that they insinuated that he himself was the real head of the faction, and even assisted him in his compositions. But he said he should endeavour to act a neutral part, as more useful to literature, and because he thought that greater advances would be made by prudence and moderation than by too much vehemence.†

Such was the uniform maxim of this great man, who by the hints that he had occasionally given, in a fine vein of irony, concerning the abuses of the court of Rome, and the frauds of the monks, was hated by the bigotted Catholics as much as Luther himself. He afterwards owned that he had not, like Luther, the spirit of a martyr.‡ Erasmus also wrote to

* "It is dated from Louvain, May 30, 1519." *Life*, p. 22.

† See Knight's *Erasmus*, pp. 182, 267, and *Jortin*, A. D. 1520. Luther in a letter to Erasmus thus endeavoured to secure his countenance: "Iraque, in Erasme, vir amabilis, si ita tibi visum fuerit, agnosceret hunc fraterculum in Christo; tui certe studiossimum et amantissimum, ceterum pro insectis sua nihil meritum, quam ut in angulo sepultus esset." *Life*, p. 21.

‡ "Affectant alii martyrium: ego ne non arbitror hoc honore dignum." Ep. *Jortin*, A. D. 1520, lib. 1. p. 235.

"He trimmed between Luther and his adversaries, courting pope Leo X. with all decent respect, and seeming to desire to build his fortunes on him." *Knight*, pp. 182, 183.

"Erasmus called it the Lutheran *tragedy*: and it was in fact, because the drama marked its issue as tragic, that this wise and circumspect man, whose favourite motto was *otium cum dignitate*, refused to act a part in it. It is known, besides, that Erasmus was not of a disposition to sacrifice his interest to his opinions. He aspired to a cardinal's hat, and his anxiety for it gives a clue to his conduct towards the reformers." *Villiers*, p. 20.

the elector, to tell him that the morals of Luther were held in general esteem, and that his writings were every where read with the greatest avidity; a testimony which had no small weight in determining this prince to protect him.

At this time, the Franciscans, holding their chapter at Jutterbach, in the neighbourhood of Wittemberg, took that opportunity of expressing their zeal for the church, by their condemnation of fifteen propositions extracted from the writings of Luther. But such was the confidence he now had in himself, and in his friends, that he answered them with a threat, that if they did not retract what they had advanced, he would expose them and their order, in such a manner as should make them repent of it. Eckius writing in defence of the Franciscans, Luther replied in an *Apology*, which was afterwards published; on which, Eckius published thirteen propositions against the doctrine of Luther, and Luther answered in thirteen others, in one of which he said that the authority of the Pope was only supported by the decrees of the popes themselves, and that to these might be opposed the Scriptures, histories of approved credit, eleven hundred years old, and the canons of the first Council of Nice.

The court of Saxony began now to be seriously alarmed, and Spalatin being desired to inform Luther of it, he replied that, after the risk which he had run, he had no doubt of the divine protection; that he was informed the court of Rome was so much disturbed, that they had recourse to their usual arms of defence, poison and assassination; that if it had not been for his regard for the elector and the university of Wittemberg, he would have declared his whole mind with respect to Rome, or rather that Babylon which was so opposed to the Scriptures, that one or the other must be renounced. He added, "I always declared that I was ready to withdraw myself, rather than involve our prince in the dangers that threaten me. As to myself, I shall not avoid death, though in my *Apology* I sufficiently flattered the court of Rome, and the Pope." However, in order to give some satisfaction to the court of Saxony, he published an explanation of one of his *theses*, in which he admitted the superiority of the church of Rome over other churches, but only on the foundation of the consent of the people, which, however, he allowed to be sufficient for the purpose.

Eckius, who saw Luther at Augsburg, challenged him and André Bodenstein, generally called Carolostadt, from the place of his birth, to a public disputation, which was accepted,

and leave was obtained of George, duke of Saxony, to hold it at Leipsic, notwithstanding the opposition of the university, and the bishop. Accordingly, the disputants appeared in that city June the 8th, and the disputation commenced on the 18th, in the hall of the castle. It began between Eckius and Carolostadt, on the difficult subject of *grace*; which Carolostadt maintained to be in the strictest sense necessary to all good works, and Eckius with certain limitations. This dispute continued several days without any great advantage on either side.

After this, Eckius challenged Luther, and their disputation commenced the 14th of July, on the *authority of the Pope*; in which Luther maintained, from the Scriptures, that Peter had no superiority over the other apostles;* but being unwilling to deny the authority of general councils, he was embarrassed when he was urged with their decisions. He did not absolutely deny the doctrine of purgatory, but intimated some doubts on the subject. In disputing concerning indulgences, he did not deny the infallibility of the church, in matters of faith, but he maintained that this was not a question concerning faith, and that he only condemned the abuses that had been introduced into it. And Eckius saying that, though indulgences were not to be despised, they ought not to be too much confided in, Luther replied, that if all persons had held that language, he should have kept an eternal silence on the subject. After this they passed to questions concerning repentance, absolution and satisfaction. When Luther had done, Carolostadt and Eckius disputed two days on the subject of grace and free-will; but nothing deserving of much notice was advanced by either of them.

This disputation, which was published, terminated like most others, each party claiming the victory. The audience in general were disposed in favour of Eckius: but the consequences were injurious both to the Pope and to Luther. The reading of the acts of this disputation, opened the eyes of many persons with respect to the foundation of the power of the Pope; but, on the other hand, Luther was thought to favour the opinions of Wickliffe and Huss; and as the Bohemians lay under a great odium, he of course partook of

* "Yet he "made a concession, which he afterwards thought proper to retract, viz. that the Pope was the supreme head of the church, by human authority, though not by divine right; which made George, duke of Saxony, exclaim, after the conclusion of the debate, *sive jure divino, sive humano, sit Papa, est tamen Papa*; whether by divine or human right, he is still Pope." *Life*, p. 25.

it, and was with many, considered as a heretic. This disputation produced many writings, and among others, Melancthon's account of it to Œcolampadius, which was answered by Eckius, and defended by its author with singular judgment and moderation. Eckius also wrote to the elector, persuading him to burn the writings of Luther, and Luther published an explanation of his *theses*. It was on this occasion that, not being able to reconcile James and Paul, on the subject of justification, he said that the style of James was below the majesty of an apostle, and not to be compared to that of Paul; seeming to intimate a doubt of the authenticity of the epistle of James; but he afterwards saw his error in this.

This dispute brought forth the most dangerous enemy that Luther ever had, Jerome Emser, a professor of canon law in the university of Leipsic. Writing to a Romish doctor in Bohemia, he said that Luther entertained the sentiments of the Bohemians. On this, two of the Bohemian brethren wrote to him, exhorting him to avow and defend the truth, and sending him a book composed by John Huss, and that from which the articles of his condemnation had been drawn. This letter being answered by Luther, gave occasion to a report that he was in strict correspondence with the Bohemian brethren. But he defended himself from the imputation, in a letter to Emser, in which he said, that his most zealous friends were those who had no connexion whatsoever with the Bohemians.

In all this time, the Reformation was greatly promoted by the writings of Erasmus, especially by his new version of the New Testament,* and his edition of the works of Jerome, in A. D. 1519. This gave great offence to the divines of Louvain, who engaged Dorpius to write against him. But Erasmus replied with so much effect, that Dorpius made an ingenuous retractation of what he had advanced; and afterwards he with great force recommended the study of the Scriptures in their original languages, in preference to Logic and the Metaphysics of Aristotle, which he said consumed all the time of scholars to no good purpose whatever.

At the diet of Frankfort, in A. D. 1519, the elector of

* "His *Paraphrase*, published in 1522 and 1523, was nibbled at by the monks.—The pulpits echoed with invectives; they pelted him from all parts with *pasquils*.—They nicknamed *Erasmus*, *Erasmus*, &c. But when any of the monks, who exposed him from the pulpit in such filthy colours, were asked, 'What heresies they found in his books?' they made answer, 'That indeed they had not read them, but they must needs be very dangerous, because they were written in such obscure Latin.'" *Brandt*, pp. 114, 115.

Saxony gained great honour by refusing the imperial dignity, which was unanimously offered him; the electors not having been able to agree in the choice of either of the competitors, Francis I., king of France, or Charles, king of Spain. But Frederic declining that honour, and declaring for Charles, turned the scale in favour of the latter; so that the elector had, at the same time, the honour both of refusing, and of giving, the imperial dignity. Charles wrote him a letter of acknowledgment, and requested his care of the affairs of the empire in his absence. In what manner he requited the family of this great elector, will be seen hereafter. Miltitz now presented the elector with the golden rose, but he did not think proper to receive it in person, but appointed another person to go through the formalities of receiving it in his name: * and when he was urged to proceed against Luther, with intimations of his incurring the indignation of the Pope, he declared that he should take no part in the business.

Luther was all this time prosecuting his studies, and continually getting more light. He began to entertain doubts with respect to the number of the sacraments, auricular confession, communion in one kind, and some other articles. But still, in his *Commentary on the Galatians*, published this year, A. D. 1519, hoping to accommodate matters with the Pope, he repeated his protestation of obedience to the see of Rome. In public, he continued to explain the Psalms and the gospels.

About this time the Reformation was greatly advanced by Ulric Zuinglius, who indeed began to explain the Scriptures in a manner very hostile to the church of Rome, in A. D. 1516, before the name of Luther had been heard in Switzerland. This extraordinary person was born in A. D. 1487, in a village near the Lake of Zurich, of which his father

* The ceremony of consecrating a golden rose, and sending it to princes and persons of distinction, had its origin in the 11th century; and it is generally ascribed to Urban II., who, in A. D. 1093, gave it to Fulk, count of Anjou. Others ascribe it to Leo IX., about fifty years before this.—Lenfant's *Pise*, I. p. 325. (P.)

Another writer assigns a later origin to the *golden rose*, as being "first presented by Urban V. to Joan, queen of Sicily.—His successors continue the custom, every *Lent*, to gratify some prince with a *golden rose*, which they themselves consecrate, in a *mass*, with wonderful pomp, divers prayers, aointed over with *balsamum*, powdered with musk, sprinkled with holy water and *framed* with frankincense: in sign both of the *triumphant* and *militant* Jerusalem, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 109.

The same author says of the elector Frederic, "that when, according to custom, at *Christmas*, 1519, the Pope sent him a golden consecrated rose, *nullo honore dignatus est, imo pro ridiculo habuit*; he vouchsafed it no honour, but indeed made a *may-game* of it." *Ibid.* p. 309.

was bailiff. He studied theology at Basil,* under Thomas Wittenbach, a man who was well aware of the abuses of the times, and especially that of indulgences, which he combated as occasion served, and who was disgusted with scholastic theology. When he had finished his studies, Zuinglius was chosen pastor of the church of Glaris, and there he preached ten years, applying closely to the study of the Scriptures and the fathers, and there he learned Hebrew.

In this situation he laboured much to enlighten the minds of his parishioners, but more to reform their worship; and he particularly endeavoured to dissuade the Switzers from furnishing troops for pay to foreigners, by which he got many enemies. From Glaris he was invited to the church of Notre Dame of the Hermitage, the most celebrated in all Switzerland, in A. D. 1516. Here he was in a very conspicuous situation, on account of the great number of pilgrims that resorted to it; † but his method was to inculcate truth, rather than directly expose error. But while he was at Glaris, he had written to the bishop of Constance about the reformation of abuses. He had also spoken of them to the bishop of Sion, a prelate who was himself very sensible of them.

The reputation which Zuinglius acquired at the Hermitage, was the occasion of his being invited to Zurich, December the 10th. A. D. 1518. There he began with explaining the gospel of Matthew, being then thirty-four years of age, having declared his resolution not to preach in the usual manner, but to follow the method of the fathers, and to explain the Scriptures by themselves; ‡ and in this he united courage with prudence. In this year he opposed the Franciscan, Samien, who published indulgences, and he was commended at first by the bishop of Constance, who encouraged him to proceed with firmness, assuring him of his support. In return, he exhorted the bishop to favour the progress of truth, which was now bursting upon them on all sides, in such a manner that it was not possible to resist it. After this, however, the bishop grew cool, and rather thwarted the endeavours of Zuinglius, though he was sufficiently

* He had previously acquired the learned languages at Bern, and studied at Rome and Vienna. *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* V. p. 819.

† His Catholic biographer admits that “Zuingle y découvrit d'étranges abus, et vit que le peuple étoit dans des erreurs grossières sur l'efficacité des pèlerinages, et sur une foule d'autres pratiques.” *Ibid.*

‡ “Upon the first day of the year 1519, began the famous canon *Ulrich Zuinglius* to preach up reformation at Zurich.” *Brandt*, p. 116.

disgusted with the pride and arrogance of the court of Rome.

Zuinglius also addressed himself to Antonius Pucci, the Pope's legate in Switzerland, and had four conversations with him on the subject, in which he openly proposed his views; declaring that he should expound the Scriptures in such a manner as would give a great shock to the Pope. In this last situation of Zuinglius, his labours as a preacher and a lecturer, as well as in other ways, were very great, and exposed him to much danger both from the Catholics and the timid friends of truth and liberty. Many attempts were made upon his life, but they were frustrated by the care of his friends and of the magistrates, who placed guards near his house every night. His greatest enemies, as those of Erasmus and Luther, were the monks, in consequence of his having advised the magistrates to let the monasteries fall, after the decease of the present members, and to employ the revenues of them for the use of the state. He also obtained of the magistrates an order to all the ecclesiastics to preach nothing but the pure word of God, and to omit every thing suspected of novelty. All this passed before any thing was heard of Luther.

That Zuinglius was a person of some note and character as a scholar, is evident from his receiving money from the Pope's legate, while he was at Glaris, to buy books, and his having been made *acolyte*, and chaplain to Leo X., who, with all his faults, was a lover of learned men.

SECTION III.

The Progress of the Reformation, from the Accession of Charles V. to the Empire, to the Citation of Luther to appear at the Diet of Worms.

It is something remarkable that Luther began his reformation independently of any thing that had been done before him; so that he was truly a great original in that way. He ever dreaded the reproach of heresy, and it was by slow degrees that he was brought to any connexion with those who had been denominated heretics: but the affinity between his doctrines and those of the Hussites in Bohemia could not but soon be perceived, and all his enemies eagerly propagated reports of his connexion with them. Some colour was given to them by the publication of a sermon this year, in which he expressed a wish that the church, assembled in

general council, would restore the cup to the laity. The bishop of Misnia censured this piece,* and forbade the reading of it in his diocese; and the duke of Saxony wrote to the elector to complain of it. But he answered with great prudence, that he did not take upon him the defence of any of the writings of Luther, though there were persons of acknowledged piety and good sense who saw nothing reprehensible in them.

Luther easily defended himself from this accusation, in two publications. The first bore the title of *An Apology*, in which he shewed that the Bohemians could not be called heretics on account of their receiving the communion in both kinds, because they did it with the consent of the church; nor could he be called a heretic for having expressed a wish that the communion in both kinds might be restored, unless Pius II. was a heretic, for having wished that the priests might be allowed to marry. The second piece contained a refutation of the sentence of the bishop of Misnia, in which he was very severe on two or three ecclesiastics, whom he considered as the authors of it. This publication was disliked by the electoral court, and the impression of it was stopped for fear of provoking the Pope.

This interference of the court displeased Luther; and what he wrote to Spalatin on the occasion, discovers his firmness and the justness of his way of thinking: "You would have me," he says, "continue to teach, but how can this be done without offending the Pope? The Scriptures condemn the abuse of sacred things, and the popes will never bear the condemnation of the abuses of which they are the authors. I have devoted myself to the service of God, and may his will be done. Let us leave this business to him, and make ourselves easy. What can they do? They may take my life, but this I cannot lose more than once. They may defame me as a heretic, but was not Jesus Christ condemned by the wicked? Every time that I meditate on the sufferings of our Saviour, I am concerned to perceive that my trials appear so great to many persons. This comes from our not being used to suffer, that is, to live as the disciples of Christ. Let them do what they please. The more they endeavour to destroy me, the more I deride their efforts. If I did not fear to involve our prince in my destruction, I would write all I think without reserve, in order to provoke them the more."

* "On the 24th of January, 1520." *Life*, p. 25.

At this time the new emperor was expected in Germany, and it was thought that he would be favourable to Luther, as it was well known that the Pope had opposed his election. He therefore addressed a respectful letter to the emperor,* in which, however, he expressed himself with proper firmness, explaining his sentiments, and expressing the hope he had of his protection; concluding with saying, that if there was any thing that would do honour to his memory in future ages, it would be, his not suffering the wicked to trample upon the righteous. But previous to this he had adopted other conciliatory measures. He had made a public protestation of his resolution to live and die in the communion of the catholic church, that he was ready to renounce all disputation in order to employ himself in more useful works, and to appear before any ecclesiastical or secular judges, provided he could have a safe-conduct; praying the public to excuse his faults, since he aimed at nothing but the edification of the church, and the discovery of truth.

In a short time after,† he wrote with the same spirit of moderation to the archbishop of Mentz, and to the bishop of Mersberg. The answer he received from the former was mild, and did the writer much honour. He had the greater expectation from this prelate, in consequence of a letter which Erasmus had written to him the year before,‡ as it was a complete justification of his conduct, and a condemnation of that of his enemies. It shewed at the same time the necessity of a reformation. This letter Erasmus, agreeably to his usual caution, wished to be kept secret; but Ulric of Hutten, who was then at the court of the bishop, made it public, which gave the author much concern. In this letter he made heavy complaint of the mendicant friars, as the great supporters of superstition, and whose practices would exterminate all Christian piety. In mentioning their artifices, he referred to the history of Jetzer, at Bern.§ Erasmus also wrote to the elector of Saxony to the same purpose, adding, that such was the artifice of the monks, that, as they saw all the learned to be against them, they endeavoured to persuade the people that the study of languages, of eloquence, and of literature in general, was the source of the heresy of Luther, and his great support.

These two letters were of great service to Luther, as the

* "Dated January 15, 1520." *Life*, p. 26.

† "On February 4th of the same year." *Ibid.*

‡ See Jortin's *Erasmus*, A. D. 1520, 4to, pp. 253—255.

§ See *supra*, pp. 62—69.

writer was universally esteemed both for his knowledge and moderation; so that the censures of the universities of Cologne and Louvain, which were now published, did Luther less harm than the testimony of Erasmus did him good. Indeed, Luther's own replies to these censures were so bold and just, as to be of great service to his cause. In them he mentioned a number of most respectable persons whom they had censured, especially Erasmus and Reuchlin, saying, it was the opinion of all the learned that they had lost nothing of their just reputation, having been calumniated by men whose pride and passion were equal to their ignorance, and that whatever advantage they had gained over such men, had been by their intrigues, or their authority.

At this time, however, Luther did not wish wholly to abolish the authority of the Pope, thinking it might be of use to preserve the unity of the Western church; but he was desirous of moderating its authority, since it was become tyrannical, and the avarice and ambition of the court of Rome encouraged those abuses which were the source of their wealth. To accomplish this end, he this year published a treatise in the German language, addressed to the emperor and the nobility of the empire, in which he sapped the foundation of the papal tyranny by arguments which went further than his own views. The foundations of this tyranny he said were three: 1. The prerogative which the clergy assumed over the laity: whereas, the Scriptures made no such distinction as then prevailed between them, and laymen might exercise the functions of the Christian ministry in case of necessity. 2. The right which the popes claimed to determine the sense of Scripture, when they were as liable to error as other men. 3. The sole power of calling general councils, which properly belonged to the princes, and had been usurped by the popes.

He then gave a detail of the abuses of the court of Rome, and proposed the means of rectifying them; and this he did in so able a manner as appeared extraordinary in a man who had been educated at a distance from the business of the world. He particularly exposed the pretensions of the popes to the giving of the empire to the Germans, after taking it from the Greeks. On the contrary, he showed that they had revolted from the emperors, whose subjects they were. He also dwelt upon their artful and unjust methods of exhausting Germany. He acknowledged, however, that the popes had a spiritual authority over the

emperors, as they preached the word of God, and administered the sacraments, which Ambrose did to Theodosius. But, said he, "Let the emperor shew at length that he is emperor and their sovereign, and let him not be surprised by the tricks of Rome. Let him not suffer the Pope to seize upon his authority, and take from him the sword which God has put into his hands."

Though these things were well known before, the emperors not having been ignorant of their rights, this work of Luther's made a great noise. The friends of the court of Rome were inexpressibly enraged, and the friends of Luther trembled for him; thinking that, after such an affront, the Pope would never forgive him. This publication was, however, of service to him with the nobility, but hurt him with the ecclesiastics in general, who were not pleased to see themselves reduced to a level with the laity. He was much urged by his friends to suppress this piece, but he said it was impossible, and four thousand copies were soon sold. He added, "We are persuaded, that the Papacy is the seat of Antichrist, and we expose his impostures." He did not, however, mean any thing more at this time than to reduce the power of the Pope within due bounds.

At this time, the elector of Saxony having some business to manage at Rome, in which he did not succeed to his wishes, was told that he could not wonder that it went so ill, while he protected such a man as Luther. But he answered, that he had never arrogated to himself the right of judging Luther, and was far from defending him; and that he had let him alone, on his assurance that he was ready to defend his opinions before a proper tribunal, as soon as he should have a safe-conduct for that purpose; that Luther himself had voluntarily proposed to leave his estates, but that the legate Miltitz had opposed the measure, fearing that he might write with more freedom in some other place. In order to prevent their proceeding to the excommunication of Luther, he observed that Germany was not now what it had been; that it abounded with learned men; that all persons were passionately bent upon reading the Scriptures; and that if the court of Rome was determined to treat Luther with rigour, it might occasion a revolution as fatal to the Pope as to others.

The Pope, somewhat intimidated by this remonstrance, wrote to the elector, praising him for his moderation, but still speaking of Luther as the most wicked and detestable of all heretics, who had no mission but from the devil. He

further informed him, that the doctrine of Luther had been condemned in a congregation held for that purpose, and that if he did not retract in the time prescribed, he desired the elector to secure his person.

About this time Luther found other friends and protectors in Germany. Sylvester de Schaumberg, a nobleman of Franconia, and Francis Seckingen, a person of great wealth and influence in the empire, wrote to him, desiring him not to take refuge in Bohemia, as that would make his cause generally odious; but they assured him that there were a hundred gentlemen who were determined to protect him from any injury till his affairs should come to some regular decision. These friends, gained by nothing but the justice and goodness of his cause, greatly encouraged Luther to despise the thunders of the court of Rome, and he signified to the elector, that it might answer a good purpose to intimate this to his friends at Rome; hoping it might stop the excommunication which he knew was preparing against him. He added, "As for myself, my determination is taken. I equally despise the favours and the frowns of Rome. I will have no peace or communion with them. Let them condemn me, and burn my books if they will. I will condemn and burn their decrees, and renounce for ever all submission. I have gone too far in this way to recede. I doubt not God will finish his work either by me, or by some other."

Luther did not, however, always retain this degree of courage. About this very time, or not long after, he wrote to Spalatin to request his mediation in the business; saying, that he would agree to every thing except an absolute retractation, submitting to the brand of heresy, and the deprivation of his liberty to preach the word of God. He had, however, he said, an asylum in the hearts of the Germans. We cannot wonder at this vacillation in a man whose temper was naturally violent, and therefore subject to extremes, in a conjuncture of such great difficulty and importance.

All this time Luther continued to write, and now he published a book which surprised by its title, and not less by its contents. It was entitled, *De Captivitate Babylonica*, in which he treated of the sacraments; as nothing had contributed more to raise and maintain the authority of the Pope, than their number and supposed efficacy, and his exclusive power of administering them. In this work he reduced the sacraments to three—baptism, the eucharist,

and penance; though this last, he said, was not properly a sacrament. He maintained, on clearer ground than he had done before, the right of communion in both kinds; but though he denied the doctrine of transubstantiation, he retained that of the *real presence*; saying, that, as the divine nature of Christ became flesh without the flesh being changed into the divine nature, so the bread became the body of Christ without any change in its substance. This doctrine was called *consubstantiation*, and Luther illustrated it by the comparison of fire being in the substance of hot iron, where both subsisted together. In this work he took great pains to prove that the eucharist was no proper sacrifice, and therefore that no person can offer it for another, that therefore the priest can no more communicate for the people, than he could be baptized for them. Consequently, that all anniversaries, masses for the dead, or for the living who are absent, and the foundations which supported them, ought to be abolished, which would ruin an infinite number of priests and monks, who had no employment besides the celebration of such masses. With respect to sacraments in general, he said that they did not justify, but the faith which men have in the promise of God; as Abraham was not justified by circumcision, because he was justified before he was circumcised.

In the mean time Miltitz, whose interest it was not to offend either the court of Rome or the elector, was indefatigable in his endeavours to bring about a reconciliation: and for this purpose he applied to the archbishop of Treves, to whose judgment Luther had made no objection. But this prelate, perceiving the difficulty of the business, referred him to the approaching diet. He then applied to the chapter of the Augustines, and they appointed Stupitz, who had resigned the office of their vicar-general, and Vincelas Lincius, who had succeeded him, to confer with Luther for the purpose. Accordingly they both went to Wittenberg, and actually prevailed upon Luther to promise that he would write to the Pope, assuring him of his filial submission: and Miltitz was overjoyed at this success. But in the mean time Eckius arrived from Rome; and having brought the bull of excommunication, Luther changed his opinion, and informed Spalatin, that as he had not actually written the letter which he had promised to write, he would not now do it. This letter to Spalatin is dated October 3, [1520].

This was a great mortification to Miltitz, but he did not yet despair. He applied again to Luther, and promised

the electoral court that, if Luther would abide by his promise to the Augustines, he would procure the bull to be revoked or moderated, in one hundred and twenty days. On this, Luther again consented, and promised to write to the Pope within twelve days a letter that should be dated the 6th of September, that it might not appear to be written after the arrival of the bull, or extorted for fear of the excommunication. Miltitz's design was to go himself to Rome before the expiration of the one hundred and twenty days, and negociate the business with the Pope. Luther then actually wrote his letter, and sent it to the Pope, together with a book he had just published on the liberty of a Christian, in which he maintained the seeming paradox, that a Christian is at the same time subject to no one, and yet subject to all the world, taking advantage of the saying of Paul, *though I am free, I am servant of all*. This work gave offence to some, as favouring sedition, and was incautiously written. The court of Rome might, however, have borne with it, if it had been capable of moderation, or had consulted its interest.

But the conduct of Miltitz was by no means approved at Rome. It was thought that he had acted with too much meanness; and Eckius, who was then at Rome, had so boasted of his superiority in the conference at Leipsic, and so exaggerated the heresy of Luther, that he succeeded in procuring a bull against him, which, after much difficulty with respect to particulars, it was agreed should contain a condemnation of Luther's doctrine in forty-one propositions, but should allow him to retract in six days. All the books which he had ever published, or that he should publish, were ordered to be burned, and all Christian princes were exhorted to seize his person and his adherents, after that time should be expired, with a promise of a reward for so great a service, and an interdict was laid upon any place to which he should retire. In this bull,* Luther himself is treated as the greatest of heretics. The Pope, however, expresses his extreme concern for the state into which this heresy had brought the German nation. Even the composition of this bull, though exceedingly elaborate, did no credit to the composers of it; the periods being uncommonly long, and perplexed with parentheses, as well as objectionable on many other accounts.

Ulric de Hutten, a nobleman of Franconia, but a man of

* Dated June 15, 1520.

letters,* and deeply impressed with the prevailing abuses of the times, caused this bull to be published, and at the same time exposed its defects, adding, at the close of his remarks, the words of the Psalmist, Psalm ii. *Let us break their bonds asunder, and cast their cords from us.*

Eckius having obtained the character of nuncio, returned to Germany with this bull; but his reception was very different from his expectations; and at Leipsic, where he had disputed with Luther, and where he hoped to have met with the greatest applause, he was worse treated than in any other place. Even the duke of Saxony forbade the publication of the bull, without an express order from the bishop of Mersberg; and when it appeared, the people and the students tore it in pieces, and threw it into the dirt. Eckius himself was so much insulted, that he took refuge in the monastery of the Dominicans. Leaving Leipsic in the night, he presented the bull to the university of Erfort; but there it was not received, on the pretence of the want of some formality. In this place also it was torn, and thrown into the water, and the students kept him besieged in his own house.

The bishop of Bamberg made the same objection to the reception of the bull that had been made at Erfort, and the bishop of Eickstadt, where Eckius was a canon, was the first who at length published it. The bishop of Mersberg deferred the publication, till April in the year following, and the bishop of Misnia, the most violent against Luther, did not do it till the 7th of January. At Vienna, it was not published till Easter, in A. D. 1521, and then the senate ordered all the people to withdraw before the reading of it. The bishop of Brandenburg, though accompanied by the elector, and Albert, duke of Mecklenberg, went to Wittemberg to publish it there; but finding the favourable opinion the people there had of Luther, and both the elector and the duke his brother speaking favourably of him, they left the place without doing any thing in the business.

Thus encouraged, we are not surprised to find that Luther treated this bull with contempt. At first he thought to advise the elector of Saxony, who was then at Aix, attending the coronation of the emperor, to obtain an imperial rescript, forbidding the condemnation of him till he should be convinced of heresy out of the Scriptures. But finding by a letter from Erasmus that the emperor was surrounded with

* See *supra*, p. 101, Note * *ad fin.*

monks, who had prepossessed his mind against him, he did not wish to expose his master to the inconvenience of a refusal, and thought it would be better that he should appear to have no knowledge of the matter. The first step that he took was to attack Eckius, in a work in the German language, in which he exposed his vices and hypocrisy, and for the first time openly vindicated John Huss; having now read his books, and approved of them. He also renewed his appeal to a general council, the Pope having condemned him without giving him a hearing. The Pope himself he treated as a tyrant, an apostate, and Antichrist, and conjured the emperor, and the states of the empire, to respect his appeal, and suspend the execution of the bull till he should be heard and convinced of his errors out of the Scriptures.

Not content with this, he attacked the bull itself in two publications. In the first he gave the lie to the Pope, who had said that he made him an offer of money to defray the expenses of his journey to Rome. On the other hand, he said it was well known that there was a sum of money in the hand of some bankers, to reward the villain who should assassinate him. Keeping, therefore, now no measures with the Pope, he said, "If you do not renounce your blasphemies and impieties, know, that not only I, but all who serve Jesus Christ, regard your church as the damnable seat of Antichrist, which we will not obey, and to which we will not be united. We shall bear with joy all your unjust excommunications, and even voluntarily devote ourselves to death. But if you persevere in the fury with which you are now actuated, we condemn you, and deliver you to Satan, with your bulls and your decretals." In the second publication he defended the propositions which the court of Rome had condemned.

In the mean time the Pope's bull had been received at the universities of Cologne and Louvain,* and in consequence of it, the writings of Luther were publicly burned in those cities. This was on the day on which the emperor set out from Spain. The same was attempted at Antwerp, but without success. Those who undertook to do it at Mentz,

* "At this time *Margaret*, the emperor's aunt, was governess of the Netherlands, who, when the *Masters of Louvain* lamentably complained that Luther, with his writings, did subvert all Christendom, asked of them, what manner of man this Luther was. They told her that he was an *unlearned* monk. 'Why then,' replies she, 'see that all you learned men, being a great multitude, write against that one unlearned fellow, and doubtless the world will give more credit to many of you, being learned, than to him, being but one, and unlearned.'" *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 311.

were in great danger, hardly escaping the rage of the people. In other places the monks purchased of the magistrates the liberty of doing it, and it generally cost them dear. In return, Luther, accompanied by the doctors of the university of Wittenberg, with the students and the people, having lighted a great fire, threw into it the Pope's bull with all the decretals; at the same time pronouncing these words: "Since thou hast troubled the holy one of God, may eternal fire consume thee." This was transacted December 10. A. D. 1520.

Luther followed this bold action with a public justification of it, in which he alleged, that, being a doctor in theology, it was his duty to prevent the increase of impiety, and that all the world ought to be informed, that he, Luther, convinced that the Pope was Antichrist, had thrown off his yoke, and was resolved to sacrifice every thing to the truth which he had taught. In this work, which he entitled *An Apology*, he inserted thirty propositions drawn from the decretals, and shewed them to be impious. They were such as these: "The successors of St. Peter are not subject to the command which this apostle gave to all the faithful to obey the temporal powers; that the Pope has all power in heaven and in earth; that he can absolve from all oaths and vows; that he does not depend upon the Scriptures, but that the Scriptures derive their authority from him," &c. &c. &c. He concluded with quoting Rev. xviii. 6: *Do unto Babylon as she has done unto you, render unto her, double.* The next day, in lecturing on the Psalms, he discoursed on the necessity of renouncing obedience to the Pope, telling his pupils that there was no medium, and that they who aspired to the ministry of the gospel, must either expose their lives in resisting the reign of error, or renounce eternal life; and that he had taken his own measures accordingly.

In the mean time the Pope used his utmost endeavours to gain the elector, and for this purpose had appointed two nuncios, whom he sent to Germany to wait upon him. One of them was Alexander, a person of Jewish extraction, bishop of Brindisi.* He was a man of whom Luther said that though born of a Jew, he was not of the sect of the Pharisees, living as if he disbelieved the resurrection of the dead, his life was so notoriously profligate. The other was Carraccioli, sent more particularly to congratulate the em-

* "Afterwards: cardinal. He was taken prisoner with Francis I. at the battle of Pavia, and died at Rome in 1542. *Nov. Act. Hist.* 1. p. 83.

peror on his arrival in the Low Countries.* Both these nuncios applied to Frederic, and after a long preamble, acquainted him with the request of the Pope, which was, that he would order the books of Luther, and himself also, to be burned, or at least that he would keep him in close custody, if he did not choose to send him in irons to Rome, which would be most agreeable to his holiness.

The elector heard them both with great patience, and replied, that he would consider of the business. And after a few days he commissioned his counsellors to tell them, that he had determined to have nothing to do in the business of Luther; and after repeating what he had said on a former occasion, about his sending Luther to Augsburg and the archbishop of Treves, he said that people judged so differently of his writings, that he thought there had been precipitation in burning them before they had been examined, and he desired the nuncios to suspend the execution of the bull till the Pope had granted that Luther should be judged by German divines of known capacity and probity; and he said that if Luther should be convicted of error from the Scriptures, he would not fail to do honour to the holy see, and every thing that his holiness could require of an obedient son. The nuncios seeing no prospect of gaining their point with the elector, told the counsellors that the Pope did not wish to take the life of Luther.

Erasmus being at Cologne at this time, the elector consulted him about his conduct in this business, and in the grave and serious manner that was natural to him. After pausing some time, Erasmus said that Luther had committed two great crimes, he had touched the crown of the Pope, and the bellies of the monks, † which made the elector, who before had been very grave, to laugh outright. He then said more seriously, that Luther was justified in checking the abuses that had been introduced into the church, and that his doctrine was right, but he wished he had used more moderation. Soon after this, Erasmus gave his opinion more at large in writing, concluding with saying, that the state of the empire, and the interest of the emperor, required that the beginning of his reign should not be stained with blood; that it was the interest of the Pope himself to have affairs accommodated; that the adversaries of Luther had

* Charles was crowned at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, October 21, and appointed a meeting of the Diet to be held at Worms, January 26, 1521.

† “*Duo magna esse Lutheri peccata, quod ventres monachorum et coronam Papæ attigisset.*” *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 309.

advanced things which all divines disapproved; that now all the world sighed for the evangelical doctrine, and that it would be dangerous to oppose their inclination in an odious and violent manner.

There was great boldness in this conduct of Erasmus, considering that he had come to a resolution to be neuter in this controversy. Dreading the consequences of having delivered his sentiments with so much freedom, he wrote to Spalatin, requesting that the letter might be returned to him. This was done, but not till a copy had been taken of it, and this being by some means published, gave great offence both to Erasmus and Luther. In consequence of this, Alexander, though before a friend of Erasmus, did every thing he could to ruin him, especially after having endeavoured in vain to engage him, by the promise of a bishopric, to write against Luther.

The elector, confirmed in his judgment by the opinion of Erasmus, prevailed upon the emperor to allow Luther a hearing before he should be condemned; and the emperor, highly respecting his character, being under great obligations to him, and indeed wanting his assistance, desired him to bring Luther to Worms, where the diet was to be held; but he forbade him in the mean time to write any thing more against the Pope. The elector with his usual prudence declined having any thing to do with the conduct of Luther; who, however, was far from having any objection to appear at Worms, on the summons of the emperor, which he said he should consider as the call of God; and with great piety and magnanimity he expressed his firm resolution to go at all events, though his death should be the consequence of it.

At this time there was a very general wish for a reformation. The emperor himself was not disinclined to it, and this was even the case of some of the ecclesiastical princes. The archbishop of Mentz, though a voluptuous man, was not much averse to it, and the archbishop of Treves, though attached to the Pope, had prevented the burning of Luther's books, in his diocese. George, duke of Saxony, though a rival to the elector, and disliking Luther, was so much persuaded of the necessity of some reformation, that he carried to the diet of Worms a proposal in twelve articles, which concluded with his saying, "We must labour for an universal reformation, and as it cannot be effected more commodiously than in a general council, we all demand the immediate calling of one." Notwithstanding these favourable appear-

ances, the friends of Luther, who knew the situation of the emperor, and especially how desirous he was to gratify the Pope, in order to gain his interest to oppose Francis, king of France, were not a little apprehensive for his safety.

However, the enemies of reformation dreaded the appearance of Luther at Worms, much more than his friends, and nothing that they could do was spared to prevent it; and when the diet was met, Aleander, on the 13th of February, delivered a flaming invective against Luther, in which he said that his books were full of as many heresies as would justify the burning of a hundred thousand heretics, and declared that they could not avoid ordering them to be burned without offering an affront to the emperor, and especially the elector of Mentz and Cologne. Of himself, he said that he was not of Jewish extraction, but descended from the marquisses of Istria.

But all the influence of the Pope and his partisans could not prevail upon the diet to take any harsh measures with respect to Luther, though they thought the authority of the Pope well-founded, and only wished to correct the abuses of it. The sentiments of Erasmus being desired on this occasion, he wrote his advice at large, blaming the enemies of Luther, who, he said, were the enemies of literature; for their violence, as the cause of his advising moderate measures: asserting the necessity of a reformation, and saying that the old theology was nothing but a heap of useless subtleties; that the people were every where longing for the doctrine of the gospel, and that if the sources of this knowledge were shut to them, they would open them by force. In his opinion, he said, the only method of terminating the differences was, by the emperor, the kings of England and Hungary, who could not be suspected by either party, choosing out of their estates prudent and enlightened persons to take cognizance of the writings of Luther. The Pope he allowed had a right to judge in all matters of faith, but that on this occasion he ought to decline it, and leave the business to others.

In this state of things, Glapius, confessor to the emperor, had many conferences with Pontanus, the chancellor of the elector of Saxony, the object of which was, to prevent the public discussion of Luther's sentiments, to have the business settled in some private manner, or to amuse the people with some slight reformation. But the issue of the whole tended to confirm the elector in his opinion that Luther

had much reason on his side, and that he ought to protect him.

The emperor, being thus assailed on all sides, thought of an expedient, which he imagined would satisfy all parties for the present. It was, that the books of Luther should not be burned, nor yet suffered to be circulated, but that the magistrates of each place should take them into their custody. Accordingly, an ordonnance was made to that purpose. But the magistrates said that this measure could not answer any good end, since the doctrine of Luther was not now confined to his books, but was fixed in the minds of the people, from which it was not in their power to force it. They, therefore, thought that the better way would be to require him to retract what he had written, and that if he refused, they would employ all their force to second his majesty's intentions; but they added their entreaty, that he would correct the abuses by which the court of Rome was ruining Germany. This advice was approved, and the emperor gave orders for the citation of Luther, and also that a memorial should be drawn up of the abuses complained of.

Notwithstanding this seeming moderation, it sufficiently appeared that the emperor was gained by the enemies of Luther, and he even joined with them in having recourse to expedients unworthy of his dignity, to prevent his appearance; and several things were proposed in the diet, which, if they had been carried, would certainly have prevented his journey. The emperor also endeavoured to draw the elector of Saxony into some difficulty, by advising him to grant the safe-conduct. But Frederic had too much prudence to be thus surprised; and when the summoning of Luther could not be prevented, and a safe-conduct must be given, not only by the emperor, but by all the princes through whose estates he was to pass, he did not give his, till he received an order from the emperor so to do. At length, not only was the safe-conduct given in the fullest manner, but it was accompanied with a respectful letter from the emperor to him, requiring him to attend at Worms within twenty-one days, there to give an account of his doctrine and his writings. No mention was made in it of retractation, or any prohibition to preach, on his journey. Accordingly, he set out respectably attended, and on his way he preached at Gotha, Erfort, and Eisenach.

Still the partisans of the Pope entertained some hope that they should be able to prevent his coming, and with this

view they spread a report which was calculated to intimidate him, and it had such an effect upon his friends, that they endeavoured to persuade him to return. But though he was at that time in a bad state of health, he persisted in his purpose, and said he would go to Worms in spite of all the powers of hell. When he was within three leagues of the city, he received a letter from Spalatin, conjuring him once more not to proceed any farther. But he replied that he would go to Worms, though there should be as many devils there as there were tiles upon the houses.*

Another attempt was made to divert him from his purpose, by deferring the execution of the imperial ordonnance to take his books into custody, till the very evening before his arrival. This induced Seckingen to send Bucer to him, to persuade him to retire to some castle in the neighbourhood, where Glapius would be ready to confer with him on the subject of religion. But he replied, that only two days remained of his safe-conduct, and that this was not sufficient for any conferences with the emperor's confessor. He therefore proceeded, and arrived at Worms the same day, April the 16th. His entering resembled a triumph rather than that of a man accused of heresy. A herald walked before him, in his habit of ceremony, a number of courtiers, who had gone to meet him, walked along with him, and the streets were crowded with people eager to see him. He was lodged with the ministers of the elector of Saxony, where he received the visits of many persons of distinction.†

* *Brandt*, p. 119. His friends had reminded "him of the safe-guard granted to John Huss, which had been violated." *Life*, p. 33.

† I am enabled here to add to this edition of the *History*, some curious notices of Luther and his contemporaries with which I have been favoured by a friend well acquainted with Germany and the German language.

"In the year 1814, a literary and graphical curiosity made its appearance at Berlin, under the title of *Lucas Cranach's Stammbuch*, or Album. Cranach was one of the most celebrated German painters of the 16th century, the intimate friend of Luther, and a zealous reformer. It has been known for more than a century, that there existed a volume of miniature portraits of the German Reformers, in water colours, on parchment, by Cranach, each portrait being accompanied by the autograph of the subject of the painting. The history of the volume is very obscure, but the painter's well-known monogram, and the date 1543 upon the miniatures, sufficiently confirmed the authenticity of the work. It was purchased at Nuremberg 1797, by Baron Hardeberg, and transmitted to king William the Second of Prussia, in November of that year. The death of that monarch at that time occasioned the loss of the volume, which was found 1812. It has been published in three editions, one of which contains a coloured fac-simile of the paintings. There are ten portraits.

1. The Saviour.
2. Frederick III. surnamed the Wise, Elector of Saxony, *Æt.* 59.
3. The Elector John Frederick, the Generous, *Æt.* 40.
4. Duke Ernest of Saxe-Cobourg, *Æt.* 32.
5. Luther, *Æt.* 60.

SECTION IV.

From the Appearance of Luther at Worms, in April A. D. 1520, to the Pontificate of Clement VII., A. D. 1523.

AT length the day, the subject of so much expectation, when Luther was to appear before the diet, arrived. It was April the 17th, the day after his arrival at Worms, when the marshal of the empire waited upon him with an order to attend the diet at four in the afternoon. At that hour he

6. Melancthon, Æt. 46.
7. Justus Jonas, Æt. 50.
8. Bugenhagen (Pomeranian), Æt. 58.
9. George Spalatinus, Æt. 61.

10. The painter Cranach, copied from a painting at Weimar.

Besides short biographical notes, are published some curious fac-similes, one of which is the celebrated Summons of Charles the Fifth to Luther, to appear before the diet at Worms in 1521. This we add in the original with a translation. The safe-conduct granted to Luther which accompanied the Summons is to the same effect, but being a public instrument is more formal and verbose.

THE SUMMONS.

Karl von Gottes Gnaden erwählter Römischer Kaiser zu allen Zeiten Mehrer des Reichs etc. Ehrsammer lieber andächtiger. Nach dem Wir und des heiligen Reichs Stände, jetzt hier versammelt, fürgenommen und entschlossen der Lehren und Bücher halben, so ein Zeit her von dir ansgegangen sind, Erkundigung von dir zu empfangen, haben wir dir her zu kommen, und von da wiederum an dein sicher Gewahrsam unser und des Reichs freygestraekht Sicherheit und Geleit gegeben, das Wir dir hieneben zusenden, Mit Begehrt du wollest dich fürderlich erheben, also dass du in Ein und Zwanzig Tagen, in solchem unserm Geleit bestimmst, gewislich hie bey uns seyst und nicht ausbleibest, dich auch keines Gewalts oder venrechens besorgen. Dann Wir dich bey dem obgemeldtem unserm Geleit festiglich handhaben wollen. Uns auch auf solche deine Zukunft verlassen, und du thust daran unser ernstliche Meinung. Geben in unsever und des Reichs Stadt Worms am sechsten Tag des Monats Martii. Anno 1521 Unseres Reichs im andern Jahr.

CAROLUS.

*Ad Mandatum Domini Imperatoris
mannu propria.*

*Albertus Cardinalis Moguntinus Archiepiscellarius,
Niclas Zwyl.*

Charles, by the Grace of God elected Roman Emperor, at all times enlarger of the Empire, &c. Worshipful, dear devout. We and the States of the Holy Empire here assembled, having undertaken and resolved to receive from thee information concerning the books and doctrine which have proceeded from thee, have given thee our and the Empire's assurance and conduct to come hither and from hence to return to thy sure hold, it being our pleasure that thou mayest immediately repair hither, so that in one-and-twenty days, in such our safe-conduct appointed, thou mayest, without fail, be here with us, and therein delay not, fearing neither violence nor injustice: For we will have thee secure by our aforesaid safe-conduct. We also rely on thy so doing, and that therein thou performest our earnest will. Given under our and the Empire's city, Worms, the 6th of March, 1521, and in the second year of our reign.

CAROLUS.

By command of the Lord the Emperor,
with his own hand.
Albert of Mentz, Cardinal Archchancellor.
Niclas Zwyl.

waited upon him again, and conducted him to the diet, preceded by a herald. But the crowd was so great, that they were obliged to break down the palisades of some gardens to make room for his passage. All the windows, and even the roofs of the houses, were crowded with spectators.

When he was introduced into the assembly, he was required to say whether he was the author of the books ascribed to him, and whether he would retract or defend what was contained in them. To the former he readily replied in the affirmative, but he desired time to consider of the latter; and after some debate, he was allowed till the next day, provided he would then give his answer *vivá voce*.

This delay led the enemies of Luther to think that he was intimidated; and even his friends, the elector of Saxony among the rest, were not without their fears on this head; and as he was the next day going to the hall of audience, several persons were heard speaking to encourage him. One gentleman, who had been in the army, told him, that though he was going into a place of more danger than ever he himself had been in, he might take courage, for God would never leave him. As he entered the hall, which was at six o'clock in the afternoon, some were heard to say, "Fear not them that kill the body;" and others, "When ye are taken before kings, and governors, take no thought what ye shall say," &c.

Being at length introduced,* and again asked by the public orator, whether he would defend or retract his writings, and was insulted by saying, that so great a doctor as he was, should always be ready to answer, and not have required so much time; without taking any notice of that, he addressed the emperor and the audience in the German language; and after an introduction suited to the case of a person who had been educated far from courts, and the intercourse of such persons as he was then addressing, he said, that he must make a distinction in his writings. Some of them, he said, were works of piety, which his enemies allowed to be useful, though the Pope had ordered them to be burned, along with the rest; others related to the Pope and his partisans, who, by their doctrine and their example, equally pernicious, were ravaging the Christian world, ruining families, and destroying souls, as he said cannot be denied or dissembled. These, he said, he was not capable of such cowardice as to retract. In his other writings, he

* "In his frier's habit," says Lord Herbert in *Life*. VII.

said he had censured particular persons, and he was ready to allow that he had sometimes done it with too much asperity; but that farther than this he could not make any concession. He was ready, however, he said, to retract any thing that he should be shewn by the word of God to be an error; and he conjured the assembly to inform him of them, declaring that then he would burn his books himself.

He was well aware, he added, both, of the danger to which he exposed himself, and of the evils that would arise from the difference of opinion and conduct which would be occasioned by his writings; but this, he said, was in the order of Providence. Christ himself said that he was not come to bring peace upon earth, but a sword, and to put division between the nearest relations. He concluded with solemnly warning the audience not to defeat their own purpose by proscribing the word of God, and thereby bring a deluge of evils upon the empire, which would make the reign of their young prince, from which they had formed such great and just expectations, a very unhappy one. He then entreated their protection, and that they would not suffer the clamour of his enemies to prevail over their regard to equity.

Having said this in the German language, he was required to speak in Latin, and this he did with the same readiness and firmness. When he had concluded, the public orator with much indignation, replied, that he had not answered the question that had been put to him; he must say distinctly whether he would retract or not; nor must he call in question what had been decided in general councils. To this Luther replied, that he must be convinced of error by proofs drawn from Scripture, or from plain reason; he would not yield to the authority of popes, or of councils, both of them having fallen into manifest errors and contradictions. Being persuaded that he had taught the truth, "I cannot," he said, "retract upon any article. This is my final resolution, I shall take no other. So help me God."

After he was withdrawn, and the princes had considered his speech, he was called in again; when the orator told him that his answers to the questions that had been put to him were deemed to be neither decent, nor to the purpose; that the distinction that he had made in his writings was useless, as he had only to retract those that contained errors; that it was unreasonable in him to expect to be confuted out of the Scriptures, when he revived errors which had been condemned in the Council of Constance, at which the German church had assisted; that the emperor

commanded him to say distinctly, whether he would maintain what he had advanced, or retract it. Luther, however, persisted in his resolution; and as he finally withdrew, the Spaniards belonging to the emperor's household followed him with hootings. But his friends received him with the warmest congratulations, and especially the elector of Saxony, who said to Spalatin, that he had always feared lest Luther would have been intimidated by such an assembly; but then, full of joy and admiration, he said to him, "How well Luther has spoken, both in German and in Latin! He has shewn all the courage that he ought to have done, and perhaps too much."

The day following, the emperor, who was beset by the emissaries of the Pope, produced in the diet, without consulting the princes of the empire, a writing in Latin, which expressed that the emperors, his predecessors, having always honoured the church of Rome which Luther had attacked, without renouncing his error, he was resolved to defend the church. He, therefore, ordered the excommunication of Luther and his adherents to be carried into execution; and said, that if it should be necessary, he would employ all his force to reduce them, though he would cause him to be reconducted in safety to Wittemberg.

But the princes of the empire refused to be governed by this decision of the emperor, and appointed the archbishop of Treves, who had always shewn much moderation, to confer with Luther again; wishing him to retract something or other; hoping that, as in most things he had reason on his side, this might be the means of procuring an useful reformation, and reducing the power of the Pope. This conference, however, with the archbishop, though conducted in a manner the most likely to answer this end, had no better success than any of the preceding attempts to produce a compromise. After their private conference some other person being introduced, the prelate said, "What remedy then can we find in this business?" Luther answered, "That of Gamaliel, 'If this thing be of man, it will soon come to nought; but if it be of God, ye cannot destroy it.'"^{*}

Except that the emperor was unfavourable to Luther, he had no reason to complain of the reception he met with at Worms. He was visited by many persons of the first distinction, especially by William, duke of Brunswick; William, prince of Henneberg; and Philip, the landgrave of Hesse.

* Acts v. 38, 39. See *Brandt*, p. 119.

though he was not at this time in his sentiments. However, speaking to him one day on the subject of his doctrine, he gave him his hand at parting, and said, "If you have reason on your side, God will be with you."

Notwithstanding the safe-conduct that had been given to Luther, some of the ecclesiastical princes, and of the secular too, solicited the emperor to arrest him, saying that so fine an opportunity of extinguishing heresy ought not to be lost; that they would be justified by the example of the Council of Constance, and that Luther was infinitely more condemnable than Huss.* But Lewis, the elector Palatine, said, it was not reasonable that all Germany should be stained with the infamy of violating the public faith, for the sake of pleasing some ecclesiastics. George, duke of Saxony, though an enemy to Luther, was the first to condemn this act of perfidy; and on this occasion he said that, if good faith was banished from the earth, it ought to be found in the breasts of princes. It was, therefore, signified to Luther that he had leave to depart, that he should be allowed twenty-one days for that purpose; but that the emperor forbade his preaching on his journey; that when that time should be expired, he must expect that his imperial majesty would do his duty as a good defender of the catholic faith. Luther replied, "It is as God wills. His name be praised." He then desired the officer to thank the emperor and the states for the public audience and the safe-conduct they had given him. He was ready, he said, to sacrifice his life in their service, and reserved to himself only the liberty to preach the word of God. And notwithstanding the emperor's prohibition, he preached on his journey, having made no promise that he would not do it.

Though Luther had given the greatest satisfaction to all his friends, his behaviour did not fully please himself. Writing to Spalatin, he said, "I reproach myself for yielding too far to your advice, and that of my other friends, and for relaxing too much of my zeal on that occasion. I ought to have shewn these idolatrous Israelites the spirit of a new

* *Lenfant* relates an anecdote, on this occasion, very creditable to Charles V. It appears from an ancient Life of John Huss, that when he found that his *safe-conduct* would be violated, he declared, before the Council of Constance, that he came there under the faith of the emperor, then present, and immediately fixed his eyes on Sigismond, who appeared confused, (*qui ne put s'empêcher de rougir*). Charles, being now solicited by *Eckius* and others to detain Luther, notwithstanding his *safe-conduct*, replied, that he did not choose to *blush*, like his predecessor Sigismond, (*Je ne veux pas rougir avec Sigismond mon prédécesseur*.) See *Hist. de Concile de Constance*, L. iii. Sect. xlvii. l. p. 272. On Sigismond's abandonment of Huss to the clergy, see Vol. IX. p. 558.

Elias. They should hear other things, if they were to call me before them now."

The elector of Saxony conducted himself with the greatest firmness and prudence in this conjuncture, as on all other occasions; and resisted all attempts to injure Luther. Writing to his brother from the diet, he said, "I have been solicited in the strongest manner by persons of such character that you would be surprised if I were to tell you. When I come I shall tell you astonishing things. This is the work of God, and not of man. Be assured that not only Annas and Caiaphas, but that Pilate and Herod, are the enemies of Luther."

When Luther was arrived at Erideberg, where he might think himself safe, he dismissed his guard with two letters, one addressed to the emperor, and the other to the states of the empire; expressing himself as he had done before, and saying that he was ready to appear before equitable judges; but on the only condition, that his cause should be examined by the Scriptures, and expressing his sincere good-will towards the emperor and the German nation. When he was entering the forest of Thuringia, he was, by the direction of the elector, who saw no other way of saving him and himself, and with Luther's own consent, seized by an armed force, and conveyed to the castle of Wartburg;* and this

* "Which he since called his Patmos." *Brandt*, p. 120. The friend to whom I am indebted for a former note (pp. 127, 128) has obliged me with the following information:

"This watch-tower (*Wartburg*), which has become justly celebrated from having been for so many years the asylum of the great leader of the German reformers, is still the ornament of a picturesque country in the neighbourhood of Eisenach, which belongs to the grand duke of Saxe-Gotha. It crowns an eminence covered with timber trees, and is within the district of the forest of Thuringen. The building is now converted into a farm-house, but Luther's apartment is still shewn to the Protestant pilgrim.

"Last year this spot was the scene of a festival which excited much interest, at the time, among the friends of civil and religious liberty in Germany, whose emancipation from France excited a lively zeal in the cause of national independence, which is so closely connected with that of civil and religious freedom. The anniversary of the Reformation occurring, it was resolved to celebrate that event at the *Wartburg*. The dukes of Saxony, still the most enlightened among the German princes, as in the days of the Reformation, sanctioned the measure; and in October 1817, a large assembly of German students from all the Protestant universities, in number many hundreds, met there. They attended, for the greater part, in the costume of the German scholars in the 16th century, which has been within a few years revived at the universities, heard religious service at the principal church at Eisenach, and walked in procession to the *Wartburg*, where orations were held, and hymns were sung. Several professors from Jena headed the procession, of whom the chief in reputation was Dr. Fries, of Jena, the most distinguished of the disciples of Kant, in Germany. At night, however, some of the younger men of the party proceeded, in imitation of Luther's burning the Bull and Decretals [p. 22], to make a bonfire, at which were consumed several books of an aristocratical and intolerant character; and they added, at the same time, some instruments of military

was done with so much secrecy, that it was not known either to the friends or the enemies of Luther: and, on its being reported that he was assassinated, it appeared, by the consternation excited by the news, that he had more friends than his enemies wished him to have, and that it was impossible to destroy him by proscription.

The friends of the Pope, however, did not fail to endeavour it. The emperor, being wholly governed by their councils, issued an edict on the 26th of May, after the friends of Luther were purposely tired out with their attendance at the diet, and had left it, but dated the 5th, as if it had been dictated while the diet was full, in which Luther was treated in the most opprobrious manner; being said to be the devil himself, who had taken the form of a man, and of a monk, to conceal himself, and destroy mankind; that the emperor had perhaps gone too far in hearing a man who had been condemned by the Pope, who was obstinate in his errors, and was acknowledged to be a heretic. He therefore condemned and banished him as the author of schism, and an obstinate and notorious heretic, and directed that every person should endeavour to apprehend him, and to put him under lawful custody. He also ordered all his books to be destroyed.*

By this measure the emperor gained the friendship of the Pope, and drew him off from the interests of the king of France. This, and not his zeal in the cause of religion, was, no doubt, the true reason of this proceeding. The edict, however, had no effect. No inquiry was made after Luther, and the emperor did not appear to be solicitous about it; which made some persons think that he himself was in the secret of his seizure.

Luther, in the mean time, was at his ease, more respected

discipline, pig-tails, &c. &c. This gave rise to some judicial inquiries. The liberal government at Weimar, however, finally absolved the students.

"It will not, perhaps, be thought too wide a digression from the subject of this note, to add, that it is pleasing to observe, after the lapse of centuries, the same excellent principles flourishing with great vigour, and producing the most glorious effects, in the same distinguished family. The history of the Saxon prince will be recollected, who was deprived of his electorate, for his attachment to the cause of reform, by the emperor. His politic cousin received a part of the dominions, and the electoral dignity, which belonged to his more conscientious and less fortunate kinsman; which electorate has been raised to a monarchy within our days. The grand duke of Weimar, who is the representative of the elder, but dethroned branch of the family, has, in the 19th century, emulated the virtues of his ancestor in the 16th. He has recently given a constitution to his people, erected *states* or houses of parliament, and established by law, that liberty of the press which exists in fact, throughout Germany. And it is understood that his royal highness is now organizing a law for the introduction of the trial by jury."

* *Sleidan's "History of the Reformation,"* 1689, p. 40. (P.)

than ever, and employed in writing more books. He would have wished, however, to have had more liberty, though attended with more danger. Being tired of his solitude, and his health suffering from it, he wrote to one of his friends, that he had rather be put upon burning coals for the glory of God, the strengthening of his own faith, and the faith of others, than remain there alone, in a state of confinement, hardly alive, and rotting in a dismal solitude, before he was buried. In this situation it gave him much concern to hear that when the canons of Erfort would have driven from their body one of their brethren, on the pretence of his being a Lutheran, the students rose and plundered some of their houses, and set fire to them, and that the insurgents were not punished. He was far from being pleased with this mark of popular favour; being of opinion, that the true method of establishing the gospel was by patient suffering.

Towards the end of this year appeared Luther's Answer to Ambrose Catharin, a Dominican, who had written in defence of the authority of the Pope and his brother Prierio; a work which he had composed before his journey to Worms. In this work he not only exposed the fallacy of the argument from the words of Christ, *Thou art Peter*, but he applied some passages of Daniel, and some prophecies of the New Testament, to the rise, progress and character of the Pope, in such a manner, that the historian says, it was astonishing that he should have lived twenty-five years after this. He also shewed the impropriety of applying the word *church*, and the character of *without spot and blameless*, to the clergy, exclusive of the Christian laity. But the first work that Luther composed in his retreat was on the subject of auricular confession, the evils arising from which, he exposed, as Erasmus had done before him. And in this work he vindicated the freedom of his writings from the censures that had been thrown upon them on that account.

At this time, the faculty of divinity at Paris published a censure of one hundred and four propositions extracted from the writings of Luther, which was answered by Melancthon, who effectually exposed the absurdity of the censure; especially their saying that Luther had adopted all the ancient heresies, and their defence of the scholastic theology, which Luther had attacked. Speaking of the Commentary of John Major on the Sentences of Peter Lombard, then much celebrated by the divines of Paris, he said, "I will not judge of the morals of this person; but, good God! what a heap

of nonsense do I find in his works? How many pages does he employ about the question whether a horse be necessary to riding (*aller à cheval*)? Can we be surprised if such sophists as these be unfavourable to Luther?" He adds, however, that there were doctors of the Sorbonne who were not displeased with the doctrine of Luther.

At this time, also, Luther and Melancthon, or rather the latter only, called in question the propriety of the law for the celibacy of the priests. Melancthon was not in orders, and married, and had no doubts on the subject; but Luther had, especially with respect to monks, whose vows were voluntary. The controversy was heightened by the *curé* of Kemberg, a Saxon, a man of learning and good character, publicly taking a wife, which gave great offence to many; but Melancthon defended his conduct with great zeal, and shewed that the established custom was novel, unjust and tyrannical, as well as the source of many disorders.

At this same time Luther wrote against the obligation of monastic vows, a treatise which gave great offence, though written with much moderation; advising persons not to renounce their vows rashly, as a great abuse of their Christian liberty. The court of Saxony suppressed this book, so that it did not appear till some time after. The court also suppressed another tract of Luther's against the archbishop of Mentz, for suffering the preaching of indulgences, and for imprisoning a priest for marrying. This piece was written with much unjustifiable intemperance. He even threatened the archbishop, though a cardinal, and prince of the empire, that if he did not put a stop to *indulgences*, he would fill him with confusion by a treatise which he had then ready for the press, and he would allow him no more than a fortnight to consider of it. The archbishop, however, answered with great mildness; assuring him that he had given orders to do what he wished to have done. In answer to Capito, who was with the archbishop, and a friend to reformation, but who was displeased with the freedom that Luther had taken, he endeavoured to vindicate his conduct, but it was in a manner that gave little satisfaction.

While Luther was employed in writing in his place of retreat, a reformation of the public worship took place at Wittenberg. This had not been attempted by Luther, who was of opinion that, previous to this, the minds of the common people should be fully enlightened on the subject, and that then it would be accomplished without difficulty, but that otherwise there would be great danger of tumults. This

important business, however, was begun in the monastery of Augustines, which was full of monks who came to study in the university, drawn by the reputation of Luther. Many of these, at the head of whom was Gabriel Didymus, were of opinion that private masses, and masses for the dead should be immediately laid aside, and the communion in both kinds restored. He was opposed by the prior; and an appeal being made to the court of Saxony, they were desired to wait the orders of their provincial.

Thirteen monks, however, had already left the monastery, because the prior would have compelled them to say mass as usual; and they being joined by some of the students and citizens, the elector sent Pontanus to inquire into the matter, and deputies from the university and the chapter were appointed to hear the reasons of those seceders. These they gave in writing, and being considered by the elector, he appointed Christian Beyer, a burgomaster of Wittemberg, who was also a professor in the university, and a chancellor, to represent to them the necessity of proceeding with caution in a business of so much importance, especially as much inconvenience would arise from the heirs of the founders of public institutions claiming the estates that had been granted for services which would now be discontinued. To this they made a reply which was reported to the electoral court, which was not a little embarrassed with the business.

At length, however, Carolstadt, a few days before Christmas, celebrated mass in the parish church, in the German language; and some disturbance was occasioned by it, which made the people apprehensive of the resentment of the emperor, the regents being particularly attentive to every thing that passed at Wittemberg. But it was found absolutely necessary to yield in some measure to the wishes of the people. Some of the changes that were most eagerly called for, were made. The monks were forbidden to beg, and the images were removed from the church. The chapter of the order being now held, a medium was ordered to be observed; the monks being left at liberty to leave the monastery or not, and masses for the dead were discontinued. Those of the monks who were able, were directed to preach, and the rest to subsist by their labour. Luther being informed of these regulations made by the chapter, was greatly rejoiced; and in a work which he now composed, but which was suppressed by order of the court, on the abolition of private masses, he congratulated his brethren of the order, upon them.

It was in A. D. 1522 that the Anabaptists, who were the occasion of so much disturbance in Germany, first made their appearance. A draper of Zuichaw, in Misnia, called Nicolas Storch, was at their head. Being chosen by his brethren of the same persuasion, he chose twelve apostles, and seventy-two other disciples. Next in authority to him were Marc Stubner, Martin Cellarius and Thomas Muncer,* who was afterwards [1525] at the head of the revolted peasants in Thuringia. This Muncer preaching in a seditious manner in the church of St. Catharine, notwithstanding the opposition of the pastor, the duke of Saxony had him put in prison; but Storch, Stubner and Cellarius fled to Wittenberg. These men pretending to immediate revelations, as a fulfilment of the prophecy concerning "the effusion of the spirit upon all flesh," both Carolstadt and Melancthon were much taken with them. The elector did not approve of them; but he said, on this occasion, that he would abandon every thing, and set out with his staff in his hand, rather than oppose the gospel.

Luther was more upon his guard than Melancthon, and said that they ought to prove the spirits, before they gave credit to their pretended revelations. Melancthon, however, who was more credulous, and perhaps, we may add, less jealous, received Stubner, who had some knowledge of letters, into his house; and these fanatics preaching publicly, soon gained many followers among the common people; which alarmed Luther, and induced him to write to the elector, that he was determined to leave his retreat and return to Wittenberg. The elector endeavoured to prevent this, but in vain. Luther, with uncommon firmness, explained to him the reasons of his conduct; saying, that his retreat had retarded, instead of advancing, the progress of the gospel. He desired the elector to leave him to himself; saying, that his cause ought not to be defended by force; that if the emperor came to seize him, he ought not to be resisted.

With this the elector acquiesced, and with his concurrence Luther published a letter in justification of his conduct, in coming abroad; which he said was to promote the reformation which he had begun, and to prevent the disturbances which were taking place in his flock. Accordingly, he left the castle of Wartburg, and arriving at Wittenberg the 6th

* Muncer was not concerned in the first insurrection of the peasants; but believing their cause to be just, he drew up a manifesto for them. It is applauded by every writer who mentions it. Voltaire said a Lyeurgus would have signed it. *Robinson*, p. 548. (P.)

of March, A. D. 1522, he was received with every expression of joy. He immediately declared himself much offended at the alterations made by Carolostadt in the public worship, and pleaded for every person being left at full liberty to conform to them or not, and, on the whole, seemed to discover something of jealousy of Carolostadt, as having interfered in his province of sole reformer.

The states of the empire being assembled at Nuremberg, the 17th of March, A. D. 1523, the bishops made great complaints of the protection afforded to Luther by the elector of Saxony, particularly the bishop of Strasburg, who said that the greatest part of his priests were Lutherans. The duke of Saxony was at first exceedingly violent, but at length the business was conducted with more moderation, and the diet being prorogued till October, the farther consideration of it was referred to that time.

About this time Luther had an interview with Stubner and his two companions at the house of Melancthon, when he treated them as impostors, and they him as one who opposed the work of the spirit, and they left the city the same day. Luther had also seen Muncer, and invited him to come and confer with him at Wittemberg, but he did not choose to do it. Luther said of him, that he used such language in explaining his sentiments as might lead persons to take him for one who was either drunk, or mad.

The bishops being the principal enemies of the Reformation, Luther wrote a treatise in the German language against them, reproaching them with all their vices and intrigues, and concluded with a kind of bull, in imitation of those of the Pope, which gave great offence not only to the clergy, but also to the nobility, whose youngest sons got establishments in the rich bishoprics. When this was objected to his scheme, Luther replied, "Let the younger sons of great lords be allowed a proper maintenance, and become private citizens." The superiority of the bishops to priests, he said, had no foundation in Scripture, and the order ought to be abolished. It is evident, however, from this conduct of Luther, that there was nothing of worldly policy in his scheme.

Luther had in his retreat translated the New Testament, and it was published in September A. D. 1522. Melancthon and others having assisted in the revisal of it; and being recommended by the purity of the style, and the neatness of the printing, it was received with the greatest avidity, and circulated over all Germany. He then applied

himself to the translation of the Old Testament, and publishing it in parts as they were finished, the whole was not completed before A. D. 1530. This work contributed greatly to the advancement of the Reformation, Consequently, it gave alarm to the papal party, who did every thing they could to cry it down, but without effect. Many of the princes of the empire forbade the use of it, and ordered the copies to be burned.

This opposition on the part of the princes, led Luther to compose a treatise on the subject of *secular power*, in which he shewed that princes arrogated to themselves the rights of God when they prescribed to men what they ought to believe. He then exhorted the people not to give up their bibles, voluntarily, but not to oppose force to force. "We are not," he said, "to be surprised if princes make war on God and the gospel, since they have also done it from its first appearance, so that a pious prince is almost a miracle;" and he expressed himself with much energy and justice on the impossibility of suppressing heresy by power. This treatise was composed by order of the elector and his brother.

In A. D. 1522, Henry VIII. of England* published a book against Luther on the subject of the *seven sacraments*,† which he dedicated to Leo X., who, in return, gave him the title of *Defender of the Faith*, retained by his successors to this day. This work was much praised at Rome; but

* "Exasperated, for that Luther had oftentimes spoken contemptuously of the learned *Thomas of Aquine*, who yet was so much in request with the King." Lord *Herbert's* Life and Reign of King Henry VIII. 4to. 1740, p. 85.

† "*De septem Sacramentis*; a principal copy whereof, richly bound, being sent to Leo," says Lord Herbert, "I remember myself to have seen in the Vatican Library. The manner of delivery whereof, as I find it in our record, was thus: Doctor John Clark, dean of Windsor, our king's ambassador, appearing in full consistory, the Pope, knowing the glorious present he brought, first gave him his foot, and then his cheeks to kiss; then receiving the book, he promised to do as much for approbation thereof to all Christian princes (which our king much desired) as ever was done for St. Augustine's or St. Hierome's works; assuring him withal, that he would bestow a public title on our king; which having been heretofore privately debated among the cardinals, and those of Protector, or Defensor Romane Ecclesie, or Sedis Apostolicæ, or Rex Apostolicus, or Orthodoxus, produced, they at last agreed on Defensor Fidei." *Ibid.*

The Pope's bull, conveying this title, "the king received at Greenwich, February 5, 1522. Dr. Fuller in his Church History tells us, there goes a tradition that *Patch*, the king's fool, perceiving the king so jocund, asked him the reason; who answered, because he had an honour conferred on him more than any of his ancestors, receiving the title of *Defender of the Faith*. To which the fool, (not foolishly) replied, 'Prithce good Harry; let thee and I defend one another, and let the faith alone to defend itself.'

"Julius II., offended with the French king, had, in 1515, transferred the title of *most Christian* to Henry VIII., which was solemnly published at St. Paul's, (*Baker*, fol. 62,) but not used in that prince's style." *Hist. of Popery*, II. pp. 308, 309.

Luther in his answer treated it as the weakest production of all his opponents, though written in better Latin.* He treated the king himself with so much freedom as offended his own friends. Duke George complained of it to the regents of the empire, and the king himself wrote to the elector and the dukes John and George, exhorting them to employ fire and sword to extinguish the rising heresy. But the elector and his brother wrote a respectful answer, saying that they neither approved nor condemned the doctrine of Luther, and desired him to use his influence to procure the calling of a general council, according to the resolution which had been taken at Nuremberg.

Luther was by this time assisted in the work of the Reformation by many learned and able men. Among them was Bucer, a Dominican, almoner of Lewis the elector Palatine, who preached at Strasburg; Osiander at Nuremberg; and Seckingen, not only caused it to be preached in his own estates, but defended it by his writings, and before the imperial regency, in A. D. 1523. So great was his zeal, that, in a letter to the princes who composed the regency, he said that he would joyfully suffer the most grievous punishment, if his death would procure to his country the knowledge of the gospel.

By the zeal of numbers in this great cause, the Reformation spread itself into all places, there being no town, nor almost a village, in which there was not a Lutheran preacher. Christian II., king of Denmark, forbade the burning of the books of Luther. There were preachers in Bohemia, protected by the margrave of Brandenburg, and in Silesia by the duke of Munsterberg, the bishop himself not being averse to the new doctrine. This gave great joy to the elector of Saxony, who, however, would not do any thing more than leave the people at full liberty to act as they should think proper.

Leo X. died in the beginning of December, A. D. 1521, and was succeeded by Adrian VI.,† who had been tutor to

* "Some think Stephen Gardiner and Sir Thomas More had the pains, though their prince had the honour of it." *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 308.

† "He was born in the year 1495, at Utrecht, of mean parents; his father Floris, who lived by the labour of his hands, was a poor schuit, or boatwright, and was unable to maintain him at school upon his own charges; wherefore he procured him to be sent to the university of Louvain, and educated there upon the public purse, or on God's account, as we call it. Upon his exaltation to the Papacy the people of Utrecht and Holland shewed great tokens of joy, and writ upon tapestry hangings, and on the walls of their houses, *Utrecht has planted, Louvain watered, and the emperor given the increase*; under which an arch fellow writ, *God has done nothing at all in this matter*. But the new Pope understood it otherwise." *Brandt*, B. ii. pp. 140, 141.

Charles V. He had a great attachment to scholastic theology, and was a man of good morals. Being in Spain at the time of his election, he did not arrive in Rome till September, A. D. 1522. He was sensible of the corruptions of the court of Rome, and was persuaded that if they were reformed, every thing would return into its right channel. He also wished to reform the abuses of indulgences: but when the subject was viewed in every light, it was found to be impossible without such a diminution of the papal revenues as they could not bear; and finding no encouragement or assistance in his schemes of reform, he is said to have lamented the condition of a pope, who had no power to do what was right, though he endeavoured to find the means.* He, however, retained his resolution to attempt a reformation, and thought that by his own presence in Germany, whither he intended to go, he should restore every thing to order.

To prepare the way for this, he wrote a civil letter to the elector of Saxony, exhorting him to defend the catholic faith, as his ancestors had done, without making any mention of Luther. But in his letter to the diet of the empire, then assembled at Nuremberg, he did not spare him, but exhorted the princes, if he could not be reclaimed, to use the same severity against Luther and his disciples, that had been done to John Huss and Jerome of Prague.† This was vehemently urged by the ecclesiastics in the diet, especially as Seckingen was then at war with the archbishop of Treves, at which they were all alarmed. But the secular princes were no less intent upon reforming the court of Rome than giving it satisfaction in other respects. They therefore ordered the Pope's letter to be read, and in this he did not hesitate to acknowledge that the source of all the evils then complained of was in the court of Rome, and the conduct of the clergy, which he said he was determined to do every thing in his power to reform, but that the business was of so extensive and complicated a nature, that it could not be done all at once. This was a great mortification to the prelates, as it confirmed all that the reformers had written about their ignorance and debauchery.

The members of the empire, though urged by the ecclesiastics to enforce the edict of Worms, did not choose to do it; thinking that if Luther was suppressed, they would be

* See *Brandt*, B. ii. pp. 144—146. *Hist. of Popery*, II. pp. 515—517.

† "Adding that, if they would imitate their ancestors, in this virtuous course, God would not be wanting." *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 517.

at the mercy of the Pope, and should bear no more of the reform of any abuses. They, therefore, agreed to suspend the execution of that edict; saying, that the only method of terminating the business of Luther, was the calling of a free council in some city of Germany, in which he might be heard and judged; and to the great mortification of the bishops, they prefixed the Pope's letter to their ordonnance. In their letter to the Pope, they thanked him for his good intentions, but informed him of the great evils that would arise from complying with his proposal; and they desired of him the suppression of *annates*, as the term for which they were granted was expired, and they were wanted for the occasions of the empire.

The nuncio was much offended at the conduct of this diet, and made many objections to every article of their edict; but the princes paid no regard to them, and took this opportunity of drawing up an account of their grievances, which was done under a hundred heads. A similar memorial had been presented to the emperor Maximilian on this subject in A. D. 1518, in which many of the extortions of the court of Rome were enumerated, and complained of; when the secular princes assured him of their assistance in any contest with the Pope upon the subject. The same was urged with some additions at the diet at Worms under Charles V., but he did not concur in the measure, being unwilling to offend the Pope. This emperor, writing to the Pope from Spain, informed him of the resolution of the states of the empire with respect to the *annates*, but insinuated to him that the money which they wished to employ in the war against the Turks might be used to chastise the followers of Luther.

While these things were passing at Nuremberg, the elector of Saxony received a letter from the emperor, requiring him to oppose the progress of the doctrine of Luther. But he said in answer, that he did not wish to take any part in the affairs of Luther, especially as his age and growing infirmities did not allow him to think of any thing but his repose and his death. At the same time he received a brief from the Pope, reproaching him for the countenance which he gave to Luther and his followers, concerning whom he spared no terms of abuse,* reminding him that pope Gregory V. had given the electoral dignity to his family; and he

* Calling Luther, according to Onuphrius, "*hominem phreneticum, &c., a frantic fellow, who, by his no less impious and Satanical, than foolish trifles, had almost turned the world upside down.*" *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 517.

concluded with saying, "If you refuse to hearken to our paternal admonitions, we denounce to you, in the name of Almighty God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, that your sin will not remain unpunished in this world, and that you will burn in eternal fire in the world to come. Know that the sovereign pontiff Adrian and the emperor Charles both live, and will never suffer that the people whom pope Adrian and the emperor Charlemagne formerly begot to Jesus Christ, should now perish by the venom of heresy and schism under an heretical tyrant, while another Adrian is upon the papal throne, and another Charles is emperor. And if you and your subjects do not change your conduct, you must expect to feel both the stroke of the apostolic sword, and that of the emperor."

A bull so violent and absurd, calculated for an age of barbarism, was not likely to produce any good effect in an age so enlightened as this; and being addressed to a prince who was considered as a model of wisdom and piety, and every quality that can make a man respectable, justified, if any thing could do it, the rude treatment of Henry VIII. by Luther. The Pope's comparing himself and Charles V. to pope Adrian I. and Charlemagne, discovered a ridiculous vanity, and no doubt was the true reason of his refusing to change his name when he was made pope. The elector insulted in this gross manner, ordered the nuncio to be told, that he could not receive such a bull, and that it must have been forged at Nuremberg by some of his enemies. He also complained to the regents of the empire of the treatment he had received.

In the mean time the list of the *hundred grievances** was drawn up at Nuremberg by the secular princes, the ecclesiastics declining to have any thing to do in the business, which might draw upon them the anathema of Rome. After this enumeration of abuses, they say that, if they were not effectually remedied by the Pope, they would relieve themselves by throwing off so tyrannical a yoke, and give to Germany its ancient rights and original liberty. The nuncio, knowing what was preparing, would not receive this writing, but left the diet before it was concluded. The writing, however, was dispersed over all Germany, and copies of it sent to Rome. The elector of Saxony some weeks before the conclusion of the diet, made a protest by his envoy, in which he declared that he would consent to no regulation

* *Centum Gravamina.* See Lord Herbert's *Hen.* VIII. pp. 104—111.

contrary to the progress of the gospel, and that he was determined always to act the part of an honest and pious man.

At this time John Faber, a canon of Constance, having orders to preach against Luther, in a progress through Germany, thought it necessary to apply to the regency for a safe-conduct. But though they gave him one, it was drawn in such a manner that he did not think it safe to make use of it, and laid aside his design. The regents did not wish to encourage a scheme which might add to the troubles of the country. The cause of the Reformation gained much by this means; the followers of Luther had liberty to preach without molestation; and the priests continued to exercise their functions, though they were married, being only subject to such censures as they despised. The suspension of the edict of Worms made it considered as acknowledged to have been unjust, procured by the intrigues of the court of Rome, and for the interest of the emperor, who was disposed to gratify it. Besides, the reference of the controversy to a future council shewed the persuasion of the diet that Luther was not altogether in the wrong. And above all, the acknowledgment of Adrian, of the corruption of the clergy and the court of Rome, confirmed a great part of what Luther had advanced against it, while the promises of the Pope to promote a Reformation were not at all regarded.

Luther, pleased with this state of things, wrote to the regency, to assure them of his obedience to the edict of Nuremberg, praising the wisdom and the equity of the princes who had made it; observing, that by ordering the preachers to adhere to the interpretation of approved doctors, they must have meant the fathers, and not the scholastics; and that by the prohibition of books, they could not have meant the New Testament, which had no need of an approbation. He added, that if he were to reveal what he had heard from all parts, of the abominable impurities that were practised in convents, his greatest enemies would be the first to destroy them: and he concluded with saying, that he considered himself as absolved from the anathema of the Pope by the edict of Nuremberg, at least till the convocation of a council, to the decision of which he professed his readiness to submit, though his life was so painful to him, that it signified little whether he was proscribed or not. However, as the edict of Worms was not executed by the princes who favoured Luther, no regard was paid to that of Nuremberg by the princes in the opposite interest, so that

the reformers were persecuted, or not, according to the dispositions of the civil magistrates.

At this time there was a general call for a reformation of the public forms of worship, and there being very different opinions on the subject, and different practices set up, Luther was looked up to, to interpose his authority; and finding it to be unavoidable, he did it with much prudence and moderation, retaining all that was tolerable in the old forms, and leaving much to the discretion of the person who officiated. These changes in the public forms and ceremonial of worship were violently exclaimed against by Emscr and Cochleus;* but as they discovered great ignorance, they were reproved by Cassander, who nevertheless adhered to the customary worship. †

A new disposition of the revenues of churches and monasteries was also called for by the new state of things; and this, probably with the advice of Luther, was first made at Leisznig, a small town in Misnia, where the magistrates, in concert with the abbot of the monastery of Buach, in that neighbourhood, agreed to choose every year ten persons who should receive all the revenues, and employ them for the maintenance of ministers, school-masters, and the poor, as also for the repair of sacred buildings: and that all begging should be prohibited, &c. &c. Of these regulations Luther published an account, recommending them in other places. With respect to the bishoprics, he rather wished that the occupants should become secular, than that they should be deprived of their *sees*, except in particular cases.

At the entreaty of the Pope's nuncio, and of some princes, Erasmus was at this time desired to endeavour to restore peace to the church, and he recommended moderation, on both sides. But neither his endeavours, nor those of some of the friends of Luther to the same purpose, had any effect.

Hitherto the Reformation had made a great progress in Germany, without the popish party coming to any great extremity. But the duke of Saxony, irritated by some letters of Luther, having discountenanced the Reformation in his states, and having tried without effect the punishments of fine, imprisonment and banishment, now proceeded

* A native of Nuremberg, and canon of Breslavia, author of *Historia Hassitatione*. See *Nov. Diss. Hist.* II, p. 199.

† "Son zèle pour la réunion des Protestans au sein de l'Eglise Catholique, lui a peut-être fait un peu trop accorder aux hérétiques; mais on de lui a pardonné en faveur des ses motifs, et de son attachement concerté à la foi Catholique." George Cassander died in 1596. See *Ibid.* p. 202.

to punish with death; and the same violence of persecution was exercised in many of the cities of Germany. In these circumstances Luther addressed letters of consolation to the citizens of Worms, Augsburg, and other places, where his friends were persecuted, as they also were in the Low Countries; the promoters of the persecution there being Aleander the nuncio, seconded by Nicolas D'Egmont, the Carmelite,* and James Hochstrat, the Dominican; Margaret, sister of the emperor, and governess of those provinces, lending them her authority.

Three persons, monks of Vilvoorde, not yielding to any promises or threats, were conducted to Brussels, and that their punishment might have the greater effect, two of them, whose names were Henry Voes and John Esch, were sentenced to be publicly burned alive, after being formally degraded. † The younger of them was first brought to the public square of the city, a handsome young man, of a mild and modest appearance. They purposely employed more than an hour in degrading him, though he did every thing that he was ordered to do with surprising quickness; saying, "I will be obedient, even unto death," and, all the time, shewed the greatest tranquillity and meekness, which astonished the spectators, and filled them with compassion.

When this tedious ceremony was over, and they were both brought to the pile, they said, "This is the happy day which we have long waited for;" and professing that they died in the faith of Jesus Christ, and the catholic church, they embraced the stake to which they were fastened, and when the fire was lighted, they began to sing the Creed, and continued to sing till the flames stifled their voices, but did not efface from their countenances an air of firmness, and even of joy. Luther composed an hymn in memory of this martyrdom, which was long sung in the

* "In the year 1522, the emperor empowered Master Francis Vander Hulst, his counsellor in Brabant, to make a strict inquiry into people's opinions and belief in religious matters, throughout all the Netherlands; notice whereof was publicly given at Antwerp, and elsewhere. Erasmus styles him a wonderful enemy to learning, and his fellow-commissioner, Nicolas Van Egmont, a madman, with a sword put into his hand.—These faith-inquirers first threw men into prison, and then considered what they should lay to their charge." *Brandt*, B. ii. pp. 125, 126. See also the interesting letter of *Graphæus*, "secretary of Antwerp, a man of uncommon learning, a good poet, and a dear friend of Erasmus." The letter is dated from his "prison at Brussels, 18th November, 1522." *Ibid.* pp. 127—137.

† The three "were publicly stript of their holy orders, and declared heretics, on a scaffold at Brussels, the 1st of July 1523." *Ibid.* p. 138. "The third was brought back to the prison, and there privately dispatched. This was the first blood that was shed in the *Low Countries*, on account of religion, since the rise of Luther." *Ibid.* p. 139.

churches. He also wrote to his friends in the Low Countries, exhorting them to patience and constancy, blessing God for the consecration of the new harvest, by these holy first-fruits. *

At this time, A. D. 1523, Albert of Brandenburg, grand-master of Prussia, declared in favour of the Reformation.† It also made great progress in Silesia, having been begun there by John Thurson, bishop of Breslaw, who died in A. D. 1520, when he was succeeded by James de Seltz, who followed his steps. The duke of Savoy was also much inclined to the Reformation, and Luther wrote to him on the subject; but he was so circumstanced, that it would have been peculiarly hazardous for him to have done any thing openly in favour of it.

Zuinglius had all this time been preaching with great success, in Zurich, notwithstanding all the opposition that the friends of the Pope could give to him, especially by endeavouring to excite the other cantons against that. The magistrates, dreading the effects of these machinations, with the advice of Zuinglius ‡ called a general assembly for the 29th of January, A. D. 1523, when they invited the bishop of Constance to attend either in person or by a deputy, in order to hear Zuinglius explain his sentiments, with liberty to any person to impugn them, provided they argued from the Scriptures. They also invited the other states of the union to send their learned ecclesiastics.

The bishop sent John Faber, his grand vicar, with two other theologians, and his chancellor: and there was a great concourse of people on the occasion. Before this assembly, Zuinglius proposed his doctrine in sixty-seven propositions, which he had printed and dispersed previous to the meeting. But he could not provoke any discussion on the subjects; Faber referring them to a council which he said would be held soon, but which Zuinglius said would never be held at all. At length Faber being incautiously drawn to dispute

* "He wrote also a consolatory epistle to three noble ladies of Misiri, who had been banished from the duke of Saxony's court at Triburg, for reading his books and adopting his sentiments." *Life*, p. 36.

† "En. 1510. Albert de Brandebourg fut élu Grand-Maitre, par l'ordre Teutonique.—Il fut créé duc de Prusse par Sigismund I. Roi de Pologne.—Le duc Albert, maitre de la Prusse Ulérieure, quitta alors l'habit, le croix, et les armes de l'ordre." *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Brandebourg, de Main de Maitre*, [Frod. III.] 1751, p. 41. "Albert se fit *Prot. seant* en 1510, et la Prusse imita son exemple." *Ibid.* p. 42. See also Villiers's *Essay*, p. 123.

‡ "Whom pope Adrian VI. by a complimentary letter, dated 23d January, 1523, endeavoured to take off, and great offers of preferment there were made him, if he would but be bribed into silence." *Hist. of Popery*, II, p. 314.

about the worship of saints, and alleging no proofs but from councils, without producing any arguments from the Scriptures, and being reminded of it, said, We can do without them. The magistrates seeing no good end answered by this assembly, dissolved it, and ordered all the clergy of the city to preach nothing but what was contained in the Scriptures, and to disregard all human traditions, but to refrain from all invectives, and endeavour to promote peace.*

The consul of Zurich called a second assembly the same year, for the sake of discussing the subject of the worship of images, and the sacrifice of the mass; and this was more numerously attended than the former. It continued three days, on the last of which Zuinglius spoke in so affecting a manner, that being in tears himself, he drew tears from many of the audience. In conclusion, it was left to the senate to correct the abuses complained of.

In A. D. 1523, Frederic, the elector Palatine, and Lewis, count Palatine of Deuxponts, embraced the Reformation, and they both reformed the abuses in public worship, the latter on the plan of Zuinglius. In this year also, the Bohemian brethren sent one of their ministers to Luther, to confer with him on the subject of their common faith; and in consequence of it, he was led to entertain a much more favourable opinion of them than he had done before. He afterwards dedicated to them a treatise on the adoration of the body of Jesus Christ; and after commending them for rejecting human traditions, a purgatory, and the worship of saints, he blamed them for not admitting the corporal presence, and faith in young children, and for making holiness an essential condition of justification. From this it is evident, that the Bohemian brethren held a much more rational doctrine than Luther. He held that in baptism, faith was communicated to young children by the operation of the Holy Spirit, in consequence of the prayers of the church. For, thinking faith to be necessary to baptism,

* *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 532. During this same year, 1523, there was a convention of estates at Bern, where a charge was brought against Zuinglius, which was highly honourable to that reformer. He had objected to that conduct of his countrymen, which has rendered the name of *Swiss* proverbial in modern times; "their serving foreign princes, in their wars, for money, without inquiring into the justice of the cause;—and had so successfully declaimed against that custom, as a sordid and impious thing, that some time before, the men of Zurich had bound themselves, by oath, to refrain this practice." *Ibid.* pp. 532, 533. See his labours among "his parishioners," on this subject, *supra*, p. 111.

he thought that on any other supposition, it were better not to baptize them at all.

In A. D. 1523. Bennon, bishop of Meissen, who lived in the time of the emperor Henry IV., was canonized, and among his merits, recited in this bull, mention is made of his strenuous opposition to that emperor, and his unshaken attachment to Gregory VII., when most of the other bishops deserted him. A number of miracles of the most improbable kind were also recited, and among them, his appearing to the margrave William, after his death, and tearing out one of his eyes. This gave a fine handle to Luther to write on the subject of canonization in general, and the effrontery of the Pope in canonizing a rebel to his prince, and to expose the pretended miracles. He was answered by Emser, who had written the life of the new saint, and boasted of his grand installation in the church of Meissen, foretelling that his festival would be perpetual. But fifteen years after this, it was abolished.

In the same year some nuns left the monastery at Nimp-tschen, and among them was Catherine à Boria, the same who two years after was married to Luther. They were conducted to Wittenberg, and the elector provided for their maintenance, as their relations, notwithstanding the address of Luther to them in their favour, refused to receive them. Their example was afterwards followed by other nuns.

SECTION V.

The Progress of the Reformation from the Pontificate of Clement VII. A. D. 1523. to the Meeting of the Diet at Augsburg, A. D. 1526.

ADRIAN VI. dying in September, A. D. 1523,* was succeeded by Julius de Medicis, the natural son of Julian, who was murdered in A. D. 1478. He took the name of Clement VII., and was much more of a politician than his predecessor, though his refined policy was in several respects injurious to the interests of his see. But in these difficult

* "Erasmus says, 'Had he continued ten years on the chair of St. Peter, he would have greatly purified the city of Rome, if I be not deceived. But the Roman court was, in the opinion of Paulus Servita, wholly unworthy of such a pope. He died the thirteenth of August, 1523. His epitaph deserves to be recorded. *Hadrianus Sextus hic situs est, quem meli sibi infelicis in vita, quam quod imperaret, duxit.* (Here lies Adrian the Sixth, who esteemed the papal government to be the most unhappy period of his life.)'" Brandt, B. II. p. 159.

times it is probable that no policy whatever would have succeeded any better. The cardinals, however, and all the friends of the court of Rome, rejoiced exceedingly on the death of Adrian, who was both hated and despised by them all, chiefly because he was a friend to reformation, which they dreaded. The last act of his pontificate was the canonization of Bennon, above-mentioned.

In A. D. 1524, all the cantons of Switzerland, except that of Zurich, assembled at Lucern, January 26, when they expressed their resolution to maintain the catholic faith. At the same time they sent a deputation to the magistrates of Zurich, desiring them to restore the ancient worship; but saying that, if the Pope, or any of the clergy had encroached upon the rights of the temporality, they were willing to deliberate with them on the means of throwing off that yoke. The senate of Zurich in reply explained their principles and conduct at large, and expressed their wish, that if they had any thing to object to them, they might be informed of it in the space of two months. Having no answer, they proceeded in the work of reformation, removing the images from the churches; but for the present they left the mass as it was, waiting till the people at large should be better informed. The bishop of Constance answering the senate, they gladly laid hold on the opportunity of making their sentiments more public, that the world might judge of them.

The policy of Clement with respect to Germany was the reverse of that of Adrian. His great aim was to elude the calling of a council, and to keep up the abuses of the court of Rome as long as possible. The diet of the empire being held this year at Nuremberg, in the month of November, Campegio was sent to it with these views of the Pope, as legate. But it appeared by the circumstances attending his journey, and his reception, that a very great change had taken place in the state of things. As he passed through Augsburg, which he entered in the usual manner, with much ceremony, the cross being carried before him, while he gave the benediction to the people, they ridiculed him in such a manner that his own followers could not refrain from laughing. To avoid the same insults, he entered Nuremberg in the habit of a traveller; so that when a few persons of distinction went to meet him, they were disappointed.

When he went to the diet, he was preceded only by the bishops of Treves and of Bamberg, but by no secular prince

whatever; and though while he was in the city one of the preachers in a public discourse called the Pope Antichrist, he did not think proper to call for his punishment. When Ferdinand reproached the senate of Nuremberg with their attachment to Lutheranism, it was without any effect, and the monks of St. Austin administered the Lord's Supper at this time, in both kinds, to more than four thousand persons. The queen of Denmark, who was then at Nuremberg, received it in this manner. The legate had brought a very flattering letter, to the elector of Saxony; but being very ill, he had left the diet before his arrival.

The principal object of the legate was to get the edict of the diet of Worms enforced; but though he was seconded by the ambassador of the emperor, so much opposition was made to the measure, that it was only carried with this addition—"as far as it shall be possible." It was also decreed at this diet, that the Pope should call a free council in Germany, and that, in the mean time, a diet should be held at Spire on the 10th of November, to settle these differences, that each of the princes should choose in his own estates, persons of knowledge and probity to examine the books of modern writers, and report concerning them; that in the mean time the gospel should be preached with purity and modesty, and that every thing of a satirical nature should be avoided. It was also ordered that the persons chosen by the princes should examine the grievances, a list of which the secular princes had presented as well against the court of Rome, as against the prelates, and endeavour to find means to satisfy both parties; and that on their report the next diet should come to some final resolution.

This decree gave great offence to the legate, but all his remonstrances could not prevail to have it altered. On the other hand, great objection was made to it by the imperial cities, which were almost all inclined to Lutheranism, and by the counts, who differed with their princes, and entered a protest against the decree. Also the prelates, who by their superior number had carried the decree in the diet, could not agree with Ferdinand, the emperor's brother. For though they concurred with him in his wish to exterminate Lutheranism, they would not concede to his demand, though the Pope had consented to it, of one third of their revenues for the war against the Turks.

While the legate was at Nuremberg, there was brought before him a dispute between the senate of Strasburg and

the bishop of that city, who complained that his clergy were publicly married, while they complained that, for a moderate sum, he allowed others of the clergy to have concubines, which they took and dismissed at pleasure. The legate could not avoid condemning the practice of concubinage, though in extenuation of it, he said, that it was not in the power of all men to live like John the Baptist. But he said, that the marriage of priests was much more criminal. The magistrates, however, notwithstanding this decision, protected the married priests, and endeavoured by every means to promote the Reformation.

In one thing, however, the legate had more success. He procured that the former regency of the empire, who were chiefly Lutherans, and held their sittings at Nuremberg, should be dismissed, on the pretence that the funds for their maintenance were exhausted; and other regents, all Papists, were appointed, and they held their sittings at Eslingen, a city in the power of Ferdinand. The elector of Saxony hearing of this, protested against all that should be done by those regents, either against the reformed religion, or the liberties of the states of the empire. The legate also procured, by the help of Ferdinand, a league of the popish princes and states for the defence of the ancient religion, and for the suppression of Lutheranism. This was called *The League of Suabia*; and though it did not consist of more than one-sixth part of the German empire, it had disagreeable consequences, as it obliged the zealous Protestant princes to enter into a similar league for their own defence.

The emperor, who was then in Spain, was exceedingly dissatisfied with the decrees of this diet, and signified his disapprobation of them in a letter to the princes, in such a manner as gave great offence. In his letter to the elector of Saxony, he particularly observed, that the calling of a general council belonged to himself and the Pope, as well as the fixing on the place in which it should be held. He expressly forbade the meeting of the diet at Spire, and ordered the execution of the edict of Worms. The answer of the elector was respectful, and he assured him that neither himself, nor his brother, had any thing in view but the glory of God, the progress of truth, and the repose of the empire. Though the emperor's letter prevented the meeting of the diet of Spire, it only irritated the princes and states of the empire, and did not procure the execution of the edict of Worms: for no regard was paid to it in the greater part of Germany.

Luther was as much dissatisfied with the edict of Nuremberg as the Pope or the emperor, and he printed both it and that of Worms, with remarks, in order to shew the contradiction between them. In this publication he abated nothing of his usual spirit. He lamented the blindness of his countrymen and of their princes, as always tantalized by the Pope, whose tyranny they endeavoured to strengthen. He also reproached the emperor, and the kings of England and of Hungary, with their usurpation of the title of *Defender of the Faith*, when they were in reality making war upon the faith. He dissuaded them from making war on the Turks, as he said it would never succeed, if it was made by persecutors. He said that he did not fear death, but that his death would be fatal to his enemies.

The good elector of Saxony, now old and dying, was much distressed at the present aspect of things. The league of Suabia, at the head of which were the houses of Austria and Bavaria, might do him great injury. He had also a near relation, George, duke of Saxony, whose ambition would be aided by the pretence of religion; and it was the known design of the Pope to ruin him as the chief support of the Reformation, and deprive him of the electorate. But at this time Providence raised up several friends to this cause. The landgrave of Hesse now openly declared for the Reformation, as did Albert, duke of Brandenburg,* a young and courageous prince, George de Polentz, of an illustrious house in Misnia, and the bishop of the district of Samland.

The declaration of this bishop in favour of the Reformation, gave particular satisfaction to Luther. Writing to Spalatin at this time, he said, the princes and bishops now acknowledge, that it is not Luther, a man of nothing, but Jesus Christ, who is all-powerful, that does these wonders. At

* See *sierra*, p. 148. The ease with which the *Reformation* was introduced is thus described by the celebrated remote successor of Albert:—

“ Dans le Brandebourg, et dans la plupart des provinces de l’Allemagne, le peuple portoit impatiemment le joug du Clergé Romain. C’étoit une religion trop onéreuse pour des pays aussi peu opulens. Le purgatoire, la messe des morts et des vivans, le jubilé, les annates, les indulgences, les peccés véniels et mortels, les penitences changées en amandes pécuniaires, les affaires matrimoniales, les vœux, les abbayes, étoient autant d’impôts que le Pape levait sur l’Ecclesiastice, ce qui lui donnoient des revenus aussi solides que le Mexique en fournit à l’Espagne. Ceux qui les payoient, étoient cruels et mécontents. Il n’y étoit donc pas même nécessaire d’employer l’évidence des argumens pour disposer ces esprits à recevoir la Réforme; ils croient contre le clergé qui les opprimoit, un homme vivant, qui promet de les en délivrer, et ils le suivent.” *Memoirs* by Fred. H. Plü, pp. 109, 137. *Villiers* shows how “the foundation of the Prussian monarchy was laid by the Reformation.” *Essays*, p. 123.

this time also the cities of Magdeburg, Nuremberg, and Strasburg, embraced the Reformation; and when the first of these was threatened by the imperial regency, they prepared for their defence. The Reformation was also established in Westphalia, in the city of Brunswick, though the duke was one of its greatest enemies; in the duchy of Mecklenberg, in Pomerania, Livonia, Bremen, and Holstein, and even in Leipsic, notwithstanding the opposition of the duke of Saxony.

In A. D. 1524, Carolostadt was obliged to leave Wittemberg through the violence of Luther, who had annulled every thing that he had done during his absence; and having procured him to be expelled Saxony, he took refuge in Strasburg, whither also Luther pursued him by violent letters. Their principal difference of opinion respected the eucharist: Luther maintaining that the body of Christ was really present in it, whereas Carolostadt said it was so only by way of figure. Zuinglius and Œcolampadius taking the part of Carolostadt, Luther wrote against them with great violence; and this dispute, which continued a long time, did great injury to the cause of the Reformation. Several persons endeavoured to compose this difference, but without success.

Erasmus had been long urged in the most pressing and the most flattering manner to engage in the controversy with Luther. Pope Adrian had conjured him to do it most earnestly; calling him "the only and last hope of the church." He was joined by Campegio, and Tonstal, bishop of Durham, pressed him strongly on the part of the king of England. At length, in order to avoid the charge of heresy, and fearing to lose his pension from the catholic princes, though he dreaded the violence of Luther: after alleging his age, and making other excuses, he undertook to write against what he had advanced on the subject of free-will. Luther endeavoured to dissuade him from his purpose, though without shewing any fear of him; but at the same time reflecting upon him for his dissimulation, and want of courage in defence of the truth.

This offended Erasmus; and in his reply he said, he had contributed more to the discovery of truth than those who boasted so much of their being the apostles of it. When this piece came out, it appeared to be written in such a manner as pleased no party, and Erasmus owned to his friends, that in defending the free-will of man he had given up his own. For he acknowledged to Melancthon, that it

was much against his will that he had entered the lists with Luther; that it was only to avoid the charge of heresy, and avert the vengeance of the church of Rome. Luther, finding himself not much hurt by this treatise of Erasmus, deferred his answer till the next year.

In A. D. 1524. Luther quitted the habit of a monk, and took that of a doctor; and the prior being the only person who remained with him in the monastery, they resigned the revenues into the hands of the elector, as that of Hertsberg had been before; but he advised that the funds should be disposed of to pious and charitable uses, blaming those princes who seized upon the goods of the church.

It was in this year that William Farrel, who contributed largely to the Reformation in Switzerland, came to Basil. He was a gentleman of Gap, in Dauphiné, studied at Paris, and in A. D. 1522 was invited by Brissonet, bishop of Meaux, to preach in his church. But the parliament of Paris beginning to persecute the reformers the year following, he went to Strasburg, where he became acquainted with Wolfgang, Capito and Bucer. Thence he went to Basil, where he proposed a conference with the literati of the place. But his *theses* appearing heretical to the heads of the university, they would not suffer the disputation to be in public. The senate, however, thinking better of them, permitted him to fix them up at the college.

In A. D. 1525, Francis I. was taken prisoner by Charles, at the famous battle of Pavia, and in a consultation what use he should make of his victory, the bishop of Osimo advised the giving him his liberty, and treating him generously: for this reason among others, that by their cordial union the progress of the Turks might be stopped, and Lutheranism entirely suppressed. This measure, which would probably have been fatal to the Reformation, was over-ruled by the advice of the duke of Alva and others, in consequence of which, such hard terms were proposed to Francis, that he rejected them with indignation: and thus a foundation was laid for such contests between these great rivals for power, as was highly favourable to the progress of the Reformation. At the same time, a dread of the increasing power of Charles, who was evidently aiming at universal monarchy, united all the powers of Europe against him, and among them the Pope himself.

The German peasantry had long been grievously oppressed, especially by the rich ecclesiastics, and were burdened with taxes unknown to their ancestors. This had frequently been

the occasion of revolts, and much blood had been shed in the reduction of them. But the year 1525 was distinguished by a revolt much more general than any of the preceding, especially in Suabia, where the oppression was the greatest. It began on the usual ground of civil oppression; but afterwards the revolters availed themselves of the prevailing sentiments with respect to freedom in religious matters; and by this means brought a great scandal upon the Reformation. They demanded, among other things, the power of choosing their own ministers. They also said that, as Christians, they ought not to be the slaves they had been, attached to the soil. They did not reject all authority of magistracy, but said they would only obey them in things that were lawful. They claimed the freedom of hunting and fishing, and some regulations in the payment of tithes. The rest of their demands, which made twelve articles, were entirely of a civil nature.

On this occasion, both Luther and Melancthon addressed the public. The latter was of opinion that the demands of the peasants were reasonable, and agreeable to the Scriptures; and he exhorted the princes to behave towards them with clemency. Luther advised obedience to magistrates, however unjust, as Christ, he said, bade Peter put up his sword into the scabbard, and his church flourished in consequence of his bearing all the injuries that were offered to him, without making the least resistance. If, said he, the people do not approve of the ministers appointed by the magistrates, who have the disposal of the revenues, they should peaceably withdraw, and maintain their own ministers; and that private persons have no right to change established customs. At the same time, however, he addressed the princes with great freedom; telling them that they were the real causes of the disturbance, especially the ecclesiastical princes; and he forewarned them of the judgments of God if they continued to oppose the progress of the gospel, and of reasonable liberty, as he said they did against their own consciences; and he concluded with giving excellent advice to both parties. But this advice was disregarded by both. The revolt continued, and much blood was shed before it was terminated, as these revolts always had been, by the reduction of the insurgents; though in some places the lords gave them favourable terms.

Among the chief of these revolters appeared Muncer, above-mentioned. He pretended to divine illuminations, declaimed against Luther as much as against the Pope, and

became very popular with the commonalty. He took down the names of his disciples, and made them take an oath to exterminate wicked princes, and appoint new ones. When his designs were known, he was driven out of Saxony, and went to Nuremberg, and being banished from that city, he went to Mulhausen, where he had some partisans, and by their help he seized upon the place, and taking possession of a rich monastery, he became the sovereign of the city. In this capacity he decided all causes by the Bible, or pretended revelations to himself, and introduced a community of goods. During two years he only threatened the neighbouring princes, but now that the peasants were in arms, he invited them to join him, cast cannon, and formed an army.

One Pfeiffer, who had persuaded him to take this step sooner than he otherwise would have done, marched out of the city, plundered the neighbouring territory, and took some prisoners; but Muncer himself, who had put himself at the head of three hundred men, was defeated by Albert of Mansfeldt. Notwithstanding this, he wrote him an insolent letter, commanding him to abandon the corrupt doctrine of Luther, and join him. But his army being attacked by the elector John, who had just succeeded his brother Frederic, the landgrave of Hesse, and Henry of Brunswick, they were soon defeated, and Muncer and Pfeiffer being taken prisoners, were beheaded, with other leaders of the party. This war of the peasants cost the lives of fifty thousand men.

Luther may be said to have been in some measure the innocent cause of this war, by his invectives against the princes, ecclesiastical and secular, for impeding the progress of the gospel; but seeing the advantage which the common people took of this, and the devastations they made in the country, he did every thing in his power to prevent these excesses; and writing on the subject, he then, with his usual violence, exhorted the princes to destroy them like wild beasts; assuring them that whoever died in the war would be martyrs. Being on this account accused of exciting the princes to an excess of violence, he published an apology, but it gave little satisfaction.

The excellent elector Frederic died May 5, A. D. 1525, just before the suppression of this revolt; and before he died he exhorted the princes to use moderation towards the deluded multitude, and punish only their leaders. He was a man universally esteemed for every great quality that can adorn a prince, especially for his great prudence, (on which

account he was surnamed *the Wise*,) his sincerity, his piety, and his regard for his subjects. He was withal well-made, and had an air of great dignity, though mild and condescending in his behaviour. Before Luther appeared, he was so zealous a Catholic, that he employed the first year of his reign in collecting relics, and multiplying canons and priests in the church of *All Saints*, in which near ten thousand masses were said every year; and the number of relics, it was said, amounted to several thousands. He used great caution in favouring the Reformation, and did not encourage the exercise of the new religion till he saw that it was generally wished for, and the withholding of it was in some measure the cause of the revolt of the peasants. At the time of his death he was disposed to grant it universally.

His brother John, who succeeded him, had not all his great qualities; but he had the same good disposition, and the same firmness, whence he was called *the Good*, and *the Constant*. But in his son John Frederic, surnamed *the Magnanimous*, they were all united. He was, though young, prime minister to his father, and thinking Frederic to have been too complaisant to the emperor and the court of Rome, he joined heartily with the landgrave of Hesse in a resolution to establish the Reformation, at all events. The irrelative, duke George, whose daughter the landgrave had married, was a great obstacle to them; and they found it impossible to gain him. But by this time the Reformation was, after several public disputations, firmly established in many cities of the empire, as Nuremberg, Bremen, Dantzic and Zell, but especially in Prussia.

In A. D. 1525, Luther, now forty-two years old, to the great surprise and dissatisfaction of his friends, married. The wife he made choice of was Catharine à Boria, who had left the nunnery some time before, and whom Luther, though he had an inclination for her, wished to have married to another person, being apprehensive of the inconveniences that might arise from his own marrying. But she objecting to the match he proposed, and his father wishing that he would marry, he yielded to his own and their inclinations. The enemies of Luther triumphed greatly in this event; and this, together with the coolness of his friends, distressed him much. But Melanethon encouraged him, though he could have wished there had been no occasion for it.

Carolstadt, who had differed with Luther, wished to return to Saxony; but he did not obtain the leave of the court till he had signed a retractation of what had given offence to

Luther. By this means he had leave to live in a private manner, in a village near Wittenberg. But Luther urging him to make a more public declaration of his concurrence with him with respect to the doctrine of the eucharist, he found it necessary to leave Saxony, and go to Strasburg. It being, however, thought imprudent to receive him, lest the magistrates should offend Luther and the elector, which would have been inconvenient to them in their circumstances, they recommended him to Zuinglius, who received him with much kindness. There he was made archdeacon of the principal church, and after the death of Zuinglius he was invited to Basil, where he both preached and taught in their academy.

In the mean time, Zuinglius, who, like Carolostadt, denied the real presence, did not think it prudent to publish any thing on the subject; but in this year, 1525, Œcolampadius, who thought as he did, and was a man of great modesty and diffidence, wrote a treatise upon it, the sale of which was prohibited by the magistrates of Basil, who urged Erasmus to answer it: but he appears to have thought too well of it to engage in the controversy. It was, however, answered by some ministers of Suabia, one of whom was Brentius. Œcolampadius replied, and Luther prefixed a preface to the work of Brentius, which was very disrespectful to the Swiss; but Zuinglius and Œcolampadius made no great account of it. Pomeranus also wrote on the subject, and Zuinglius answered him. Various other persons also appeared in this controversy. The divines of Strasburg, desirous of composing this difference among the friends of reformation, applied to Luther, proposing that both parties should content themselves with saying, in general terms, that Christ was present in the sacrament, without saying *in what manner*; but Luther replied, that the article was of so much importance, that one or the other of them must be the ministers of Satan.

The Pope, without attempting any means of conviction or persuasion, bent all his policy to procure the suppression of the Reformation by force. This was the object of all his treaties with sovereign princes; as that which he made with Charles after the victory of Pavia, in which it was said, that the Pope having infinitely more at heart the interests of religion than his own private advantage, the emperor, the king of England, and the archduke Ferdinand, must unite all their forces to make war on the corrupters of religion. A similar clause was inserted in a treaty which he made with the kings of France and England, and in that which Louisa,

the mother of Francis, made with Henry VIII. Nor was it forgotten in the treaty made at Madrid, between Charles and Francis, then his prisoner. But the power of truth raised up in favour of the Reformation the common people and several princes, which defeated the sanguinary policy of the court of Rome.

In this year Luther answered the treatise of Erasmus on the subject of free-will. But Melancthon did not approve of the sentiments of Luther, and the Lutherans in general came to adopt the doctrine of Melancthon on this subject, which makes election to depend on certain conditions on the part of man. This was not, however, completely effected till A. D. 1580, when Hegidius Humius, a professor at Wittenberg, defended the sentiments of Melancthon. In the mean time, Erasmus, who was roughly handled in the answer of Luther, made a reply, and was so much offended that he was ever after the declared enemy of the Lutherans, and omitted no opportunity of speaking ill of them.

At the meeting of the diet of the empire this year at Augsburg, the Catholics maintained that the revolt of the peasants arose from the heresy of Luther, and that the only means of preventing new troubles was to extirpate that heresy; and a previous meeting of the electors of Mentz and Brandenburg, Henry of Brunswick, and his uncle Eric, who were of their opinion, at Dessau, gave great cause of suspicion to those princes who were the friends of the Reformation, that measures were taken for their destruction. They therefore found it necessary to form an union for their own defence, and at Salfield they entered into a resolution that they would never suffer the truth to be extinguished, and informed duke George of it; complaining at the same time of the meeting at Dessau. The magistrates of the cities of the empire also assembled, for the same purpose, at Ulm.

In the mean time came out the emperor's edict for the meeting of the diet the 1st of October, and his order for the execution of the edict of Worms; and in his letters he spake of nothing but the extirpation of the heresy of Luther. To the elector of Saxony, however, he wrote in a milder manner, only desiring that he would attend the diet. The regency of the empire also required the same, but he was advised by his friends to take care of his safety, apprising him that several charges would be brought against him.

This conduct of the emperor, however, displeased not only those princes who wished for a reformation, but those who had at heart the peace of the empire; being sensible that

the schemes of the emperor, the Pope and the clergy, and the violence of the zealous Catholics, were the cause of the rigour that was exercised against the Protestants.

Alarmed at these threatening appearances, the landgrave of Hesse and John Frederic, son of the elector, met in order to consider what was to be done; when it was agreed that it would be advisable that all the friends of reformation should make a common cause. They also agreed to represent to Ferdinand the inexpediency of executing the edict of Worms, and that it was more reasonable to examine the doctrine of Luther, and approve what was good in it; and that it was absolutely necessary to retain this, to satisfy the people, and preserve the peace of the empire. This advice was not much disliked by Ferdinand. The elector Palatine also, and the elector of Treves, approved of it, though his dignity of archbishop obliged him to use great caution. Accordingly, the deputies of the landgrave and of the elector of Saxony were directed to remonstrate against the measures proposed, and to recommend the decrees of the diet of Nuremberg.

While these princes were thinking to strengthen themselves by alliances, directions were given to the divines of Wittemberg to prepare an apology to be presented at the diet. This was done, evidently drawn up by Melancthon, and it concluded with declaring, that they considered the doctrine of justification by faith independently of good works, to be so essential to the Christian religion, that there were no troubles, wars, or persecution, that should oblige any of them to deny it.

When the diet was held, it was not numerously attended. There was no ecclesiastic there except the bishop of Trent, and but few deputies from the electors and princes of the empire. After the reading of the letters of the emperor, they were so far from ordering the execution of the edict of Worms, that they confirmed that of Nuremberg. They also recommended to all the princes that the gospel should be preached in its true sense in all the churches, but without tumult and scandal, and they exhorted the people to peace, and to respect their magistrates. They prayed the emperor to hasten the calling of a council, and his journey to Germany; and as the assembly was incomplete, they prorogued the diet to the 1st of May. This recess was dated January 9, A.D. 1526, and the remarkable moderation of the proceedings in it was owing to the measures that had been taken by the landgrave and the elector of Saxony. Even Ferdinand

and the most devoted partisans of the church of Rome were sensible that the peace of the empire required the abrogation of the edict of Worms.

In the mean time, as the catholic princes were forming leagues to oppress the Reformers, these had a meeting at Torgau, the 4th of May, when they agreed upon a league for their mutual defence, and it was concluded the 12th of June following. There entered into this alliance the dukes of Luneburg, Henry duke of Mecklenberg, Wolfgang prince of Anhalt, Gothard and Albert counts of Mansfeldt. The city of Magdeburg also entered into it. They had had private information that the emperor had sent to the duke of Brunswick, letters of instruction to all the princes not suspected of favouring the Reformation, acquainting them that he had heard with great concern of the progress of the heresy of Luther, but that he hoped with their assistance to extirpate it. It was this information that hastened the confederacy of the friends of the Reformation.

At the diet held at Spire, which was opened the 25th of June, the president said, the emperor had called them together to deliberate upon the means of maintaining the ancient religion, and punishing those who opposed it, agreeably to the edict of Worms, which he would have observed. But this proposal displeased almost all the assembly; and the friends of reformation demanded, agreeably to the resolution taken at Nuremberg, that persons should be chosen to regulate matters that related to religion; and accordingly some were then named. But the ambassadors of the emperor opposed it, saying that they had no power to relax in any article of religion; that the emperor had cancelled the resolutions taken at Nuremberg, and would adhere to those of Worms; that he was going to Rome to be crowned, and would then consult with the Pope about the calling of a council; that he complained of the rise of new errors every day in Germany; that factions were formed there, and that the revolt of the peasants arose from the heresy of Luther.

The opposition, however, from the cities, prevented any compliance with the emperor's wishes. They insisted upon it that it was impossible to carry into execution the edict of Worms, and that the insurrection of the peasants shewed what they had to fear from such rigorous measures; that in those places in which the Reformation was established there was no sedition, and that during the present difference between the Pope and the emperor, there was no prospect of the convocation of a council. They also made several

demands for a farther and more general reformation. At length it was agreed that, till the convocation of a council, which the emperor should be desired to call within one year, the states of the empire should engage to conduct themselves with respect to matters of religion in such a manner, as that they should be able to give a good account of their conduct to God and his imperial majesty.

The circumstance that happily in a manner compelled them to lay aside all consideration of their differences with respect to religion, was the application they received for assistance from Hungary, which was almost overrun by the Turks. This diet was the most numerous that had ever been known, and the elector of Saxony and the landgrave distinguished themselves by their firmness, their zeal for the Reformation, and the strict order in which they kept their servants and dependants; no riot or debauch, which had been customary, being allowed among them, while at the same time they paid no regard to the fasts appointed by the church. They could not obtain leave to have their ministers preach in the churches, but they preached in their own houses, which were very much crowded.

In this state of threatened hostility, the moderation of Luther fully appeared. For, being consulted by the elector of Saxony, he avowed his opinion to be, that he ought not to defend himself by arms in case of an attack from the emperor, but only by remonstrances and prayer; and that at all events he ought not to be the aggressor; nay, rather than that, he ought to renounce his alliance with the landgrave of Hesse.

As soon as Francis was released from his confinement at Madrid, the Pope entered into a league with him, in order to strip the emperor of the states he held in Italy; and for this purpose he absolved him from the oath which he had taken to fulfil the articles of the treaty which he had made at Madrid. The emperor, provoked at the treachery of the Pope, sent an army into Italy chiefly composed of Germans, all friends of the Reformation, and the general wanting money to pay them, promised them the plunder of Rome. In consequence of this, the city was taken by assault the 6th of May, A. D. 1527, and plundered. The Pope himself being taken prisoner, was detained six or seven months, and made to purchase his liberty at a great price. However, one of the conditions of the treaty he made with the emperor was, that he should take measures for the extermination of Lutheranism. In this, the emperor's view was to

make himself absolute in Germany. And thus the Pope evaded the calling of a council for the reformation of abuses.

In this year Zuinglius and Œcolampadius wrote against Luther on the subject of the real presence, with much moderation; but he replied with his usual asperity. Zuinglius, however, answered him with his usual mildness, and good sense; saying that his innocence was at the same time a sufficient answer to his abuse, and enabled him to bear it.

It was in this year that the duke of Saxony, to the surprise of every body, expressed a wish to have a Lutheran preacher sent to him; and accordingly the bishop of Misnia sent him Alexis Crossner, a canon of Altenburg, who had been educated under Luther; and he gave him an honourable reception, telling him that though he was considered as one who would not bear the evangelical doctrine, he would find that he was only offended at the indecent manner in which it was preached. Accordingly he continued with him three years, preaching with great freedom; and whenever he spoke too freely, he was only reproved by the duke in private.

Toward the end of this year the magistrates of Bern signified to their neighbours, that in the beginning of the following year there would be in that city a free discussion of the articles of religion, comprised in ten *theses*, against the principal articles of Popery, which any person should be at liberty to canvass on the authority of the Scriptures; and they requested the bishops of Constance, Basil, Sion and Lausanne, to attend with their divines. Those bishops did not attend, but there were deputies from Zurich, Schaffhausen, the Grisons, and some of the confederate cities, and several from the imperial cities of Strasburg, Ulm, Augsburgh, Lindau and Constance. There were very few to oppose the *theses*. However, the disputation continued from the 7th to the 26th of January, A. D. 1528, and in the issue the magistrates of Bern abolished the mass, and removed the images from the churches. Those of Constance soon after did the same.

In A. D. 1528, a council was held in France by Anthony du Prat, archbishop of Sens, the chancellor of the kingdom, and a cardinal, on account of the spread of the Reformation in that country, many persons then preaching in the vulgar tongue. They passed sixteen decrees against the Reformation of doctrines, and forty, of reformation in articles of discipline. In this council, the archbishop imitated the

Pope in the late Council of Lateran, deciding himself, as by the advice of the bishops who attended.

In this year it appeared from information communicated to the landgrave of Hesse, by Otto de Pach, a counsellor of duke George, that a confederacy had been entered into by the catholic princes of the empire, at Breslaw, May 12th of the preceding year, at the head of which was Ferdinand, now king of Bohemia, to compel the elector of Saxony to banish Luther, and restore the ancient religion; and in case of his refusal, a plan of attack was laid by which he was to be assailed in all directions. The landgrave was to be attacked in the next place, but he was to be treated with more mildness on account of his youth, and his relationship to duke George, who was one of the confederates. They likewise agreed upon the division of the spoils. George was to have the electoral provinces, Ferdinand what he possessed in Suabia and Silesia, and the other confederates were to have their share either in territory or in money.

Upon this intelligence, of the truth of which they entertained no doubt, the elector and his friends entered into a new league the 9th of March, A. D. 1528, by which they engaged to raise an army of twenty thousand foot and six thousand horse, and to expose their lives, their honours, and their estates, in the defence of their religion. They also endeavoured to form alliances for their support, and among them, with the king of Denmark, but especially with the imperial cities. In consequence, however, of the remonstrances of Luther, the elector was unwilling to defend himself by force of arms. But the landgrave expostulating with duke George on the subject, both he and the rest of the catholic princes declared that they had never entered into any such league as that of Breslaw, and that the whole was a forgery of Pach's. However, being interrogated in their presence, he persisted in his evidence, and being banished by the landgrave, he retired into Flanders, where he was in A. D. 1536 apprehended by the agents of duke George, and beheaded.

The emperor, being informed of these proceedings, wrote a very haughty letter to the elector of Saxony, severely censuring him for raising an army, in consequence of being imposed upon by a treaty which had no existence. He said, if any such confederacy had been entered into, it was his business as emperor to disperse it. This was such language as the princes of the empire had not been used to, as it was their indisputable right to make peace or war at their

own discretion, within or without the empire, without consulting the emperor. This discovery, however, if it was one, probably prevented the breaking out of a war; and both Luther and Melancthon exerted themselves in promoting peace. They were even determined to leave Wittenberg, if the elector engaged in any war on the account of religion. Zuinglius differed from Luther on this subject, thinking that force ought to be repelled by force: and seeing the design of the catholic powers to exterminate the Reformation in Switzerland, he said they ought to be beforehand with them, and by the destruction of images, the discontinuance of the mass, and abolishing the monasteries, make it impossible for them to restore the ancient worship.

In this year Melancthon drew a formulary of doctrine and discipline for the Lutheran churches, revised by Luther himself. In it they preserved the festivals instituted in remembrance of Christ, and some in honour of the Virgin Mary, the apostles, and a few of the other saints; but they added that, if any person was obliged to work on those days, either for their own subsistence, or in the service of their prince, they might do it without scruple. They permitted the celebration of the mass in Latin, though they recommended the German language. This work displeased many, and especially Agricola, a minister of Eisleben, who wrote on the occasion; maintaining that Christians were under no obligation to the moral law: for particular care had been taken in this work to guard against the abuse of Luther's doctrine of justification by faith alone, as if good works were unnecessary. The seculars were dissatisfied with the work because it left the clergy, as they thought, too much power; Luther and Melancthon having aimed at nothing more than to keep that power within what they thought proper bounds.

At the meeting of the diet held at Spire in A. D. 1529, though the prejudices of the Catholics against the Reformed appeared to be very strong, they, as well the rest, were offended at the haughtiness of the imperial mandates sent from Spain. Charles wrote, that being the chief in Christendom, he would not suffer his orders to be despised; that he had forbidden all innovation, and proscribed the innovators in matters of religion; but that nevertheless their numbers increased every day on account of the decrees of the diet at Spire in A. D. 1526; but that he now informed the diet that, by virtue of the full power which belonged to him, he annulled those decrees, as contrary to his intentions

and orders. But no person spake more openly than the elector of Saxony, who said to his son, that no former emperor had used such language, and that he ought to be informed that their rights were more ancient than the elevation of his family.

Notwithstanding all that the prelates, in conformity to the wish of the emperor, could urge to enforce the edict of Worms, or at least to rescind that of Spire, not only the reforming princes, but the bishop of Paderborn joined in opposing them; since the decrees complained of had been made in all the usual forms, and with the consent of the imperial ambassadors.

The Catholics, finding the Lutherans too powerful, very artfully endeavoured to turn the indignation of the diet against the disciples of Zuinglius, generally called Sacramentarians; against whom Luther had inveighed with more bitterness than even against the Catholics. Of this, Faber, bishop of Vienna, and Eckius, took advantage, speaking favourably of the sentiments of Luther, as proper to be tolerated till a general council; but representing the doctrine of the Sacramentarians as, in the universal opinion, undeserving of any favour. And as the citizens of Strasburg were generally of that opinion, and had, notwithstanding the endeavours of the bishop to the contrary, abolished the mass, and reformed their church, an application was made by the bishop to this diet. But the deputies of the other cities, who in general inclined to the doctrine of Zuinglius, joining those of Strasburg, remonstrated with the Lutheran princes with respect to the artifice of the Catholics, and the insignificance of the difference between them, in such a manner that they agreed to make a common cause, especially as the landgrave saw in a very strong light the importance of it, and was, perhaps, at this time himself inclined to their opinion, as indeed were many others. This appears from a letter of Melancthon to Œcolampadius at this time, in which he said, "I am not ignorant how many learned and great men are of your opinion. Your cause is defended by men of ability. You have the favour of the spectators, of whom some approve openly, and others privately, and I do not know which of the two are of the most service to you."

Notwithstanding this union, the majority of voices was now for rescinding the decree of Spire, and the Lutheran princes and cities were strongly urged by Ferdinand to acquiesce in it. But they replied that this was not a

business of policy or temporal interests, with respect to which they were ready to submit to the will of the majority; but it affected the interests of conscience, with respect to which every man ought to judge for himself. They, therefore, could not assent to a decree which affected its rights. They also alleged that it was contrary to the established usage, that a decree adopted unanimously should be annulled without the consent of all, and on the 19th of April they delivered a formal protest on the subject, though the other members of the diet would not receive it.

Luther being consulted by the elector of Saxony, who was wholly governed by him, could not conceal the ill will he bore to the Sacramentarians. He even gave it as his decided opinion, that, if they were put under the ban of the empire, his master ought to obey the decree, and execute whatever should be ordered against them. Happily, however, the opinion of divines of more moderation prevailed over that of Luther, and the princes were governed by them. Ferdinand, finding that he could not prevail upon the Lutherans to abandon the Sacramentarians, withdrew the promise he had made them; and they, in their turn, presented, on the 20th of April, a new protest, larger than the former; and this was the writing from which they obtained the name of *Protestants*. The cities joined the princes, and made a separate protest against the proceedings of the diet.

Notwithstanding the unrelenting rigour of the diet, the princes were more favourable to them in the recess, owing to Ferdinand wanting the assistance of the Protestant princes, both in the war with which he was threatened by the Turks, and in his endeavours to obtain the dignity of king of the Romans. The emperor was also engaged in a war with Francis, who endeavoured to make a league with the Protestant princes. Accordingly, in the decree that was drawn up, though the states that had observed the edict of Worms were ordered to continue to do so, the others were permitted to do as they had done, but were forbidden to make any more changes before the holding of a council. The Anabaptists, however, were condemned to suffer death, and another edict of the emperor against them was published, of the same date with the recess.

Though Ferdinand endeavoured to prevent it, the Protestants published their protest. The commissaries of the emperor informed him of their proceedings, and urged him to call a council himself, if the Pope would not do it. The Protestants, having been calumniated to the emperor, wrote

to him in their justification, concluding with saying, that were they to carry the edict of Worms into execution, they must become the executioners of their own subjects, who would yield to nothing but violence; but that, excepting what depended upon God, they were ready to obey him as emperor, to contribute to the glory of the commonwealth, and to assist Ferdinand against the Turks. The emperor however, received the messengers who went with the protest, very ill, saying he insisted on the princes submitting to the decree of the diet of Spire, and that if they refused to do it, he would make an example of them. He added, that it was more necessary than ever that the republic should be united, in order to repel the invasion of the Turks; and that he would soon be in Germany to oppose them with all his forces.

The Protestants, not expecting a favourable answer, entered into an alliance, in which they engaged to defend themselves against all who should attack them, except the emperor. But Luther was utterly averse to making any league with the Sacramentarians, though the reasons he gave for this were weak in the extreme. Among other things he said that, as the confederacy was entered into for the defence of the gospel, they must first see whether the Sacramentarians were of the same faith with themselves; that it was impiety to enter into a league for the defence of religion, with those who erred in a capital article, alleging the example of the Israelites, who were defeated for the offence of Achan; that many of those who entered into this confederacy, depended more upon the arm of flesh, than on God. "Besides," he said, "We cannot make a lawful alliance with those who are not fully persuaded in their own minds; and that the Sacramentarians are not so, is evident from their willingness to submit to an examination of their sentiments. They ought, therefore," he said, "to write to the emperor in justification of their conduct, by informing him that they had abolished all abuses, that they had suppressed the Anabaptists, the Sacramentarians, and all the heterodox in general, and among them he named Erasmus." He added, however, more like a Christian, "There was no occasion for such treaties; for that God, who had protected them hitherto without any such an expedient, would continue to protect them."

As the difference between the Lutherans and the Sacramentarians was the principal obstacle to the confederacy which the landgrave had at heart, he endeavoured to bring

them to an agreement by means of an amicable conference, and at length he procured one to be held at Marburg, where Luther and the divines of Wittemberg, met Zuinglius and those of Strasburg. The landgrave received and entertained them all in his castle. But notwithstanding many sensible precautions of the landgrave to dispose them to moderation and unanimity, he could not succeed. Luther, beginning the conference, declared that nothing should make him give up the literal sense of the words, *this is my body*. Accordingly, this conference, which lasted three days, produced no good effect.

As these divines could not agree in opinion, the landgrave proposed that they should agree to tolerate one another; and to this the Sacramentarians readily consented. If difference of opinion be not allowed in things not essential, Bucer said, there never can be peace in the church, and there will be as many churches as there are persons. But Luther would not agree to any toleration, and wondered, he said, that the Sacramentarians had so little regard to conscience as to admit of it. To shew the world, however, that the Protestants did not differ on any other subject than this of the eucharist, they signed articles of agreement; and perhaps their union might have been carried something farther, if they had not been obliged to leave the city on account of the sweating sickness which then broke out in that place,

In this conference, Luther could not help acknowledging the gentleness and moderation of Zuinglius. It was also observed that he always quoted the New Testament in Greek; and Luther desiring him to do it in Latin, or German, he said that for the last twelve years, he had never read the New Testament but in the original Greek, and therefore was not able to quote it in any other language. In the issue of the conference it was pretty evident that Zuinglius had the advantage, in the opinion of the landgrave and his court, since, from that time, he was inclined to his opinion, as were many others who attended the debate.

The elector not being gained, the princes, met at Smalcald, joined by the deputies from the cities, could not effect the proposed union. Before the deliberations took place, there were presented by the elector seventeen articles of faith, to be signed by all those who should enter into the confederacy, and that of the *corporal presence* was one of them. But it was thought that the true motive of the elector's hesitation was his conscientious objection to opposing

the emperor by force. It appeared that Luther had written to him and his colleagues in the following Christian-like manner: "It is our part to suffer as lambs brought to the slaughter, and to leave vengeance to God. As for the danger with which you are threatened, it is easy to God to divert it. They are the threatenings of the devil, which are only fatal to those from whom they come. If we be Christians, we should not promise ourselves better treatment than that of Jesus Christ. We must bear his cross. You have done so already on other occasions, and you have experienced divine consolation and assistance. If we persevere in faith and prayer, the same assistance will not fail us. The Lord will find means to defend us, more certain and more effectual than our own wisdom and strength. Be full of hope and courage, and keep your hands pure from violence and blood. If the emperor orders me and my colleagues to appear before him, we will obey with the help of God, and you will run no risk on our account, as I have always told your brother Frederick of glorious memory. It is not your business to defend our faith, or that of any other person. Every person must defend his own, and he must believe or not at his own risk."

Another meeting was appointed to be held at Nuremberg for the 6th of January, but this ended as the other had done; and they only agreed to wait for the arrival of the emperor before they came to any conclusion what steps to take. In the mean time the Strasburgers, who were most exposed to danger, entered into an alliance for fifteen years with the cantons of Zurich and Basil for their mutual defence, in case they should be attacked by the emperor, at which the imperial regency was much offended.

Charles having released the Pope from his confinement,* met him at Bologna,† where they had much consultation about composing the differences with respect to religion; the emperor inclining to the calling of a council, and the Pope urging the insignificance of it, and the necessity of

* Dec. 6, 1527. See *Robertson*, B. v. 1782, III. p. 41. While the Imperialists were employed during two months in the pillage of Rome, if we may rely on a biographer of Clement, some Lutheran soldiers in the army of Charles, assembled in *conclave*, and having got possession of the robes of the Pope and the cardinals, they degraded one of their number who personated *Clement*, and elected in his place a representative of *Luther*. See *Nouv. Hist. III.* p. 27.

† Nov. 5, 1529. "The effect of this entry, i. e. his public entry into that city, the state and majesty that suited an emperor, with the humility becoming an obedient son of the church, and when at the head of twenty thousand veteran soldiers, able to give law to all Italy, he knelt down to kiss the feet of that very Pope, whom he had so lately detained a prisoner." *Robertson*, III. pp. 39, 40.

having recourse to force. He represented to him how much more easy it would be to quell the sedition in Germany than to conquer Francis, and that the interest of all posterity depended upon his success. "If," said he, "the authority of the holy see is once abolished, the world will fall into anarchy, discipline will be ruined, mankind will relapse into savage manners, rash and bold spirits will every day invent new heresies, and nothing is more dangerous than delay when a fire is lighted."

The emperor, though a young man, with great dignity and readiness replied, that, "after consulting many persons of much experience and piety, he found them all of opinion that the church had need of a council, in which liberty might reign and truth preside, and that he should, therefore, never desist from his endeavours to procure one." He said that "all the new opinions were not absurd; for there was a kind of worship introduced into the church dishonourable to God, and that impiety was public and known to all the world. It was necessary," he also said, "to form a body of doctrine which might be taught in all churches. You are not ignorant that there is much difference of opinion, and on subjects of importance, among those who acknowledge your authority."

The Pope having said that there were doctrines of religion that could not be explained; "This," said the emperor, "must be false, and unworthy of the sovereign pontiff; for such a revelation would be useless and mischievous, serving only to divide the Christian world. I am," he said, "of the opinion of Theodosius, who said, we must go back to primitive antiquity to arrive at the genuine doctrine of Jesus Christ." He was therefore for a council which should decide not by authority, but after hearing reason, and according to the Scriptures; that to decide disputes about religion by arms without examination would be to act blindly, and in that way he might destroy what was good as well as what was bad, which he never would do. He concluded with expressing his attachment to the holy see, which he said he had always shewn, and would preserve on all occasions.

The Pope made no reply at that time, saying that he would consult about the business, with his cardinals; but in more familiar conversation afterwards, he used all his address to dissuade the emperor from his scheme of a council; observing among other things, that the demand for it by the heretics was only an artifice to gain time: that if that

assembly did not decide in their favour, they would find pretences not to obey its decrees, and that in general nothing was more dangerous than to yield to the importunity of subjects, as they would always pass from one demand to another, till the prince must either grant every thing, or risk a revolt; that such was the love of novelty, of independence, and the eagerness to seize the estates of the church, that other states of the empire would be drawn into the same party, and the heretics would become so strong that he would be obliged to receive the law from them; and he might perhaps think himself happy if, after stripping him of all his authority as emperor, they did not send him back into Spain. As to his own authority, as Pope, he said he had the promise of Christ, that it was founded on a rock, and would never fail; so that he had nothing to fear.

Though by these arguments the emperor was persuaded to desist from the demand of a general council, he could not be prevailed upon to declare war against the Lutherans before he had given them a hearing. He therefore wrote to the states of the empire to meet him at Augsburg, April 28, A. D. 1530. He said he convoked the diet in order to treat of matters of religion, that the parties should be heard, and their reasons examined; that the truth being known, and concord established, there might be no more than one faith, simple and pure; and as they were all disciples of one master, Jesus Christ, their common head, they might compose but one church. No mention was made of Luther. After this the emperor was crowned.* He then wrote again to put off the diet to the 1st of May, and this letter was written with the same moderation. The Protestants, however, were not without suspicion of his designs from the long stay he made at Bologna, the secret interviews he had with the Pope, and the oath which he took at his coronation, which was, that he would be the perpetual defender of the dignity of the church of Rome.† Besides, they knew that there was in the treaty made at Barcelona, the preceding year, a secret article, by which he had engaged to destroy Lutheranism.

The Lutherans were so much alarmed at these appearances, that they would have formed an army, and met the emperor, had it not been for the persuasion of Luther; who strongly urged the unlawfulness of fighting for their religion, and who exhorted the elector to carry the cross of Christ,

* "February 24th, his birth-day." *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 553.

† *Sleidan*, p. 226. (P.) *Ibid.*

since he had embraced his doctrine, and shew the sincerity of his faith, by his patience and constancy.

It was, however, a serious question, whether the Protestant princes, especially the elector, should attend the diet. The emperor, they knew, had been advised to adopt violent measures, and it might have been imagined that by seizing the heads of the party an end might be put to the disturbance. But it was thought that it became them, at whatever risk, to appear openly, without fear or shame, as the friends of the cause they had espoused, lest the less powerful should be discouraged. Besides, they were not without hope that, as the emperor was a man of good understanding, a young man, and had given some attention to the subject, something might be gained, at least by the confidence they reposed in him, and the respect they shewed him. But though Luther rather wished to attend the diet, it was thought proper that he should not go, and in the capacity of divines, the elector took Jonas, Spalatin and Melancthon. They agreed, however, that their divines should preach openly till they were expressly forbidden. But though there were so many reasons for the union of the Zuinglians with the Lutherans, and the landgrave leaned to their opinion, he could not by any means bring Luther to make a common cause with them. He could not, he said, unite with them who were in an error, and his friends dreaded to bring upon themselves the odium under which the others lay.

SECTION VI.

From the Meeting of the Diet at Augsburg, A. D. 1530, to the death of Clement VII., A. D. 1534.

AFTER this preparation, and the long stay of the emperor in Italy, he arrived at Augsburg, and it was contrived by the Catholics that it should be on the 15th of June, the day before the procession of the sacrament, when he both insisted upon the attendance of the Protestant princes in the ceremony, and that the preaching of their ministers should be discontinued. However, though strongly urged, they resolutely refused to obey; the margrave of Brandenburg declaring that they would rather obey God than man, and were prepared even to die for their religion, if required. Accordingly, the procession was made without them, and it was observed that, though the city of Augsburg was very populous, not more than a hundred of the inhabitants

attended. With respect to the preachers, it was at length agreed that the emperor should silence them all, and appoint others, men of moderate characters, who should preach the gospel without controversy. The elector of Saxony attended the emperor at mass,* but not without previously declaring that he did it only as obliged by his office; and when the host was elevated, neither he, nor any of the Protestants, made the prostration.

When the diet was opened, [June 20.] it appeared by the speech of the emperor, in which he reproved the princes for not observing the edict of Worms, that the councils of the legate and of the Catholics had made a change in his disposition with respect to the Protestants. After much debating, they obtained leave to present their apology; but the catholic party insisted that they should only deliver it in writing, lest the reading of it should make an impression upon those who never read any thing. But the Protestants declaring that they would withdraw it altogether if it might not be read, this was at length granted, but it was contrived that it should be read in a small room, where not more than two hundred persons could attend; and for some time it was also insisted upon that it should be read only in Latin. But the elector, knowing that many of the auditors did not understand Latin, at length obtained leave that it should be read in German, and a person was provided, who read it in so loud a voice, that he was heard in the neighbouring rooms; and he read so deliberately, that he was two hours in dispatching it.

This famous confession of faith, which was drawn up by Melancthon, thus distinctly read, made a great impression on many persons who were present, as they did not find in it those monstrous opinions with which the Protestants had been charged. The bishop of Augsburg could not forbear crying out, "This is nothing but the naked truth. We cannot deny it." William of Bavaria was upon this more civil to the elector of Saxony than before, and walking home with him, he said he found the doctrine of the Protestants very different from the account that he had received of it. Pontanus on delivering the confession into the hands of the emperor, said in a loud voice, "This confession, with the grace of God, who will defend his own cause, will triumph over the gates of hell." The emperor took the Latin copy, and said that he should consider it.

* "To carry the sword of state before him," which was "the duty of that house." *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 303.

This celebrated composition was drawn up with much care and art, expressing in the first place all the capital articles in which the Protestants agreed with the Romanists, and it also contained their reasons for correcting the abuses which had been introduced into the church. The article relating to the eucharist was so expressed, as not to contradict the doctrine of transubstantiation. This was done on account of the emperor being reported to have said, that he was not surprised at the Protestants condemning certain practices of the Romish church, but that as for the *mass*, that was *his heart*. Melancthon, therefore, passed over what would have given the most offence in their doctrine on that subject, as the sacrifice of the mass and the adoration of the host.* Luther did not approve of this artful conduct, though he did not openly object to the confession. The landgrave received it, but with an explanation of what was said in it on that subject. The emperor forbade the printing of the confession, but a great number of written copies were distributed, and sent into all parts of Europe, great curiosity having been excited with respect to it.

The friends of the Pope at this diet, acting by his instructions, would have pushed the emperor to the most violent measures, or at least have made him insist on the Protestants reverting to the ancient worship till the calling of a council, which it was well known they would not do; but the emperor persisted in his moderate maxims, and his whole conduct at this time was much praised by Melancthon. After much consultation, the Romanists prevailed to have the Protestant confession delivered to their divines, in order to its confutation, and Faber and his friends laboured at it, six weeks.

In the mean time, no promises or menaces having been spared in order to gain the Protestant princes, so discouraged was Melancthon at the difficulties they met with, that Luther wrote him several excellent letters of consolation. "You make no account," he said, "of your own life, but fear for the public cause; whereas, I make myself perfectly easy about the cause, because I am persuaded it is a good one, that of God and of Christ." Reproving him for his policy, he said, "You cease not to torment yourself, without considering that this business is above your light,

* "Melancthon, in an epistle to Joachim Camerarius, tells him, *Ego mecum, et refungebam pleraque quotidie, &c.* I was every day changing and mending several things in the apology, and would have made greater alterations, if my assistants would have permitted." *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 553, *Note*.

and your strength, and that it will be carried on without our care, and, as it were, by itself. Jesus Christ will not have the success of it to depend on the councils or power of man. If we are not worthy to carry on the business, God will raise up others more worthy than we."

After many delays and corrections, on account of the violence with which it was first written, and which displeased the emperor, the refutation of the Protestant confession was produced and read in full diet on the 3rd of August. But though the Protestants, who thought it extremely weak, were refused a copy of it, they were on the 5th of that month required to renounce their doctrine, which they were told they had heard refuted. However, remonstrating strongly against this demand, without having had an opportunity of reading and considering the answer of their opponents, a copy was delivered to them, but with an injunction not to transcribe or publish it.

The landgrave, not liking the aspect of things, left Augsberg, privately, on the pretence of his wife's illness: and this alarming the emperor, he took much pains to pacify the Protestants, and mediators were appointed to find some means of conciliation. But being chosen by the Catholics, they only demanded of the Protestants a renunciation of their errors, and conformity to the catholic church; and some of them threatened the elector of Saxony with being put under the ban of the empire, if he did not. The Protestants were so far gained, or intimidated, that at length they promised that, provided they were allowed the communion in both kinds, the marriage of their priests, and the celebration of the mass as they had reformed it, they would yield obedience in other respects. And Melancthon, writing to Campegio, the legate, on this occasion, after those proposals were rejected, said, "If our priests had obtained these articles, they would have submitted to the bishops, the church would have been re-united in one body, and the see of Rome would have preserved its authority."

But this compliance did not please Luther. He said that if he were in their place, he would yield nothing; and they had better come to extremity than consent to resume the smallest of the superstitions; but since they would amuse them with the illusory promise of a council, he advised them to oppose artifice to artifice, and endeavour to obtain a toleration, by appealing to that chimera of a council which would never be held; that the emperor would think twice before he would engage in a doubtful

war, and that it was impossible to come to an agreement without a sacrifice of the truth. "In short," he said; "all your projects of agreement displease me infinitely, because it is altogether impossible, unless the Pope consent to abolish his authority."

The magistrates of the cities also remonstrated against those concessions. Even the Protestant princes did not approve of the advice of the divines, and Pontanus wrote on the margin of that paper that he could not acknowledge the authority of the Pope, because he pretended it to be of divine right, when he was really the Antichrist foretold by the apostle Paul.

The answer they at length returned was, that they would obey the bishops as far as the word of God would permit. They persisted in their demand of a council, and said that, in the mean time, it would answer a good end, if the emperor would name deputies of both parties to confer together. On which he named seven on each side, two princes, two lawyers, and three divines. But these commissaries not being able to agree, the emperor himself endeavoured to bring it about, and he proposed that a council should be called, and till that, every thing should be restored to its former state. The Protestants replied, that they were not the innovators, but had resumed the ancient faith, that they wished for a free council, but that they could not restore the abuses which they had condemned in their confession, and their people were too much enlightened to receive them.

At this time the Protestants and Catholics equally wished for a council. The abuses in ecclesiastical matters were so flagrant, that they could not be concealed; but the Pope had good reasons to dread the assembling of one on his own account. He was a bastard, which was by many thought to be a sufficient disqualification, and his election was said to have been simoniacal, on account of a promise that he had made to the cardinal Colonna. He had also been the means of enslaving his country of Tuscany, and was properly the author of the bloody wars by which Italy had suffered: and the cardinals were as much afraid of a council as himself. He therefore alleged, that the time was not convenient, as the peace was not yet established; that fresh commotions were expected from the Turks; but he said that he would yield to the requisition of the emperor, provided the council was held in Italy, and the Lutherans and other heretics would engage to submit to it. This,

however, he well knew was not likely to be acceded to by them, since in such a council they were sure to be condemned.

The emperor, after considering the answer of the Protestants, replied in a manner that must have been far from pleasing them. He condemned their obstinacy in preferring their private sentiments to the doctrine of the universal church, but that he had the peace of the church so much at heart, that he required them to renew their conferences, at which he said he would assist in person; but if they were inflexible, he must, as protector of the church, treat them as schismatics; and he required their answer the next day.

The Protestants, however, without being terrified, replied, that their confession of faith would shew that they preserved the catholic faith; that in an affair of conscience, a plurality of voices would avail nothing, and that the resumption of the conferences would answer no good purpose, as they had nothing farther to concede; but they said they would endeavour to preserve the peace of the state. This resolute answer offended the emperor; but being unwilling to give up all hopes of an union, various other attempts were made, in which Melancthon was persuaded to concede more than his brethren were willing to do. In this, however, Erasmus, who was then at Augsburg, concurred with him. But the more zealous of the Protestants, especially the citizens of Nuremberg, were displeas'd with these timid councils; and Luther, writing to his friends, declared his fixed resolution to yield nothing farther than the confession. "I conjure you," said he, "to break off all farther negotiation. They insult us, because they are the stronger party; but let them do as they please. Whether war comes or not, we have offer'd peace, and that is enough."

The emperor seeing that nothing was likely to be effected, ordered the decree of the diet to be drawn up; but before this was done, the Protestants presented fourteen articles as their *ultimatum*: and the imperial cities of Strasburg, Constance, Memingen, and Lindaw, presented their confession, differing from that of the Lutherans, only in the article relating to the corporal presence; and though all reasonable endeavours were used to engage the Lutherans not to break their union on account of this article, even Melancthon, though he had been so compliant to the Catholics, would not yield to them.

At length the decree of this famous diet was produced, to the following purpose, that "the confession of faith of

the Protestants, having been read, had been refuted by proofs drawn from the Scriptures; but that not being admitted by them, they were allowed till the 15th of April, in the year following, to consider whether they would make profession of the doctrine of the Pope and the Catholic states, at least till the meeting of a council; that within that time they must signify their resolution to the emperor. In the mean time, they were forbidden to print any thing relating to their religion, make any farther innovations, draw any person to their faith, or disturb the monks in their possessions. They were also ordered to repress the *Anabaptists*, and the *Sacramentarians*. On the other hand, the emperor promised to engage the Pope to call a council within six months, to be opened within a year after the convocation."

To this decree the Protestants made many objections; and after several attempts to gain them, they gave it as their final answer, that on any other subject than that of *religion*, they were ready to convince the emperor that no princes had more respect to his orders and authority; that events were in the hands of God, in whom they placed their hopes of safety; and that they awaited his orders with that tranquillity which is inseparable from a good conscience. When the elector of Saxony, after this, took his leave of the emperor, he said aloud, that he was convinced that the doctrine contained in their confession was supported by such strong proofs from the Scriptures, that all the efforts of the devil could not overturn it. The emperor giving him his hand, only replied, "My cousin, I should not have expected this of you."

After the departure of the elector, some farther proposals for an accommodation were made; but no attention was paid to them. The Protestants also refused to contribute any thing to the war with the Turks whilst their own estates were threatened, and consequently whilst their troops and finances were wanted for their own defence, unless they were assured of the peaceable possession of the Reformation till the holding of a council, and many of the Catholics thought this resolution to be very reasonable. In consequence of this, some clauses were inserted in the decree, in their favour, but not sufficiently definite to give satisfaction; and the ministers of the elector of Saxony had orders to require positively of the emperor, whether they were to have peace or war.

As to the *Sacramentarians*, they were treated with much

more haughtiness, after a pretended refutation of their arguments by Faber and Eckius, of which they were not allowed to have a copy. Since, said the emperor, they approved of the frightful doctrine which denies the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament, since they had removed the images from their churches, abolished the mass, and driven the monks from their monasteries, they should be treated as they deserved.

At length the recess of the diet was published the 19th of November, A. D. 1530. It absolutely proscribed the Sacramentarians, ordered the restoration of the ancient ceremonies, the degradation of the married priests, the invocation of the saints, the restoration of the monasteries, and directed that the decree should be executed by force of arms. In conclusion, the emperor promised the convocation of a council in six months. But the imperial cities refused to subscribe the decree; and the magistrates of Augsburg, where the diet was assembled, would not affix their seal to it, as had always been the custom in the cities in which the diet met. After the publication of this decree, the emperor left the place the 24th of November.

The conduct of the Protestants appeared to so much advantage during the sitting of this diet, resisting alike the threats and the caresses of their enemies, that their cause gained much in consequence of it, especially after the publication of their confession of faith. Presently after this there declared for them, Herman, archbishop of Cologne; Frederic, count Palatine, the first minister of the empire, and afterwards elector; Eric, duke of Brunswick; the dukes of Mecklenburg and Pomerania; Joachim, prince elector of Brandenburg, who soon succeeded his father George; Ernest, son of prince William of Henneberg; and a great number of counts, barons, gentlemen, and free cities.*

* "At the time" of this diet, the following "symbolical representation," *Le Clerc* says, "was exhibited before Charles V. and his brother Ferdinand, at Augsburg:

"As the princes were at table, a company of persons offered to act a small comedy, for the entertainment of the company. They were ordered to begin; and first entered a man in the dress of a doctor, who brought a large quantity of small wood, of straight and crooked billets, and laid it on the middle of the hearth and retired. On his back was written the name of *Rouclim*.

"When this actor went off, another entered, apparelled also like a doctor, who attempted to make faggots of the wood, and to fit the crooked to the straight; but having laboured long to no purpose, he went away out of humour and shaking his head. On his back appeared the name of *Erasmus*.

"A third, dressed like an Augustinian monk, came in with a chafing-dish full of fire, gathered up the crooked wood, clapped it upon the fire, and blew till he made it burn, and went away, having upon his back the name of *Luther*.

"A fourth entered, dressed like an emperor, who seeing the crooked wood all on fire, seemed much concerned; and to put it out drew his sword, and poked the

In this critical state of things with the Protestants, the obstinacy of Luther, which prevented him and his friends from uniting with Zuinglius and his friends, appeared to be particularly unfortunate. On this account Bucer made another attempt at a reconciliation, and at length he in some measure succeeded. With the consent of the elector of Saxony, and the citizens of Strasburgh, he went from Augsburg to visit him, and found him much more favourably disposed than before. How far he succeeded does not appear; but Bucer was encouraged by it to go from him to Zuinglius and the reformed Switzers; and the consequence was, the forming of a league for six years with the landgrave and the cities of Zurich, Basil and Strasburgh, that if any violence should be offered to any of them on account of their religion, they should assist one another. This was made in November.

The elector of Saxony being summoned to meet the emperor at Cologne, about the creation of a king of the Romans, he requested a meeting of the landgrave, and the other Protestant princes, at Smalcald, the 28th of December, when they all entered into a league, but purely for their own defence; and the other Protestant princes, cities, and states, were invited to accede to it.* From this meeting letters were addressed to the kings of France and England, in which they endeavoured to answer several calumnies which had been propagated concerning them; they gave an account of the proceedings at Augsburg, and requested their interference to procure a general and impartial council. To these letters favourable answers were in due time returned.†

On the 29th of March, A. D. 1531, the Protestant princes had another meeting at Smalcald, and then, with the conference with it, which only made it burn the brisker. On his back was written *Charles V*.

“Lastly, a fifth entered, in his pontifical habit and with a triple crown, who seemed extremely surprised to see the crooked billets on fire, and by his countenance and attitude betrayed excessive grief. Then looking about on every side, to see if he could find any water to extinguish the flame, he cast his eyes on two bottles in a corner of the room, one of which was full of oil and the other of water, and in his hurry he unfortunately seized on the oil and poured it upon the fire, which made it blaze so violently, that he was forced to walk off. On his back was written *Leo X*.”

“This little farce,” Jortin from whose *Life of Erasmus*, p. 584, I copy it, adds, “wants no commentary; but if the merry actors had taken it into their heads to represent the whole conduct of Erasmus, they should have introduced him a second time, and have represented him as constrained by the menaces of Leo X. to take up the stratagem, and burn it along with the crooked.” (P.)

Le Clerc appears to have given this representation, on the authority of J. L. Fabricius (*de Ludis Scenicis*, p. 142).

* *Sleidan*, p. 142. (P.)

† *Ibid.* See *Hist. of Popery*, II. pp. 559, 561.

sent of Luther himself, who on farther reflection had been led to approve of defensive war, in a cause in which both civil and religious rights were alike involved, they settled every thing relating to their league, as, the sums that each should contribute, the command of the armies, and the terms on which others should be admitted to join the confederacy, &c. The elector of Saxony would not, however, consent to the admission of the Sacramentarians into the league. He was sensible, he said, of the great accession which it would bring to their strength; but we ought not, for that reason, to have recourse to unlawful assistance, but leave the event to God.*

When they were at Smalcaid, they received the emperor's requisition to contribute to the war against the Turks; but they replied that, till they could be assured that they should not be harassed by the imperial chamber with actions on account of religion, which would necessarily lead them to stand on their own defence, they could not so far disarm themselves; and there being an immediate necessity to oppose the Turks, the emperor, then holding another diet at Ratisbon, found himself obliged to promise, that, till the meeting of a general council, no person should be molested on account of his religion; on which the Protestants, then seven princes, and twenty-four cities, promised their assistance against the Turks. This agreement was ratified August 2, A. D. 1532. In the mean time, a better agreement had been made between the Lutherans and Zuinglians, the latter having so explained their doctrine that the former accepted of it. On the 6th of August the elector of Saxony died, and was succeeded by his son John Frederic, justly sur-named *the Magnanimous*.†

Presently after this, the Pope and the emperor sent ambassadors to the elector, to signify their agreement to hold a general council in the usual manner, and desiring his concurrence with it; the Pope giving the choice of Placentia, Bologna, or Mantua, for the holding of it, and requiring his promise to abide by its decrees. He declined giving any answer without the concurrence of his friends; and the Protestant princes meeting at Smalcaid, January 30, A. D. 1533, gave their joint answer;‡ saying, that the council of which they had now received notice, was by no means such as had been promised in the imperial decree, and was not likely to answer any good end: for if it was held according to the

* *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 561.

† *Ibid.* pp. 561—564.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 564.

usual custom, the Pope would preside, and all the decrees would be in his own favour. But they said, that if the council was held, they would either attend or send their ambassadors, provided they saw any prospect of its answering a good end: but that if the proceedings in that council should resemble those of the later ones, they would leave the affair to Almighty God, who would undoubtedly vindicate his own cause, and that of true religion.

Thus, in a favourable concurrence of circumstances, a toleration was procured for the Protestants, for an indefinite time, there being no probability that any council would be held during the pontificate of Clement, whose aversion to the measure was well known; and no great interest of the whole empire, such as a war with the Turks, could be carried on, without the hearty concurrence of the Protestant as well as the Catholic princes. Besides, an open war with the Protestants, on account of their *religion only*, was a measure that the emperor did not choose to hazard.

When the emperor left Germany he went to Italy; and again conferring with the Pope on the subject of the council which he had much at heart, they agreed to send ambassadors jointly to the Protestant princes, giving them the choice of three cities in Italy for the holding of it, on condition that it should be held in the ancient manner, and that all parties should be bound by its decrees.

To this they answered, that such a council could not possibly answer the end proposed, since the Pope would have it in his power to conduct every thing just as he pleased, and that it was contrary to the laws of the empire that the council should be held any where but in Germany. They said, however, that if they saw any prospect of a good end being answered by their attendance, and questions were decided according to the Scriptures, they would attend; and they concluded with entreating the emperor, whose province it was to see that justice was done to them and to all parties, to consider the importance of the case, and see that the business was conducted in a proper manner. They then appointed a committee of divines and lawyers to draw up a scheme of articles on which they were to insist, with respect to the form of the council.* It was evident, however, that the Pope was far from wishing that any council should be held, and in his private instructions to his ambassador he bade him take care that, though pressed by Ferdi-

* *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 567.

nand himself, he should not lay him under the necessity of holding any council at all.

In the mean time, the Protestants, seeing that it was the intention of their enemies to crush them by any means, made a league for their security, with the king of France; and the landgrave, who was always ready to have recourse to arms, raised an army, and meeting with ten thousand of the troops of Ferdinand on the 13th of May, A. D. 1534, defeated them, and took several towns of importance. But the archbishop of Mentz and the elector of Saxony interposing their good offices, peace was made on the terms that no violence should be done to any person, and no law-suits commenced, on the account of religion,* but without comprehending the Anabaptists or Sacramentarians; and that the elector of Saxony should acknowledge Ferdinand, king of the Romans.

The Pope was greatly offended at this pacification, but Ferdinand apologized for it as the only means of preventing greater troubles. Presently after this the Pope died,† and was succeeded by Paul III. of the house of Farnese.‡

SECTION VII.

From the Death of Clement VII. in A. D. 1534, to the Establishment of the Toleration in Germany, A. D. 1559.

PAUL III., not having the apprehensions of Clement, proposed to the Protestants the holding of the council for which they had so often called; but as he proposed that it should be held in Mantua, and was not explicit about the mode of proceeding in it, they declined giving their assent. They also insisted that the Pope, who was a party, should not be the judge, and that the decisions should be according to the Scriptures. And being still harassed by the proceedings of the chamber of Spire, notwithstanding the promise of relief from the emperor and Ferdinand, they on the 12th of December, A. D. 1535, renewed their league of Smalcald, which was near expiring, for ten years more. They had received ambassadors from the king of France, who was

* *Steidart*, p. 173. P.

† Clement VII. died in September, 1534. A Catholic biographer thus describes the conduct of his pontificate: "Une fausse politique toujours dirigée par l'intérêt, fut l'âme de ses démarches, et la source de ses malheurs.—Il étoit en général aussi inquiet qu'irrésolu, et sa politique tantôt retardée par sa dissimulation, le perdit." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* II. p. 217.

‡ Who was unanimously elected, Oct. 13, 1534. *Ibid.* IV. p. 900.

at variance with the emperor, and also from the king of England, who had quarrelled with the Pope, but no active measures were entered into by them.*

The emperor, being at Rome in April, A. D. 1536, insisted so much on the necessity of a council, that the Pope appointed nine persons to draw up a bull for the convocation of one to meet at Mantua the 23rd of the following May; and it was subscribed by twenty-six cardinals. At the same time, a committee was formed for the reformation of abuses in his own court.† Afterwards, on the duke of Mantua's insisting on a garrison for the security of the town, the council was prorogued to the 1st of November.

It was in vain that the emperor endeavoured to reconcile the Protestants to a council convened by the Pope, as they clearly foresaw that no justice would be done to them in it. The king of England also protested against it, alleging the avowed hostility of the Pope to him; and indeed the Pope had promoted a peace between the emperor and the king of France with a view to crush both the king of England and the Protestants. The latter also complained again, but to no purpose, of the conduct of the chamber of Spire, which, though ordered not to meddle with any causes relating to religion, yet decided many against them on the pretence of their being civil causes, or of a mixed nature. The Protestants also wished to have the emperor's approbation for admitting into their league several princes and cities who had joined them after it was first formed, but in vain.

The Pope, at this time, unable to resist the incessant calls for reformation, appointed twelve persons, among whom were four cardinals, to examine into the abuses complained of, and to make a report concerning them; and they seem to have done it with fidelity, as may be concluded from a view of the articles themselves. They complained that bishoprics were often given to persons destitute of learning or probity, and sometimes to boys. They, therefore, advised that persons should be appointed to examine the candidates for bishoprics, and also that natives of one country should not have preferments in another. They said that bishops made resignations of their benefices with the reservation of a great

* *Hist. of Popery*, II. pp. 578, 579.

† The Pope also published a bull "in which he declared his intention, while the council was convening, 'to reform the holy city of Rome, the head of all the Christian world, and the mistress of doctrine, manners and discipline—that his own house being first put in order, he might the more easily cleanse the rest.'" *Ibid.* II. p. 578.

proportion of the revenues to themselves, that they contrived to dispose of them by will, that the children of priests enjoyed the benefices of their fathers, that persons were appointed to bishoprics before the death of the incumbents, that several were enjoyed by the same persons, that bishoprics were given to cardinals who could not reside; whereas, according to the ancient canons, no bishop should be absent from his church more than three weeks, that too many of the cardinals resided at a distance from Rome, where they ought to be present to advise and assist the Pope.

They farther complained, that church discipline was much relaxed, and that penalties and censures were bought off. They said there were many bad examples among the monks, and that there was much open and notorious lewdness in nunneries, and therefore advised that no monks should be confessors to nuns.

Much mischief, they said, had arisen from public disputations and controversial sermons, and from the unrestrained publication of books, especially from the *Colloquies of Erasmus* being taught in schools. Priests, they said, were often permitted to marry, and that dispensations to marry within the prohibited degrees were too often given; that simony was so common that no person was ashamed of it; that every person was allowed to have divine service in his own house, and to choose priests to perform it.

They also complained of the abuse of indulgences, which they said should not be distributed more than once a year, and only in the greater towns. They said that divine service was often performed in an indecent manner at Rome, and even in the church of St. Peter, the priests being both ignorant and slovenly. Common prostitutes, they said, appeared in public, riding on mules, and living in magnificent houses, where they were visited even by cardinals; that there were no where to be seen such marks of dissoluteness and debauchery as in that city, which ought to be the pattern of virtue and decency to every other.

They conclude with earnestly exhorting the Pope to apply a remedy to all these public disorders, and thereby avert the wrath of God, which they said hung over them for their sins.

This scheme of a reformation was not published, nor was it ever reduced to practice. Nicolas, the cardinal and archbishop of Capua, who was supposed to speak the real sentiments of the Pope, was violently against all reformation; alleging that the Lutherans would boast that they had com-

pelled them to it. It was supposed, however, that it was by means of this cardinal that the scheme was divulged, and Luther, coming to the knowledge of it, wrote to expose it. The Pope prorogued the council to the 1st of May, and not being able to prevail upon the emperor and the king of France to attend at that time, he again prorogued it to the Easter following, to meet at Vicenza.*

In A. D. 1538, the king of Denmark, and in A. D. 1542, Otho, the prince Palatine, joined the Protestants. The elector of Brandenburg, though of the Lutheran religion, refused to join this league, and was in all other respects devoted to the emperor.

In order to counteract the league of the Protestants, the Catholic princes, among whom was George, duke of Saxony, Lewis, duke of Bavaria, and Henry, duke of Brunswick, who was particularly eager to make war on the Protestants, were induced by the emperor to enter into a league which they called the *holy league*, and which was to continue eleven years. However, at the diet of Frankfort, in A. D. 1539, the emperor granted the confederates a truce for fifteen months, that there might be a conference of learned men on the subject of religion, but the Anabaptists were not comprehended in it.

In this year, George, duke of Saxony, died, and was succeeded by his brother Henry, a zealous Protestant, who immediately invited Luther to preach at Leipsic, in order to promote the Reformation, which was a great acquisition to the Protestant cause. In March, A. D. 1540, the Protestants met at Smalcald, and by a letter to the emperor made every representation to procure peace; but at the same time they concerted proper measures for their defence, if he should not be influenced by them.

After much preparation in preceding meetings, the conference which had been proposed between the opposite par-

* In 1536, Herman de Wila, archbishop and elector of Cologne, "held a council of his suffragan bishops, in which were passed many decrees of reformation, relative to discipline and manners. About seven years after, in an assembly of the nobility and clergy, he proceeded to establish articles of reformation in matters of faith and worship, without any mention of the Pope on the one hand, or of the Lutherans on the other."

Assailed at once by the Pope and the emperor, "when the good old man perceived that he could no longer promote the purpose he had so much at heart, moved with compassion for his friends, and for a people who, on a comb of their affection and fidelity to him, were about to be involved in the desolations of war, he yielded to the violence of his enemies with a becoming dignity; and generously renouncing the electorate, he set all his subjects free from their bond of allegiance. After which, he retired from the world, and spent the remainder of his days in a manner worthy of the Christian profession." *Letters to Humæ's History*, 1756, pp. 140—142.

ties was opened at Ratisbon, but it had no more effect than the former ones; and an invasion of the Turks being at that time apprehended, the emperor thought proper to make such concessions, as induced the Protestant princes to join their forces to repel them. The principal of these concessions was, a reformation in the imperial chamber, by which a number of Protestants were to be admitted as judges in it. But this being afterwards evaded, the Protestants refused to abide by the awards of this court, and at the diet of Nuremberg, in A. D. 1542, they declined contributing to the Turkish war, on that account.

In the mean time, the Pope was doing every thing in his power to promote a war against the Protestants, and in A. D. 1545 he prepared an army of twelve thousand men to assist in it; but things were not then ripe for the measure. A Franciscan friar preaching before the emperor, exhorted him to an immediate war; saying that many thousand souls were daily in danger of eternal damnation, and that if he did not apply a remedy, God would require them at his hands. The king of England at this time informed the Protestants that they were threatened with a dreadful war. On the other hand, they were accused to the emperor of conspiring against his authority. Another conference, however, was held on the subject of religion, at Ratisbon; but after some progress it was broken up in consequence of some directions of the emperor concerning it, to which the Protestants refused to accede.

It was in this state of things, when every thing was tending to an open rupture, that Luther, who had always been an advocate for peace and forbearance, died. On the 17th of February, A. D. 1546, having been requested to act the part of an umpire between two counts of Mansfeldt, in which was Eisleben the place of his nativity, he went thither; and having dispatched that business, he was seized with some disorder in his stomach, and after some discourse about knowing one another in a future state, of which he said he had no doubt, he desired his friends to pray to God for the preservation of the pure doctrine of the gospel; for, that the Pope and the council, which was just then assembled at Trent, were hatching mischief. Then, he earnestly prayed that God, who he said, had revealed to him his son Jesus, whom he had loved and preached, while the Pope and others had persecuted and dishonoured him, would receive his soul; adding, "O heavenly Father, though I be snatched out of this life, though I must now lay down this

body, yet know I assuredly that I shall abide with thee for ever, and that no man shall pluck me out of thy hands." Presently after this, without any appearance of pain or agony, he expired, on the 18th of February, at the age of sixty-three, and five days after, he was honourably buried at Wittemberg.* In this pious and exemplary manner died this extraordinary man, who had been raised up by God to be a principal instrument in promoting the great and necessary work of reformation; and contrary to the expectation of many, he died in peace, and not a violent death, as thousands who preceded and followed him in the same cause did.

While the emperor was taking his measures for the suppression of the Protestants, by force, he took great pains to deceive them. The landgrave waiting upon him at Spire, freely mentioned to him the circumstances which led them to suspect that he had made peace with the king of France, and a truce with the Turks, with a design to fall upon them. But he assured them that he had no such intention, and that the suspicions he had been led to entertain of them were also removed; that it was not his intention that any violence should be offered to them on account of any decrees of the Council of Trent, and after a long conference they parted seemingly well-disposed to each other.

With all these professions of peace the emperor was fully determined on war, and from Ratisbon, where the diet was held, he sent the cardinal of Trent to Rome, to require of the Pope the succours he had promised, and made other preparations. Alarmed at this, the Protestants desired to be informed concerning the object of them, but he returned only an evasive answer; saying that his design was to

* "*Roma orbem domuit, Roman sibi Papa subegit,
Viribus illa suis, fraudibus iste suis.
Quanto isto major Lutherus, major et Illa,
Istum illamque uno qui domuit calamo?
I nunc Alciden memorato, Græcia mendax:
Lutheri ad calammum ferrea clava nihil.*"

Epitaph by Beza. See Hist. of Popery, II. p. 321.

*Rome sway'd the world, the Pope her power assail'd,
She rose by valour, he by fraud prevail'd.
Far higher fame may Luther's deeds assume,
Whose pen alone, subdued both Pope and Rome.
Go! fubling Greece, Alcides vaunt again;
His iron mace, how weak to Luther's pen!*

"Cum Wittembergæ Carolo V. esset dedita [1547] Hispani petierunt, ut liceret sibi cadaver Lutheri offodere et cremare: sed Carolus V. recusavit, dicens, sinite eum quiescere: si malè fecit, Deus vindex et ultor erit: Cæsar sum vivorum, non mortuorum. Addidit etiam: Sinite eum in pace: Ego eum non cupio iterum videre, vidi illum satis Wormatiæ. Zingregius, p. 2, Apoph. p. 11." *Hispanicæ Dominationis Arcana*, 1653, p. 6. See also *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 598.

establish peace and justice, that those who should assist him in this would find favour, but that the forces he was raising would reduce those who should oppose him in it. His letters to the free cities of the empire made his real designs still more apparent.

The deputies of the Protestant states finding this, left Ratisbon; and the cities of Upper Germany immediately raised forces; and, writing to the landgrave and the elector of Saxony, promised them all the assistance in their power. These two princes raised their forces, but before they commenced hostilities they wrote to the emperor, remonstrating against his conduct, as contrary to all his professions, when it was now evident that he was undertaking a war for the suppression of the gospel, and the liberties of Germany, and for no other cause whatever. They then wrote to the kings of England and France, and other states, to solicit succours: alleging, that it was a war of religion, and that it was the emperor's intention, under colour of punishing a few, to divide them, and destroy them all one after another.

Whilst the emperor was proceeding with as much secrecy as he could, and really aimed at enlarging his power in Germany, the Pope acted without any disguise, proclaiming to all the world that the object of the war was the suppression of heresy; and on the 13th of July, A. D. 1546, he published a bull, in which, after complaining of the obstinacy of the heretics, who, he said, slighted and rejected the council which was then sitting at Trent, he exhorted all persons to fast and pray that God would give success to the war, which the emperor and himself were obliged to undertake for the rooting out of heresy, and restoring peace to the church.

This open conduct of the Pope was more than sufficient to open the eyes of the Protestant confederates to see their real situation, and accordingly the landgrave took the field the 16th of the same month, and Schertellini, one of the Protestant generals, soon made himself master of Erenberg, an important pass in the Alps leading to Italy, in order to prevent the arrival of the forces of the Pope.

The emperor finding his dissimulation of no farther use, proclaimed the elector of Saxony and the landgrave, outlawed, and declared war against them in the usual forms. However, the measures of the Protestants were so well laid, and their force so great, that they would certainly have been an overmatch for the emperor, if Maurice, the son and heir of Henry, duke of Saxony, had not adhered to him. This

prince, though a Protestant, was desirous of supplanting his relation in the electorate, and to him and his brother Augustus, the emperor committed the execution of the ban of the empire, requiring him to take possession of the elector's estates, and also those of the landgrave. The better to succeed in this, Maurice continued with the Protestants.

After a formal declaration of war, in answer to that of the emperor, the Protestants marched to Ratisbon, and had they been governed by the landgrave, who was for immediately attacking the emperor, there can be no doubt but they would have had him in their power; but his advice was overruled. And presently after, Maurice having called a council of his states, in which he assured them that their religion was in no danger, declared that they were under obligation to obey the emperor in all temporal matters, and that as the states of his relation the elector were in danger of suffering from the invasion of foreigners, he persuaded them to take part with the emperor in this war, and seize upon the electorate; and this, after some negociation, in which he pretended much friendship for his relation, he in a great measure did. And though the elector not only recovered what Maurice had taken from him, and gained other advantages, yet in a pitched battle fought the 22nd of April, A. D. 1547, at Mulberg on the Elbe, he was defeated, taken prisoner, and sentenced to die for rebellion. But on the intercession of the duke of Brandenburg, the emperor remitted the sentence, on condition of his renouncing the electorate.

He refused, however, to consent to what the emperor also proposed, viz. that he would approve of whatever the Council of Trent or the emperor should decree concerning religion, though his life depended upon it; and in all respects he behaved with the greatest piety and magnanimity. Such conditions were proposed to the landgrave as he thought proper to accept; but waiting on the emperor at Hall, other conditions than those to which he had agreed were presented to him; and notwithstanding the remonstrances of Maurice, and the elector of Brandenburg, who had made themselves responsible for his safety, and the emperor's own word to the contrary, he was detained a prisoner.

The city of Magdeburg still held out against the emperor, and was therefore put under the ban of the empire, and both the emperor and Maurice having gained their principal

objects, of which that of the former was an accession of power by suppressing his opponents, and that of the latter the supplanting of the elector, and getting himself appointed in his place. nothing was said on either side with respect to religion. Indeed, the Pope, was so fully apprized of the real object of the emperor, and had such a dread of his success, that he had on various pretences, and especially his not having openly declared himself against the Protestants as heretics, withdrawn his troops.

Maurice, who had always professed great zeal for the Protestant cause, sent for Melancthon, and other divines of Wittenberg, treated them with great civility, made large professions of his zeal for religion, and committed to them the care of the church and of the university. On the other hand, the Pope, who now dreaded the increased power of the emperor, having, on the pretence of an infectious distemper, removed the council from Trent to Bologna, with a view to having it more in his own power, the emperor was much offended, and ordered his bishops and divines to remain at Trent; and a diet being held at Augsburg, July the 3rd, he moved the princes to remonstrate with the Pope, on the subject. No satisfaction being obtained, and there being no prospect of promoting the union of the empire by means of the council, with the concurrence of the states, commissioners were appointed to draw up heads of doctrine, and articles of reformation.

The persons appointed were Julius Pflug, bishop of Nuremberg, Michael Sidonius, and Agricola, who eighteen years before had defended the Protestant doctrine in company with Melancthon and Brentius. Having drawn up these articles, they were presented to the emperor, and afterwards communicated to all the parties. This measure being intended to answer a temporary purpose, obtained the title of *the Interim*, but it gave satisfaction to few. It was received by the elector of Brandenburg in the Palatinate, and at Wittenberg, but it greatly displeased the Pope and the Catholics, as not made by proper authority, and no less, the more zealous Protestants, especially the late elector of Saxony, who, though a prisoner, rejected very flattering offers that were made to him if he would accept it, and though he was treated with peculiar harshness for his refusal. His answer to the proposal discovers the greatest magnanimity, a mind deeply sensible to his situation, but unbroken by it, and preferring the things of another life to every thing in this. It was also rejected by the subjects of the land-

grave. On the publication of this *Interim*, one inconsiderable city, but it does not appear which, intreated the emperor to be content that their goods and their lives were at his service, but that he would permit them to reserve their consciences for God; and least of all was it reasonable, they said, that he should force upon them a thing which he did not himself accept, or believe to be true.*

The citizens of Magdeburg added much to their offence by their rejection of *the Interim*. They also complained of encroachments on their civil liberties; and though some of their forces were defeated, they persisted with great magnanimity in their resistance. On this, Maurice was appointed to command the force of the empire against them; but when they were obliged to capitulate, good security was given them, both with respect to their liberties and their religion.

By granting these favourable terms to the citizens of Magdeburg, and by various alliances with foreign powers, Maurice was continually strengthening himself; while the emperor, intent on the war that he was carrying on in Italy, and on the proceedings of the council, had no suspicion of his designs, which were to gain the liberty of his father-in-law the landgrave, and the liberties of Germany in general, if not by fair means, by force of arms; and the emperor giving only evasive answers to all his applications in favour of the landgrave, he, having secretly increased his forces, and made a league with the king of France, in the spring of A. D. 1552, published a declaration to the states of the empire, complaining that, after many promises, nothing was done in favour of religion, or of his father-in-law, and that steps were taken to establish an arbitrary power in the empire, and expressing his resolution to take up arms for the common liberty. The declaration was also signed by Albert, duke of Mecklenburg. Also Albert of Brandenburg published a declaration of a similar nature, and the king of France another.

These steps being taken, Maurice made such dispatch, that the emperor, who saw his danger, and began to levy troops when it was too late, very narrowly escaped being taken prisoner at Inspruck, from which he fled by night, together with his brother Ferdinand. At length a treaty was made at Passaw, in which it was agreed that the landgrave should be set at liberty, that within six months the

emperor should hold a diet of the empire in order to compose the differences about religion, and that in the mean time all persons should live in peace, and not be molested on that account; also that persons of the Augustan confession should be admitted into the imperial chamber. The emperor moreover set at liberty the late elector of Saxony, and behaved to him with great kindness. The state of the empire not admitting of any farther measures with respect to the council, the Protestants were from that time permitted to enjoy their religious liberty with little interruption.

Maurice, who, by his superior policy, had been the means of effecting this great event, and of establishing his family in the electorate, died in battle in A. D. 1553, fighting against Albert of Brandenburg, who had been joined with him against the emperor, but afterwards entered into hostilities with several princes and states of the empire. Augustus the brother of Maurice succeeded him in the electorate, and the magnanimous John Frederick, who died expressing sentiments of the most pious resignation in A. D. 1554, never recovered it, though by a treaty made a short time before his death, his heirs were to succeed in case Augustus should die without male issue. His wife Sibilla, a woman possessed of the piety and magnanimity of her husband, and strongly attached to him, died the year before.

During the interruption of the Council of Trent in A. D. 1554, Ferdinand, then king of the Romans, published an edict, by which he ordered that no innovation should be made in matters of religion. He also procured a catechism to be composed by some divines of his appointment, which he ordered to be used in public and in private. This gave equal offence to the Protestants and the court of Rome, which naturally took great umbrage at such an interference of the secular power in matters of religion.

At the diet in Augsburg, February 5, A. D. 1554, he proposed another conference, or national council, to settle all differences. From this the Protestants augured nothing favourable to them, since in Bohemia he had published an edict by which more than two hundred ministers had been banished. Nor was it better received at Rome. A legate however, attended on the part of the Pope; but in this state of things he died, and was succeeded by Marcellus II., who shewed great zeal for the Reformation, but died within the year, and had for a successor Paul IV. Both parties being equally obstinate, and some termination of their differences being absolutely necessary, it was finally agreed that all the

Protestants should have full liberty with respect to the religion of their respective states, that if any ecclesiastical person should abandon his religion he should lose his benefice, but not suffer in any other respect.

This agreement gave great offence to the Pope, and the more as he had just received the submission of the kingdom of England on the accession of queen Mary; and he threatened to excommunicate both the emperor and Ferdinand if they did not revoke what they had granted; promising them the aid of his troops, and that he would order all the Christian princes to join them with theirs if they would comply with his wishes. When, among other reasons, they alleged the oath they had taken, he said he would absolve them from that, and even commanded them to pay no regard to it. But it was without any effect, and the agreement made at Passaw was finally confirmed at another diet held at Ratisbon in A. D. 1559.* And thus the great object of the politic and powerful Charles was effectually defeated. Seeing his disappointment in this, and his other ambitious schemes, he renounced the empire, and all his dominions, and retired to a monastery in Spain, where he died in A. D. 1559.†

SECTION VIII.

Of the Anabaptists in Germany.

It is to be lamented that, as there is no evil unaccompanied with some good, so there is no good without some attendant evil. While some men are roused to think

* *I. Paul*, II. p. 50. (P.)

† See *Robertson*, B. xi. An. 1555, IV. pp. 223—227. B. xii. An. 1556, pp. 253—260, 311—316. The Spanish historian *Miniana* thus describes the retirement of *Charles*:

“He took leave of his sisters and his daughter Donna Juane whom he loved exceedingly, and repaired to the monastery of *Yuste* of the order of St. Jerome, at the distance of eight miles from *Plasencia*, where he immured himself in a cell which he had previously caused to be built, that he might dwell among celestial spirits, before he quitted the society of men. Of all his attendants he retained but twelve [according to others *four*] for his most necessary service, and one horse, with a few articles of convenience. And in this way God entirely filled the heart of that man, whom, as it appeared, not the whole world could suffice.” *Hist. Gen. de Espagne*, II. p. 157.

Penelon has, probably, appreciated more correctly, the capacity of Charles for enjoying his retirement. See *Charles Quint, et un Jeune Moine de St. Just.*, a dialogue designed to shew how “ceux qui sont accoutumés au fracas du Monde ne sauroient s'accoutumer à la Retraite.” This Dialogue is rather misplaced among *Des Dialogues des Mortes, entres les Modernes*.

“On the 19th of December, 1558, king Philip celebrated the decease of his father, with great pomp and ceremony, upon a ship adorned with numbers of en-

with freedom, energy and justness, others will think, and often act, very extravagantly; and by this means the best of causes sometimes suffer. This was particularly the case at the time of the Reformation in Germany.

Thomas Muncer, of whom some account has been given,* as at the head of the revolted peasants, and who pretended to immediate inspiration, had many admirers and followers; and there cannot be a doubt but that, extravagant as their opinions and conduct were, they were at their outset sincere and disinterested, and that the generality of them always were so. Some of their tenets are almost a proof of it; for they indicate the most passive and inoffensive disposition. Besides renouncing the baptism of infants, from which they had their name, they held it to be unlawful for a Christian to go to law, to bear any office of magistracy, to take an oath, or to have any property; but like the primitive Christians they were to have all things in common.† Success, however, led them to depart from some of these principles. Other real enthusiasts have acted in a similar manner.

The Reformers having got possession of some of the churches in Munster by an agreement with the Catholics in A. D. 1533. John Matthew, or Matthison, and John of Leyden, violent Anabaptists, came thither, and though at first they were opposed by Bernard Rotman, who had introduced the Reformation into that city, they were afterwards joined by him; and being very assiduous in preaching, especially by night, they made so many proselytes, that the magistrates, offended at the progress of the new opinions, banished them from the city. They found means, however, to return, and their numbers continued to increase; and one of them pretending to inspiration, ran about the streets, crying, “Repent and be baptized, or the wrath of God will overwhelm you.”‡

The most active among them was Knipperdoling; and inviting their friends from other places, they were joined by many of the poorer sort, and many of the rich citizens leaving the place.§ they chose magistrates out of their own

signs and trophies, bearing the arms of his kingdoms and provinces. At the head was the image of *Hope*, in the middle *Faith* was seated on a throne, and *Love* at the stern; which was to express that the glory of God was the end of all his actions. For the emperor *Charles* had died the 21st of September, that year, of a burning fever.” *Brandt*, B. iv. pp. 369, 370.

* See *supra*, pp. 138, 157, 158. *Brandt*, B. ii. p. 189.

† *Sleidan*, p. 190. (P.) ‡ *Brandt*, p. 193.

§ “This was in February 1534.” *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 572.

body, and Knipperdoling was created consul. They then banished all who would not join them, and seizing their property, they brought it all into one common stock. They also ordered all books to be burned except the Bible, and demolished the churches, John of Leyden pretending to have a revelation for it. He then appointed twelve ministers to act under him, and published, as a new revelation, that a man might marry as many wives as he pleased, and he himself took three. This occasioned a revolt of many of the more sober citizens; but they were overpowered, and some of them put to death. After this, the bishop, assisted by the elector of Cologne, and the duke of Cleves, besieged the city, and Matthew being killed in a sally,* at the motion of one of them who pretended to the gift of prophecy, John was made king, and it was said that he was to be the universal monarch, and to put down all other kings. On this he assumed all the ensigns of royalty, and sent missionaries to make converts in other places, who proclaimed that the time was come when *the meek should inherit the earth*, and that Luther was worse than the Pope. But they were generally seized and put to death.

In the mean time, the city was still besieged, and a meeting of the neighbouring princes being held, the elector of Saxony joined the confederacy that was entered into against them, and notice was given them that unless they desisted from their purpose they would be besieged by all the forces of the empire. This was in December, A. D. 1534; but having no effect, the city was besieged in due form, and after the people had suffered much by famine, it was taken the 22d of June, A. D. 1535. The king and Knipperdoling were seized, while Rotman was killed fighting. The king and some others of the prisoners were carried about Germany, and being then taken back to Munster they were tortured, and put to death the 19th of January, A. D. 1536, and afterwards exposed in iron cages at the top of the tower in the city.†

This severity had the best effect, all the Anabaptists on this giving up every idea of civil power, and becoming the most peaceable of citizens, and perhaps the more so for having received this check.

* "Matthison the pretended *Enoch*, ran through the streets, roaring: that God the Father had commanded him to beat the enemy further off the city: but he, sallying out, was killed." *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 572.

† *Sleidan*, p. 202. (P.) Three of them had been "tied to stakes, and after pinching their bodies with red-hot pincers, for the space of an hour, were each of them stabbed to the heart with a dagger." *Ibid.* See *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 574.

SECTION IX.

The History of the Council of Trent.

HAVING giving a pretty large account of all the former great councils, because the proceedings relating to them shew in a clear light the spirit of the times in which they were held, I think it no less useful with respect to this Council of Trent, which is the last of them. No council whatever was considered at the time as more necessary to heal the wounds of the church, and of none of them were greater expectations formed, at least by some of the parties concerned, and none of them so little answered the purposes of those who were the most solicitous about it. In no council whatever was the policy and management of the court of Rome so conspicuous, or so successful, in turning to its own advantage what was intended to militate against it. And that human policy, and not the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, dictated all the decrees, will hardly be denied by any person who attends to the history of it, especially as written by father Paul, from whose account the following is principally taken.

The council being appointed to meet at Trent, the 15th of March, A. D. 1545, the Pope, Paul III. sent four cardinals as his legates, who were there at the time. There arrived also on the part of the emperor, James Mendoza, a Spaniard. Nothing, however, was done till the 3rd of May, when ten bishops being arrived, a congregation was held to regulate the ceremonials of the council, in which the greatest devotion to the Pope was very manifest. The number of bishops being deemed sufficient for the opening of the council, the first session was held on the 13th of December, when, after the celebration of the mass, the cardinal legates read a speech, informing the fathers that the council was called for three purposes, viz. the extinction of heresy, the restoration of discipline, and the peace of Europe.* After this, an oration was delivered, exhorting all persons to reform their lives, and to attend without prejudice to the business on which they were met.

The Pope, having received advice of the opening of the

* "Ad incrementum et exaltationem fidei, et religionis Christiane; ad extirpationem hæresium; ad pacem et unionem Ecclesie; ad reformationem Clerici et populi Christiani; ad depressionem et extinctionem hostium Christiani nominis." *Conc. Trid. Can. et Decret.* Ed. Rothomagi, 18mo. 1781, p. 1.

council, appointed a congregation of cardinals and officers of his court to attend to every thing that passed in it, and direct its proceedings; when orders were given that it should have the following title prefixed to all the decrees, *The holy œcumenical and general Council of Trent, the legates of the apostolical see presiding in it*;* that the votes should not be by nations, as in the Councils of Constance and Basil, but in the manner of that of Lateran, by which means the influence of the bishops of distant provinces, who could not attend in great numbers, would be inconsiderable, compared to that of those of Italy, who were more subject to the controul of the Pope.

When the title was proposed at Trent, the French prelates would have added the words *representing the universal church*, which had been used at the Councils of Constance and Basil. But the legates opposed it, lest it should excite a recollection of those councils, and imply that it had a power superior to that of the Pope; but what they alleged was, that it was too pompous, and would give an advantage to the heretics. Every other precaution that had ever been taken to secure the influence of the court of Rome was introduced, especially the holding of *separate congregations*, or *committees* of particular members, in which every thing should be discussed, and also *general congregations*, in which, after this, every person might be heard on the subject, before the *session*, which by this means was reduced to a mere ceremony, to publish what had been agreed upon in the congregations. Things being conducted in this manner, it was not possible but that the influence of the court of Rome and its agents should be absolute.

The legates also advised the Pope, that since the emperor would send some prelates from Spain, men of great learning and ability, in whom he could place confidence, he also should send ten or twelve such persons on his part, that they might be able to reply to them; as most of the prelates who were then assembled, though well disposed, had little knowledge or discretion, and that those who had much capacity were difficult to be governed.

There was for some time much debating about the order in which matters of doctrine and of reformation should be discussed, and the legates were very urgent to get instructions from Rome, on the subject. But at that time the

* The title was "Sacrosancta Tridentina Synodus in Spiritu sancto legitime congregata, in ea presidentibus eisdem tribus Apostolicæ Sedis Legatis." *Conc. Trid. Can. et Decret. Sess. ii. p. 1.*

Pope, being chiefly intent on promoting the war against the Protestants, neglected the business, and the emperor being also employed about the war, and satisfied that the council was opened, was very indifferent to its proceedings. The legates being thus left to themselves, they were unwilling to enter upon any thing of much importance; but that they might be doing something, the second session was opened on the 7th of February, A. D. 1546, in which they agreed upon a confession of their faith, and appointed the third session for the 8th of April,* as they were informed that many more bishops were on their way to join them.

After much disputing in the congregations, on various articles relating to the canon of scripture, which they next entered upon, it was at length agreed, that in this third [*fourth*] session it should be declared that, since every thing relating to truth or to morals was contained either in books, or in traditions, which the apostles had received from the mouth of Jesus Christ, and which, being dictated by the Holy Spirit, had been transmitted from hand to hand in the church, the council, after the example of the fathers, received with the same respect all the books of the Old and New Testaments, and also the traditions which relate to faith or morals; as having come from the mouth of Jesus Christ. And after an enumeration of the sacred books, in which they include those of the Apocrypha, an anathema was pronounced against those who should deliberately despise the traditions. It was also ordered that an exact edition should be made of the Vulgate translation, which they declared to be *authentic*, † and that no anonymous books treating of sacred things, that were not approved, and the approbation inserted in the book, should be printed, sold, or retained, under pain of excommunication, and the pecuniary penalty fixed by the Council of Lateran.

This first decree of the council, from which so much was expected, being made public, gave very little satisfaction. It was thought extraordinary that five cardinals and forty-eight bishops should take upon them to determine articles

* The *second* session was held January 7, 1546, *De Mater. in. de. c. c.* The *third* session, *De Symbolo Fidei*, was held February 6. It was the *fourth* session, held April 8, which passed the decree, *De Canonis Scripturis*. See *Conc. Trid. Con. et Decret.* pp. 1—10.

† “*Sacrosanctæ et venerabilis synodus ita declarat, et habet ipsa veris, et vulgata editionis, que longè et rectè et usque in ipsa ecclesia probata est, in publicis editionibus, disputationibus, et catechismis, et expositionibus, pro authentica habeatur, et ut neminem in re ipsa quovis prætextu audeat vel presumat.*” *Ibid.* p. 8. See Geddes's *Prospectus*, pp. 50, 51.

of such importance. None of them, it was said, were distinguished for their knowledge; that there were, indeed, among them some able canonists, but none who had much knowledge of religion; that the theologians among them were men of little capacity; that a great proportion of the members were gentlemen and courtiers; that some of the bishops were only secular, that the rest represented sees so inconsiderable, that altogether they could not represent the thousandth part of Christendom; that there was not a single bishop or theologian from Germany, and only one of their bishops, viz. of Augsburg, who had a deputy there, and that he was a Savoyard. Afterwards it appeared that, by orders from the Pope, nothing was ever done towards correcting the vulgate translation of the Scriptures.

The Pope, reflecting on this and other circumstances, saw that it was necessary to give more attention than he had hitherto done to the business of the council. He therefore increased the number of cardinals and prelates, to whom he deputed the direction of it, advised them to use great caution with respect to the decrees, not to employ their time on any thing that was not disputed by the heretics, and especially not to suffer any dispute about the authority of the papal see.

A circumstance occurred at this time which the Protestants considered as shewing the insignificance of the council. The electoral bishop of Cologne, who was inclined to the Reformation, was excommunicated by the Pope, without consulting the council; and yet the emperor, whose interest it was that the bishop should not join the Protestants, then in open opposition to him, paid no regard to the excommunication, but treated him as still the bishop. The Protestants, therefore, represented to the emperor, that it was time to provide for the wants of Germany by a national council, or diet, in which the business of religion should be the principal object.

After much altercation between the legates of the Pope and the ministers of the emperor, who wished that some articles of reformation should be entered upon before those of faith, it was determined to proceed to the discussion of the doctrine of *original sin*, and to join to it, as an article of reformation, the correction of the abuses which respected *preaching*.

A bishop from Spain complained much of the diminution of the original power of the bishops with respect to the instruction of their flocks, by the encroachment of the

universities on the one hand, where alone theology was taught, and that of the monks on the other, who had engrossed the whole business of preaching, and yet made no good use of it for the solid instruction of the people, but only endeavoured to amuse them, and draw money from them. To this, he said, was owing all the mischief of the Reformation, which could not have taken place if Luther had been confined to his cell. But to all this the generals of orders replied, that every thing he had mentioned had arisen from the incapacity or the neglect of the bishops, in consequence of which the people had long been without any instruction at all, that the monks had been invited to this duty by the chief pastor, the Pope, and therefore that their privileges ought to be respected.

The Pope being informed of this dispute, referred the matter to the congregation he had appointed for those purposes, and they considered that it had been for a long time the great policy of the popes to preserve their primacy by withdrawing the bishops from their subjection to the archbishops, and the monasteries from that to the bishops, by this means to have persons interested to defend their authority; that since A. D. 600, the primacy of the holy see had been maintained by the Benedictines, and the congregations of Clugni and Citeaux, and several others till the rise of the Mendicants, who in their turn defended it to this day; and therefore that to abolish their privileges was to attack not those orders only, but the Papacy itself. But, not to offend the bishops, it was thought advisable to give them the superintendance of the theological lectures, as *delegates of the holy see*, an expedient to which they had recourse on other similar occasions, and which gave satisfaction.

After much altercation among the divines about original sin, and also between the Dominicans and Franciscans about the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, and many advices from Rome not to quarrel among themselves, but to confine their labours to the condemnation of the doctrines of the Protestants, a decree was made containing five anathemas,* with many subtle distinctions, against some opinions of the Lutherans on the subject of original sin, but with a declaration that they did not include in it any thing respecting the Virgin Mary, but on that subject abode

* *Decretum de Peccato Originali*, Sess. v. June 17, 1546. *Conc. Trid. Can. et Decret.* pp. 11—14.

by the constitution of Sixtus IV.* On the subject of *preaching*, several useful regulations were agreed upon, by which the bishops were required to give particular attention to it, both in their churches, and the monasteries subject to their jurisdiction. †

None of the decrees of this session gave satisfaction to the Protestants, or even to the emperor, who was displeased that articles of reformation of so little consequence, and things not required by the Germans, should be treated of, and that the doctrine of *original sin*, which had been settled by divines on both sides at the conference at Ratisbon, should again become the subject of discussion. He wished them to defer all discussions of this kind till the arrival of the Protestants, or at least of the German prelates, who, he said, would attend as soon as the diet should be closed. It is very evident, therefore, that the emperor did not consider the proceedings of this council as directed by the Holy Spirit, any more than the Protestants. But the war now breaking out, put an end to all consideration of the council. It was the force of arms, and not of argument, from which the greatest advantage was expected to be derived to the catholic cause.

After this, in order to come at the foundation of the Lutheran heresy, the members of the council proceeded to the discussion of the doctrine of *grace*; and this giving room to many distinctions, the debate was purposely prolonged by the legates, who, in conformity to the wishes of the Pope, endeavoured to delay the decrees of the next session till the event of the war should be known. At length, however, the session was held the 13th of January, A. D. 1547, and, contrary to the will of the emperor, who did not wish to offend the Protestants, and totally alienate them from the council, they passed the decrees concerning grace, consisting of sixteen chapters, and thirty-three anathemas [*canons*], against particular doctrines of the Protestants on the subject. ‡ To these decrees concerning doctrines they joined others, according to their general rule, respecting reformation, and these related to the residence of bishops, which they endeavoured to enforce by

* “Declarat tamen hæc ipsa sancta Synodus, non esse sue intentionis comprehendere in hoc decreto, ubi de Peccato Originale agitur, beatam et immaculatam Virginem Mariam, Dei genetricem, sed observandas esse constitutiones felicis recordationis Sixti Papæ IV.” *Conc. Trid. Can. et Decret.* p. 14.

† *Decretum de Reformatione*, C. ii. *Ibid.* pp. 17—19.

‡ *Decretum de Justificatione*, Sess. vi. *Ibid.* pp. 20—40.

certain penalties.* The decrees of this session, containing many subtleties, were much ridiculed by the learned Protestants, and it was said that the decrees to enforce residence could not have much effect.

It was remarkable that presently after the publication of the decrees of this session, Sola, a Dominican, and Catharin, bishop of Minori, both of whom had assisted in drawing up the decrees, and gave their assent to them, wrote each of them treatises on the subject, dedicated to the council, in which they maintained different opinions; and the controversy was carried on with some warmth; so little prospect was there of those decrees, particular as they were, producing uniformity of opinion.

In the next place, the members of the council proceeded to consider the doctrine of the *sacraments*, which they divided into a great number of articles, and which occasioned as much discussion as those concerning the doctrine of grace. To this they joined the reformation of some abuses respecting *pluralities*, and the qualifications of bishops. On the 3rd of March the session was held, when the decrees [*canons*] concerning the sacraments in general amounted to thirteen: those concerning baptism to fourteen: and those concerning confirmation to three. † Those relating to the articles of reformation were fifteen. ‡

As those decrees tended to the exaltation of the power of the bishops, in derogation of that of the popes, as the contest between the Dominicans and the Franciscans on these and other subjects began to be violent, and could not easily be kept within due bounds, as the Spanish prelates, supported, it was thought, by the emperor, took great liberties in proposing articles of reformation, and the success of the emperor's arms gave great umbrage to the Pope, he began to be seriously alarmed; and wishing to get the council, which he could not decently dissolve, more into his power, he determined to remove it to Bologna: and on the pretence of a contagious distemper having broken out at Trent, the decree of the translation of the council to Bologna, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the emperor's prelates, was passed on the 11th of March, § by thirty-five bishops, and

* *Decretum de Reformatione*, C. i.—v. *Conc. Trid. Can. et Decret.* pp. 40—45.

† *Decretum de Sacramentis*, Sess. vii. *Ibid.* pp. 45—51.

‡ *Decretum de Reformatione*, in 15 chapters. *Ibid.* pp. 51—58.

§ *Decretum de Translatione Concilii*, Sess. viii. *Ibid.* pp. 60, 61.

three generals of orders, but opposed by one cardinal and seventeen other bishops, all subjects of the emperor, who by his orders still remained at Trent.

It appeared afterwards that the bull for this translation* had been prepared long before, to be used on any emergency that might occur; and as the power of using it was delegated only to two of the three legates, it shewed how entirely the council was in the power of the Pope. But that the Pope paid little regard to the decrees of this council, though in fact dictated by himself, appeared by the treaty which about this time he entered into with Henry, king of France, when he began to be alarmed at the accession of power acquired by the emperor, in consequence of his defeat of the Protestants. For, he gave his legates ample powers to grant the king whatever he should demand with respect to beneficiary matters, without any regard to what had been decreed by the council.

The prelates who remained at Trent did not choose to do any thing for fear of a schism, and those of Bologna contented themselves with proroguing their meetings, † in hope of being joined by those at Trent, or of inducing the emperor to approve of the translation; but this he could not be prevailed upon to do.

In this dormant state things continued till the death of Paul III. [1549,] who was succeeded by the cardinal del Monte, who had been legate to the council both at Trent and Bologna, and took the name of Julius III. Though he dreaded the emperor, yet, considering the difficulties with which he began to be pressed by the opposition that was made to him in Germany, he thought he might safely venture to resume the council, and even at Trent. Accordingly an order ‡ was issued for doing this, the 11th of May, A. D. 1551. The emperor concurred in this measure, thinking that by means of his residence near the place of the council, he could make it subservient to his political purposes, both with respect to Germany, and the Pope. But the king of France, having a difference with the Pope on the subject of Parma, refused to send any of his prelates, and threatened the Pope with a national council. The Swiss cantons also refused to send any.

* *Bulla facultatis transferendi Concilii*, dated 8 Kal. Mart. *Conc. Trid. Can. et Decret.* pp. 58—60.

† Apr. 22, June 2, Sept. 14, 1547. See Sess. ix, x. *Ibid.* pp. 61—63.

‡ *Decretum de resumendo Concilio*. The *Bulla Resumptionis* was dated one year before, in the first year of Julius. *Ibid.* pp. 63—66.

When the prelates were once more assembled at Trent, they agreed that their next session should be held the 1st of September; but the Pope, who was a man of pleasure,* having given little attention to the affairs of the council, the number of prelates did not exceed sixty-four, though the emperor now sent many from Germany, and more than before from Spain.

The emperor being much occupied with the business of the council, Maurice of Saxony, the most powerful of the Protestant princes, and who was with him, favoured his views, and gave orders for Melancthon and the other Protestant divines, to assemble at Leipsic for that purpose; but he required a *safe-conduct* both from the council and the emperor.

On account of the small number of prelates, all that was done at the time that had been fixed for the session was to prorogue it to the 11th of October. The business designed for it related to the *eucharist*, with respect to doctrine, and the means of enforcing *residence* with respect to reformation. But the king of France entered a protest against the council, and likewise forbade the carrying any money from France to Rome.

In the congregations which followed this, eleven articles [*canons*] were drawn up, condemning the doctrine of the Protestants with respect to the eucharist, and others, defining the genuine doctrine of the church on the subject.† But the Pope and the council were induced to defer the decision of the article relating to the communion in both kinds, till the arrival of the Protestants, to whom it was agreed that a *safe-conduct* should be given.‡ When the manner in which Christ was present in the eucharist came to be discussed, there was a great dispute between the *Dominicans* and the *Franciscans*, but it was compromised by agreeing to use such expressions as both parties might approve. After this the decrees were voted as before.

* “Jules, né avec de la fermeté dans le caractère, avoit paru avant son pontificat d’une sévérité excessive; mais lorsqu’il eut été placé sur le Trône de St. Pierre, il se livra aux plaisirs, et en corrompant son ame, ils adoucirent son humeur.” *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* III. p. 527.

† *Decretum de Sanctissimo Eucharistia Sacramento*, Sess. xiii. *Conc. Trid. Can. et Decret.* pp. 67—77.

‡ This *Salvus-Conductus datus Protestantibus* was in the following terms:

“Sacrosancta et generalis Tridentina Synodus, in Spiritu sancto legitime congregata, præsentibus in ea eisdem sanctæ sedis apostolicæ legato et nuntiis, omnibus, et singulis, sive ecclesiasticis, sive secularibus personis universæ Germaniæ ejusdemque gradus, status, conditionis, qualitatis sint, quæ ad œcumenicum hoc et generale concilium accedere voluerint, ut de eis rebus, quæ in ipsa synodo tractari

They then proceeded to the doctrines concerning *penance* and *extreme unction*,* and the article of reformation related to *episcopal jurisdiction*.† The decrees on these subjects were confirmed in the session of the 25th of November.

There arrived in the mean time the ambassadors of the duke of Wittemberg, requiring a *safe-conduct* for the Protestant divines, with liberty to deliver a confession of their faith, and to discuss the articles of it. At the same time there arrived ambassadors from Strasburg, and other cities, and on the 7th of June one from prince Maurice, all requiring a *safe-conduct* for their divines, the re-examination of the decrees which had been passed, and that the Pope should not preside in the council. But to this the legates would not by any means consent, though it was to the great displeasure of the emperor. All that could be obtained was, that the ambassadors should be heard in a general congregation on the 24th of June, and that the publication of the articles which had been agreed upon should be deferred till their divines had been heard. But though the ambassadors were heard, nothing satisfactory to them was gained, except that a sufficiently satisfactory safe-conduct was granted to the divines, which was declared in the session on the 25th of January, A. D. 1557.‡ After this, four theologians arrived from the duke of Wittemberg, and two from Strasburg, but they could not obtain any conference on the subject of their demands, though it was much urged by the emperor. In the mean time, the war between the emperor and the Protestants, commanded by Maurice, breaking out, and the members of the council retiring, the Pope gave orders for the suspension of the council, which was declared on the 28th of April to continue two years, or till the conclusion of the troubles.§

debet, omni libertate conferre, proponere, et tractare, ac ad ipsum œcumenicum Concilium liberè et tutò venire, et in eo manere, et commorari, ac articulos, quot illis videbitur, tam scripto, quam verbo, offerre, proponere, et cum Patribus, sive iis qui ab ipsa sancta Synodo delecti fuerint, conferre, et absque ullis convitiis et contumeliis disputare, nec non, quando illis placuerit, recedere possint et valeant, publicam fidem, et plenam securitatem, quam saluum conductum appellant, cum omnibus et singulis clausulis et decretis necessariis et opportunis, etiamsi specialiter, et non per verba generalia exprimi debent, que pro expressis haberi voluit, quantum ad ipsam sanctam Synodum spectat, concedit. Placuit præterea sanctæ Synodo, ut, si pro majori libertate ac securitate eorum, certes tam pro commissis, quam pro committendis per eos delictis, iudices deputari cupiant, illos sibi benevolos nominent, etiamsi delicta ipsa quantumcumque enormia ac hæresim æspiciantia fuerint. Sess. xiii. *Conc. Trid. Con. et Decret.* p. 84.

* “Doctrina de sanctissimis *Pœnitentiæ* et *Extremæ Unctionis* sacramentis.” Sess. xiv. *Ibid.* pp. 85—107.

† “Decretum de Reformatione.” *Ibid.* pp. 107—113.

‡ This *Salvus-Conductus* was much fuller than the first. See *ibid.* pp. 113—121.

§ “Decretum Suspensionis Concilii.” Sess. xvi. *ibid.* pp. 121—123.

The Pope finding himself delivered from a great embarrassment by the suspension of the council, thought to avoid it for the future by pretending to do that at Rome which could not be done at Trent; and for that purpose he appointed a numerous congregation of cardinals and other prelates. But nothing was done by them, and the council continued suspended near ten years, not being resumed till the pontificate of Pius IV., in A. D. 1560.*

Averse as this Pope, like most of his predecessors, was to a council, he perceived that a wish for it was so general, that it was absolutely necessary for him to risk it, especially in order to avoid the calling of a national council in France; and after much consultation, it was agreed that it should be held at Trent, though the catholic princes objected to it, and the Protestants to whom the Pope sent nuncios, refused to submit to any council in which he should preside.

The prelates being once more assembled at Trent, it was agreed to open the council on the 18th of January, A. D. 1562, without declaring in express terms, but only by implication, that it was a continuation of the preceding council,† both the emperor Ferdinand and the king of France having great objections to that, since no regard would then be had to it by the Protestants in their states. In the sermon delivered at this session the preacher said, that the authority of the church was not less than that of the word of God, that the changing of the sabbath, and the abolishing of circumcision, were not made by the preaching of Christ, but by the authority of the church; and he exhorted strenuously to combat the Protestants, and to be assured that, as the Holy Spirit could not err, so neither could they. It was easy to imagine of what nature would be the proceedings of a council which was opened in this manner. In the title of the council, also, the liberty of proposing questions was given exclusively to the legates,‡ notwithstanding the remonstrances of some prelates from Spain.

In the session of the 26th of February, persons were appointed to draw up an *Index Expurgatorius*, or a list of such books as were prohibited to be read without an express licence, to be laid before the council.§ Then followed a

* The *Bulla Celebrationis* is dated "MDLXI, iii. Kal. Decemb." *Conc. Trid. Can. et Decret.* pp. 123—127.

† The words are *sublatâ quacunq̄ Suspensione*. See "Decretum de celebrando Concilio." *Ibid.* p. 127.

‡ "Proponentibus Legatis, ac Presentibus." *Ibid.*

§ The *Decretum de Librorum Delectu* (Sess. xviii.) having described the council as

long discussion of some articles of reformation, especially respecting *residence*,* in which the Spanish prelates, instigated, it was thought, by the king (Philip II.) appeared to be unfavourable to the power of the Pope with respect to the divine right of residence. This so much alarmed the court of Rome, that the Pope said if the princes abandoned him, he would have recourse to heaven, and God would take care of his church. He said, however, he had one million in gold, and knew where to find another; so that he did not wholly trust to divine aid. On this account the decision of this question of the right of residence was deferred to another session.

After this the ambassador of the emperor proposed twenty articles of reformation, but the legates declined the consideration of them at that time. And the Pope found himself so much embarrassed with the affairs of the council, and so much dissatisfied with his legates, that he sent Charles Visconti, bishop of Ventimille, as his secret minister to Trent, with instructions to encourage the prelates who were friendly to him, and to gain others if possible.

After long debates on the subject of *communion*, which had been long deferred, it was decreed that no divine law made communion in both kinds necessary, but that communion in one kind only was sufficient,† also that it was not necessary for infants to communicate.‡ They then decreed nine articles of reformation, respecting holy orders, the duty of bishops, &c.§ So little, however, was done in this session, from which so much had been expected, from the interest that the princes took in the questions, that when the result was known, the fable of the mountain bringing forth a mouse, was commonly applied to it.

“non humanis quidem viribus confisa sed Domini nostri Jesu Christi,” thus proceeds, with the usual consistency of state-churchmen:—

“Cum itaque omnium primum animadverteret, hoc tempore, suspectorum ac perniciosorum librorum, quibus doctrina impura continetur, et longè, latèque diffunditur, numerum nimis excrevisse; quod quidem in causa fuit, ut multæ censuræ in variis provinciis, et præsertim in alma urbe Roma, pio quodam zelo editæ fuerint; neque tamen huic tam magno ac pernicioso morbo salutarem ullam profuisse medicinam: censuit, ut delecti ad hanc disquisitionem Patres de censuris, librisque, quid facto opus esset, diligenter considerarent, atque etiam ad eandem sanctam Synodum suo tempore referrent; quò facilius ipsa possit varias et peregrinas doctrinas tanquam zizania, à Christi veritatis tritico seperare.” *Conc. Trid. Can. et Decret.* pp. 128, 129.

* The decree on this subject was passed in Sess. xxiii. July 15, 1563. See *Decretum de Reformatione*, Cap. i. *ibid.* pp. 173—177.

† Sess. xxi. July 16, 1562, *ibid.* pp. 135—138.

‡ “Parvulos non obligari ad Communionem Sacramentatam.” *Ibid.* p. 138.

§ The second chapter is thus entitled: “Arcentur à sacris Ordinibus qui non habent undè vivere possint.” *Ibid.* p. 141.

In discussing the subject of the *mass*, to which the members of the council proceeded in the next place, it was agreed that it should be done by the theologians of the different countries; and there being none yet come from France, the ambassadors from that country intreated the members, that they would wait till their arrival, but they could not succeed; the persons to whom they applied always saying that it did not depend upon them. When the minister of France at Rome applied to the Pope on the subject, he replied that he should leave it to the legates. On which it was said by the minister at Trent, “The Pope refers us to his legates, the legates to the synod, and the synod is not at liberty to hear any proposal, and thus both the king and the world are deceived.”

After much debate and intrigue of the friends of the Pope against the ambassadors of the princes, who wished them to proceed to some articles of serious reformation, and not take up their time in disputing about things which no way respected the Protestants, on the 17th of September the session was held, in which several decrees were made respecting the sacrifice of the mass,* and then some articles of reformation relating to the *qualification and conduct of bishops*. The question concerning giving the cup to the laity was also included in the articles of reformation, and not those of doctrines, and left to the discretion of the Pope. It was not made an article of faith, because, according to the rules they had laid down, an article of faith could not be decided but by a great majority of voices, which in this case was not expected, while all articles of reformation were decided by simple majorities.

The French were particularly dissatisfied with the proceedings of the council at this time, complaining that nothing to any purpose was done in the business of reformation, which all Catholics wished for, or to satisfy the Protestants, who would never accede to the decrees of a council in which they had no voice. The Pope, apprehensive of the arrival of the cardinal of Lorraine among the other prelates from France, endeavoured privately to prevent his coming; and at the same time by openly sending more

* The seventh chapter has this title, *De aqua in calice offerenda vino miscenda*. The following are the reasons for this practice:

“Tum quòd Christum Dominum ita fuisse creatum, tum etiam quia e latere ejus aqua simul cum sanguine exierit: quòd sacramentum hęc mixtione recolitur: et cum aqua in Apocalypsi beati Joannis populi dicitur, ipsius populi fidelis cum capite Christo uno representatur.” *Ibid.* pp. 153, 154.

prelates, he shewed him that his coming would not answer any purpose of opposition, as he was sure to be overruled.

No remonstrances from any of the Catholic princes deterred the legates from proceeding as they had begun; and in the next place they proposed the discussion of some articles relating to *holy orders*. On this the ambassador of the emperor observed, that when they entered upon this subject they had a good opportunity of correcting a great abuse in church discipline, by declaring the episcopal order to be of divine authority, and restoring to the bishops what had been taken from them by reservations, and other methods of the court of Rome, and by the encroachment of the cardinals on their authority. By this means, he said, the court of Rome had not only become corrupt itself, but had carried corruption into all other churches.

Alarmed at these observations, the Pope now wished by any means, dissolution, prorogation, or suspension, to get rid of the council; but this was disagreeable to many of the prelates who were friendly to him, as well as to the French. He endeavoured, however, to get the article concerning the obligation of residence to be dispatched before the arrival of the cardinal of Lorraine, and if possible by reference to himself, or by any means rather than by declaring it to be by divine right, as well as the institution of bishops. And as to the Pontificate, and his court, he was determined at all events that no reformation should be made respecting them but by himself.

He was well aware that, had the episcopal order been declared to be of divine right, which was much urged in the council, it would follow that the keys were not given to Peter alone, that the council was above the Pope, that bishops were his equals, and only gave him a certain pre-eminence over them, that the superiority of cardinals to bishops would be entirely overturned, and they would be reduced to the rank of simple presbyters or deacons. The obligation to residence would be a necessary consequence, the bishops would draw to themselves the collation to benefices, preventions and reservations would be destroyed, and the power of the court of Rome would be wholly annihilated. Among other methods to prevent this measure, Lainez, the general of the Jesuits,* was employed to make

* "On doit le regarder comme le vrai fondateur de la Société," says his biographer. He adds, on the establishment of the Jesuits, "Ainsi fut substituée à la droiture et à la simplicité évangélique, une politique qui parut plus humaine que Chrétienne." Lainez died at Rome in 1565, aged 53. *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* IX. pp. 18, 19.

a long speech, in order to prove that the whole power of jurisdiction belonged to the Pope.* Happily for the Pope, this excited no debate, and occasioned the legate no difficulty. Being pressed on all sides, he thought of relieving himself by proposing, that residence should be enforced by rewards and punishments, without declaring any thing concerning the moral obligation.

In this state of things arrived the long-expected cardinal of Lorrain, and he was received with all possible respect, all the legates meeting him at the gate of the city, and conducting him to his lodgings. He did not, on the whole, appear so hostile to the interests of the Pope† as had been apprehended, but he gave much umbrage by holding private congregations in his own house upon every subject of discussion, as it was feared this might divide the council, and even lead to an open schism. But the Roman prelates had a secret understanding with the Spaniards, by means of which they were apprized of all that passed in those congregations; and the king of Spain, though he wished for some reformation, was sufficiently favourable to the Pope.

When the cardinal came to the great subject in debate, he spoke much at large, and in such a manner as not greatly to offend either party. The church, he said, had received its jurisdiction immediately from God, that when the keys were given to Peter, it was not to his person, but as respecting the whole church: that the bishops received from God that part of their jurisdiction which is attached to their order, that councils also had their authority from God; but then they must be united to their head, and that nothing could preserve the union of the church, but the strengthening the pontifical authority; and he concluded with advising not to say absolutely that the authority of the bishops was of *divine right*, but to use some other expression, as that they were *instituted by Jesus Christ*.

This, however, did not satisfy the Pope, who was much disturbed at the turn which he perceived things were taking; and in his letter to the legates insisted on their forming the canon in this manner, viz. that Jesus Christ had instituted bishops to be appointed by the Pope, from

* " Dans la xxiii. Session tenue le 15 Juillet 1563, il soutint que la Hiérarchie étoit renfermée dans la personne du Pape—que le tribunal du Pape sur la terre est le même que celui de Jesus-Christ dans le Ciel, et qu'il à la même étendue." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* IX. p. 18.

† Who had said of him, " Monsieur le Cardinal de Lorraine est un second Pape." See *Charles de Lorraine* in *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* II. p. 152.

whom they receive such portion of authority as he should judge proper to give them for the good of the church; and that with respect to residence, he should have the power of dispensing with it. The Pope himself constantly assisted at the congregations that were held in Rome on the affairs of the council, and after much debate it was agreed, that the canon should express that bishops held the principal place in the church, but in dependence on the Pope, who invited them to relieve him of part of his charge.

About this time the ambassadors from France presented to the council thirty-four articles of reformation, which they said were necessary for other churches, as well as theirs. When they were sent to Rome, the Pope, on the first reading of them, cried out that they meant nothing less than abolishing the *datary*, the *rota*, and the lordships, and in short the whole of the apostolical authority. But he was given to understand that if they granted a few things only, such as the Protestants most wished for, as the communion in both kinds, the use of the vulgar tongue, and the marriage of the priests, the rest would be dispensed with.

At the same time the legates had no small difficulty with respect to the emperor, who was displeased that so little progress was made in the council, and had proposed for discussion by his own divines seventeen articles relating to the power of the emperor with respect to councils, and this gave the Pope no less disturbance than the articles from France. But he had recourse to dissimulation to parry the blow, and perceiving that both the emperor and the king of France had no other views in the council than their own convenience with respect to their Protestant subjects, whereas the king of Spain had only Catholic subjects, he determined to attach himself to him; and his ambassador assured him that he would maintain his authority.

The legates finding much difficulty in conducting the council at this time, relieved themselves a little by proposing for condemnation eight articles maintained by the Protestants, relating to marriage. They would also have put off the session, which had been fixed for the 22nd of April, to the 3rd of June, but they were overruled by the cardinal of Lorrain, at whose proposal they agreed to meet on the 20th of May, in order to fix the time of the session. But this deference to the cardinal displeased the Pope, who remonstrated with the secular powers on their conduct with respect to the council; assuring them that they would gain nothing with their Protestant subjects, whose discontents

arose chiefly from the abuses of the civil power; that the hindrances of the Reformation did not arise from him, but from the princes, and the prelates of the council, who could not agree upon the articles.

In the mean time, the king of France having made peace with his Protestant subjects, which gave great offence both to the Pope and the king of Spain, took little interest in the affairs of the council; and the cardinal of Lorraine complained loudly that the council had no liberty, but that the decision of every thing came from Rome; and in the congregation on the abuse of holy orders, he inveighed so vehemently against those which prevailed in France, that it was said he spoke like a Lutheran. He was, however, advised by the queen not to oppose the measures of the Pope any farther than the interests of his own country, and his own honour, might require. His presence, she said, was more necessary in France than at Trent; and on this it was observed that he studied to oblige the Pope as much as he could.

The next session was fixed for the 15th of July, and in the mean time the debates about the power of the bishops, and the question about the sole power of the legates to propose questions in the council, led to no conclusion that could satisfy any party; what even the legates agreed to, the Pope rejecting. And at length the emperor, finding that he gained nothing by his neighbourhood to the council, left Inspruck the 25th of June, and the decree was drawn up in such a manner as to avoid what was most offensive to all parties, declaring holy orders to be a real sacrament, imparting an indelible character; that bishops are superior to priests, and have the sole power of administering confirmation, ordination and other functions. The decree of reformation related to residence, and consisted of eighteen articles. Thus it appeared that, after ten months of dispute and negotiation, nothing of the least consequence was done: all the decrees on the much-contested subject of residence amounting to no more than that it was a sin not to reside when there was no lawful cause to the contrary. This decision produced an open rupture between the Spaniards and the cardinal of Lorraine, who, they said, had broken his word with them, and had been gained by the Pope.

The Pope and his friends having found so much difficulty in the management of the council, were more than ever intent upon putting an end to it, and endeavoured to persuade the princes that all their attempts to gain the Pro-

testants were in vain, that they ought rather to keep them at as great a distance as possible, that all fair means had been tried without producing any effect, and that it was only by extreme rigour that they had been suppressed in Spain. He added, that he should think himself more obliged to them to assist him in putting an end to the council, than if, in some great distress, they had lent him the aid of their arms.

In order to avoid disputes on subjects of greater difficulty, the members of the council proceeded in the next place to consider the questions relating to *marriage*, when it was universally agreed to maintain the celibacy of the clergy, but they differed much on other points. Among the articles of reformation for this session, they had proposed some relating to the *princes*, but they were persuaded to drop them. Their great difficulty was to satisfy the bishops, who wished to have more power in their dioceses, and yet to secure the revenues of the court of Rome; and they succeeded, in some measure, by giving the bishops the appointment of the *curés*, on the pretence of examining their qualifications; but the bishops could not succeed in getting the monasteries to depend upon them as in former times.

At this time, the cardinal of Lorraine paid a visit to the Pope, by whom he was received with every mark of respect; and finding his interest to be the same with that of the Pope, who hinted to him that it was his wish that he should be his successor, he joined heartily with the Pope in his endeavours to bring the council to a termination; and he persuaded the Pope that it would be better to do this by dissolution than by suspension. "It is absolutely necessary," said the Pope, "to close the council, and raise money. After that it will be as pleases God."

The immunities of the clergy, and other articles of reformation which tended to abridge the power of the princes, being proposed for reformation, met with a violent opposition, especially from the ambassadors from France, who at length entered a protest against them, and left the council. They maintained that the authority of the kings of France over the persons and goods of the clergy was not founded on the *Pragmatic Sanction*, the *Concordat*, or the concessions of the Popes, but on the law of nature, the Scriptures, ancient councils, and the laws of Christian emperors. And, on the remonstrance of all the ambassadors, the articles for the reformation of princes were omitted.

From this time the views of all parties were united in a

resolution to put an end to the council as speedily as possible; and for this purpose the Pope sent his instructions, directing his legates to consult with the cardinal of Lorraine, who, he said, was fully informed concerning his wishes. He also prescribed the form in which they should conclude. They were to confirm all that had been done in the council in the time of his predecessors, but with a saving of the authority of the Holy See, and a reference to himself for the confirmation of the whole.

The next session was held the 11th of November, and in this some decrees were passed relating to marriage, when all clandestine marriages were declared to be annulled, though fifty-six bishops expressed their dissent. Also twenty-one articles of reformation about vacancies in churches, pluralities, provincial councils and other subjects, concluding with an explanation of the phrase *proponentibus legatis*, by which it was declared that it was not the intention of the council to depart from the ancient forms, and the custom of other general councils.* On this occasion the cardinal of Lorraine declared, in the name of the clergy of France, that he accepted the decrees of reformation as a step to a more complete reform, which he expected from the Pope, either by his reviving the ancient canons, or holding other general councils; and he had his protest entered in the public acts. This protest gave as much offence to the zealous Catholics as those made by Luther. The decrees of this session were much censured, and the explanation of the clause *legatis proponentibus* was ridiculed, as being contrary to what was well known to be fact, an innovation having been actually made.

For the last session decrees were prepared concerning purgatory, indulgences, the invocation of saints, and the worship of relics and of images; and for an article of reformation they chose some regulations concerning the monks and nuns. In some of the congregations they discussed the business of an *Index Expurgatorius*, the catechism, and the ritual. At this time, the cardinal de Luna, from Spain, presented a memorial, complaining that nothing was done about the principal matters for which the council had been called, and that every thing else had been precipitated; but no regard was paid to his remonstrance.

Another circumstance which hastened the dissolution of the council was the sickness of the Pope, the greater part

* Sess. xxiv. *Conc. Trid. Can. et Decret.* pp. 191—232.

of the prelates, as well as the Pope himself, being desirous that another should be chosen, in the usual manner, without the intervention of the council; while those from France declared that their master would acknowledge no Pope who should not be chosen by it. In this state of things, they anticipated the next session, fixing it for the 3rd of December, and declared that it should be the last, and that it should continue two days. The decrees on the subjects proposed were numerous, but not of sufficient consequence to be recited here, and every thing relating to the *Index Expurgatorius*, the catechism, and the breviary, were referred to the Pope, as well as the confirmation of all that had been done. They also recited the decrees which had been passed in the pontificate of Paul III. and Julius III., in order to preserve the unity of the council from the beginning.*

When this was done, the president granted a plenary indulgence, and his benediction, to all who had assisted in that session, and dismissed them.† Then the cardinal of Lorraine began the usual acclamations, expressive of their joy at the happy termination of the council; wishing long life and glory to the Pope, eternal happiness to Paul III. and Julius III., blessing the memory of Charles V. and the other princes who had favoured the council; praising the faith of this council, as that of St. Peter, of the fathers, &c. &c., and anathematizing all heretics in general.‡ In the last place, all the members of the council signed the decrees with their own hands; when there appeared to be four legates, two cardinals, three patriarchs, twenty-five archbishops, one hundred and sixty-eight bishops, seven abbots, thirty-nine deputies of absent bishops, and seven generals of orders.§

* *Sessio xxv. et ultima*, commencing with "Decretum de Purgatorio." *Conc. Trid. Can. et Decret.* pp. 253—282.

† "Dixit, post gratias Deo actas, Reverendissimi Patres, ite in pace, qui responderunt, Amen." *Ibid.* p. 282.

‡ These acclamations and responses thus conclude:

¶ *Card.* Omnes ita credimus: omnes id ipsum sentimus: omnes consentientes et amplectentes subscribimus. Hæc est fides beati Petri et Apostolorum: hæc est fides Patrum: hæc est fides Orthodoxorum.—*Resp.* Ita credimus, ita sentimus, ita subscribimus.

¶ *Card.* His decretis inhærentes, digni reddamur misericordiis et gratiâ primi, et magni supremi sacerdotis, Jesu Christi Dei intercedente simul inviolatâ Dominiâ nostrâ sanctâ Deiparâ, et omnibus sanctis.—*Resp.* Fiat, fiat. Amen, Amen.

¶ *Card.* Anathema cunctis hæreticis.—*Resp.* Anathema, anathema."

Ibid. p. 284.

§ In all, 255. *Ibid.* p. 284. Mr. Ray, during his travels in 1664, saw at Trent, "on the front of the choir of the *Domo*," an "inscription concerning the council," set up in 1639. After noticing the earlier Sessions, it thus concludes: "Denum sub papa Pio IV. anno 1561 et 1563, fuerunt celebratæ ultimæ novem publicæ sessiones cum decretis in ecclesiâ S. Mariæ majoris hujus urbis, istius ecclesiæ reveren-

The Pope, who was recovered from his illness, expressed his joy on the termination of the council, by a solemn procession, and gave his confirmation to the decrees, reserving to himself the interpretation of them. This closing of the council gave little satisfaction to the king of Spain; and the decrees of reformation were severely censured in France, as infringing on the rights of the crown and the liberties of the Gallican church. Both the decrees themselves, and the manner in which the whole business had been conducted, were treated with much ridicule by the Catholics in Germany and other places, and the Protestants gave little attention to them.

Thus, at length, this great council, so earnestly called for, to promote the unity of the church, and the reformation of abuses, was terminated, without producing any effect of the former kind, and but little of the latter: and, by the dexterous management of the popes, it served to strengthen, rather than diminish, their authority. The manner in which the decrees were received, even in Spain, shews that, without the sanction of the royal authority, they would not have been binding, which gave little satisfaction at Rome; and all the endeavours of that court could never procure the decrees of reformation to be received in France.

SECTION X.

Of the Reformation in Switzerland.

It is not my intention to give so particular a history of the introduction of the Reformation into the other states of Europe, and the progress that it made in them, as I have done with respect to Germany, where it originated; but I shall give a general idea of the most important circumstances with respect to them all.

It has been seen that the Reformation in Switzerland was of as early a date as in Germany, Zuinglius having distinguished himself as a reformer as soon as Luther, though his history does not make so great a figure; and his ideas of the

dissimo capitulo incorporata, sicuti etiam ecclesiã S. Petri. Et nihilominus ad pedes santissimi crucifixi tum in hoc loco existentis et nunc abhò translati pro decretorum corroboracione semper fuerunt publicata omnia dicti concilii decreta. Interfuerunt sub dietis summis pontificibus celebrationi cardinales legati, 13; non legati, 4; oratores principum totius Europæ, 29; patriarcha, 3; archiepiscopi, 33; episcopi, 233; abbates, 18; generales ordinum, 12; theologie doctores, 148; procuratores, 18; officiales concilii, 3; cantores, 9; notarii, 4; cursores Papæ, 2." *Rav's Travels*, Ed. 2, 1738, pp. 337, 336.

eucharist were certainly more just, and farther removed from those of the Catholics, than those of Luther. In other respects it does not appear that their sentiments were materially different. His general history being given in that of Luther, it is only necessary to add a more particular account of his death, especially as the circumstances of it have been often represented to his disadvantage.

When the people of Zurich were so much offended at the insolence with which they were treated by the Catholic cantons, that, unable to obtain any redress, they forbade all commerce with them, and were proceeding to other acts of hostility, Zuinglius remonstrated against such conduct, and earnestly exhorted them to bear every thing with patience, as became Christians, but without effect;* and at length mutual provocations brought on a war. Then, by the order of the magistrates, who expected much from the influence that Zuinglius would have with the soldiers, he accompanied the army, as it was the custom for the clergy to do. They always wore armour on these occasions, but were not required to use it, except for necessary self-defence, their business being to exhort the troops, and afford them all the spiritual assistance that their circumstances might require.

It was evident that Zuinglius, who disapproved of the war, expected a fatal termination of it, and during the march he spoke as a man destined to die. The battle, which was fought at Cappel, in A. D. 1531, was ill-conducted,† and the Zurichers completely defeated. Zuinglius was found by the enemy wounded, but not mortally; and not being known, was offered his life if he would recite some Catholic prayers; but refusing to do this, he was killed outright, and he died in as pious and edifying a manner as the circumstances of his death would permit. The last words he uttered were, that “men might kill the body, but could not kill the soul.” This was in the forty-fourth year of his age. When his body was known, it was treated with the greatest indignity, being quartered, and burned together with a hog; that if any attempt should be made to gather his ashes, they might not be distinguished.‡

* *Ruchat*, III. p. 551. (P.)

† They suffered “the disadvantage of marching down a hill where but one could go at once.” *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 536.

‡ It is said, I know not on what authority, that “three days after, some of his friends coming full of sorrow to the place where his body was burnt, and lightly moving the ashes, found his heart entire.” *Ibid.* Another marvellous story has been told, that “une comète qui parut alors le confirma dans la persuasion qu’il seroit tué.” *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* V. p. 820.

It is more honourable to Zuinglius that he is said to have “contended for the

After a war destructive to both parties, but more particularly so to the Reformed, peace was made on terms of the mutual toleration of religion, all their political relations remaining as before.

Next to the people of Zurich, those of Bern were the most zealous and active in promoting the Reformation. The altars and images were removed from all the churches in the estates of Bern, by order of the magistrates, in A. D. 1528, and the exercise of the Catholic religion was strictly forbidden under heavy penalties.* Those who professed it were, however, allowed to sell their effects, and retire whither they pleased. While the Genevans were Catholics, they entered very little into their interests, but espoused their cause with warmth when they discovered an inclination to adopt their religion.

In 1532, which was four years after they had publicly embraced the Reformation, reflecting on the difficulties they had met with, they held a solemn synod, at which two hundred and thirty ministers attended; and then they made many regulations, which were drawn up in proper form by Capito,† who attended from Strasburg. But, unfortunately, they began with laying it down as a maxim, that nothing could be done effectually without the co-operation of the civil power, as the ministers of God for the preservation of doctrine and discipline in the church; and that it was part of their office to punish blasphemy, as well as open sins, as they would be answerable for their conduct at the tribunal of God.

“It is objected,” they say in their public act, “that it was erecting a new Papacy for the magistrates to interfere in matters of faith.” To this they answer, that “it would be true, if the magistrates should violate the rights of conscience, and take away Christian liberty; but that this cannot be,

salvation of infants dying without baptism, as well as of virtuous Pagans, both which points were rejected generally by the Protestants of his time.” *Gen. Biog. Dict.* XII. pp. 633, 634. Yet upon good authority it is related that *Felix Mans*, one of the two earliest reformers in Switzerland, for rejecting *infant baptism*, was in 1526 “drowned at Zurich upon the sentence pronounced by *Zuinglius* in these four words: *Qui iterum mergit, mergatur*; let him that is dipped again under water, be drowned.” *Brandt*, B. ii. pp. 173, 174.

* “Monasteries and nunneries were turned into schools. They renounced the league with France, and prohibited the levying of soldiers for money, as those of Zurich had done.” *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 547.

† Wolfgang Capito, a Lutheran divine, the friend of Bucser and *Œcolampadius*, whose widow he married. Capito was born at Hagenau in 1478, and died of the plague in 1542. His second wife was accustomed to preach when her husband was indisposed. A biographer says, sarcastically, as if *piqued* by the *intrusion*, “*se piquoit de bel esprit, et s’avisait même de prêcher lorsque son mari étoit malade.*” *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* II. p. 42.

while their only care is that the truth be clearly preached, and men be exhorted to piety ;” not considering that, in setting themselves up for judges of truth, and obliging others to conform to their standard, they necessarily infringed the rights of their consciences. The decrees of this synod were confirmed by the magistrates, who promised to enforce them by their authority. At the same time, however, they professed their readiness to receive any proposals for improvement, as they said they wished to give free course to the Holy Spirit.

The Anabaptists gave them frequent opportunities to carry their persecuting maxims into execution. Several of this persuasion having returned from banishment, with which they first punished them, were drowned, according to another decree which they made for that purpose.* In A. D. 1533, they made a new law, only forbidding their preaching, but ordered that, in case of disobedience, they should be confined for life, and fed on bread and water. But this being thought too tolerant, they farther ordered that all Anabaptists should attend divine service, and have their children baptized ; that in case of non-attendance they should, for the first offence, be imprisoned a day and a night ; for the second, two days. They also ordered that any other persons who neglected to attend public worship, and receiving the Lord’s Supper, should be punished in the same manner.

Two other great promoters of the Reformation in Switzerland were Henry Bullinger and William Farel. Bullinger was born at Bremgarten, in A. D. 1504, and studied at Cologne, where, reading the books of Luther, he embraced the Reformation. He returned to his own country in A. D. 1525, and promoted the Reformation in the free balliages of Switzerland. He was six years a lecturer in theology in a monastery near the lake of Zurich, and preached in several churches in the country.†

But no man after Zuinglius contributed so much to the reformation of many places in Switzerland as William Farel. He was born of wealthy parents, at Gap, in Dauphiné, in A. D. 1489, and studied at Paris. Flying from the persecution in France, he came to Strasburg in A. D. 1523,

* It was justly said, on this occasion, that “ most of them condemned the putting heretics to death, when it came home to themselves, and practised it themselves when they were uppermost. Others abused fire ; they, water.” *Brandt*, B. ii. p. 174.

† Bullinger died in 1575, aged 71 *Nov. Dict. Hist.* l. p. 533

where he became acquainted with Capito and Bucer. In A. D. 1524 he came to Basil, where he published some *theses* in favour of the Reformation; and though favoured by the magistrates, the clergy at length compelled him to leave that city. In A. D. 1526 he was at Montbelliard, and the greater part of A. D. 1522 at Aigle, and thence he went to Morat.

In A. D. 1532, Farel went to Geneva, but was soon obliged to leave that city. He was, however, succeeded by Froment, a man of equal zeal, and equally indefatigable; and by the labours of those two men (for Farel soon returned), joined with those of Viret, the Reformation was publicly received in Geneva in A. D. 1535. In consequence of this the citizens were exposed to great difficulties from the opposition and desertion of many of the citizens, and the open hostility of their bishop and the duke of Savoy. But they were effectually supported by the people of Bern. When their troubles were over, they carried their scheme of reformation into complete effect, but in such a manner as to bear hard on the conscientious Catholics, chiefly at the instance of Farel.

When every thing relating to the Reformation at Geneva was settled, John Calvin* passing through the city, was detained there by Farel. This eminent man was born July the 10th, A. D. 1509, at Noyon, in Picardy, of an honourable family, and in good circumstances.† He was educated at Paris, and being, on account of his early piety, destined for the church, his father procured for him a benefice in the cathedral of Noyon, when he was only twelve years old, and five or six years after, a curacy in the village from which the family sprung, and where he sometimes preached, though without having taken orders. Both the father and the son having embraced the Reformation, Calvin applied to the study of the law at Orleans, and in this he distinguished himself, though his favourite study was theology, and with this view he learned both Greek and Hebrew.

On the death of his father, in A. D. 1533, Calvin went to Paris, where becoming acquainted with some eminent reformers, he devoted himself wholly to the same object with them. Being obliged to leave Paris, he went to Nercac, but returned in A. D. 1534, though he kept himself con-

* "Ayant mis à la tête de son Commentaire sur *Seneque* de la Clémence, le nom de *Calvinus*, on l'a depuis appelle *Calvin*, quoique son véritable nom fût *Cauvin*." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* 11. p. 20.

† "D'un *Tonnellier*" a cooper's son, says the *Roman Catholic* biographer; probably an unworthy attempt to disparage an abhorred reformer. *Ibid.*

cealed on account of the persecution of the reformed. There, too, he became acquainted with Servetus, whom he afterwards procured to be burned alive at Geneva.* The violence of the persecution increasing, Calvin retired to Strasburg, after publishing at Orleans a treatise to prove that the soul does not sleep from the time of death to the resurrection.†

At Strasburg, Calvin became acquainted with Grynæus and Capito, and there he published his *Institutions of the Christian Religion*.‡ a work much admired to this day for the excellence of its language and method, and which he dedicated to Francis I.§ From Strasburg he went to Italy, to see the duchess of Ferrara, the daughter of Lewis XII., whom he confirmed in the principles of the Reformation, and who always retained a particular respect for him. In A. D. 1536 he returned to France, and intending to settle at Strasburg, or Basil, he came to Geneva, where he was persuaded by Farel to stay and labour with him and his companions there. He was presently made professor of theology, and afterwards pastor, being then twenty-seven years of age. From this time he continued twenty-eight years at Geneva, in all which time his labours in preaching and writing were incessant, though his constitution was weak ;|| and his influence with the magistrates seems to have been very great.

* “ Ne pensant plus à ce qu'il avoit écrit lui-même contre les persécuteurs des hérétiques. D'autres temps, d'autres sentimens. Poursuivi en France, il écrivit contre les intolérans; maître à Genève, il soutint qu'il falloit condamner aux flammes ceux qui ne pensoient pas comme lui.” Such is the fair retort of a Roman Catholic on a Protestant persecutor. *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* II. p. 21.

† “ Which he entitled *Psychopannychia*, by which word is signified that the soul wakes throughout the whole night of death, with all the consciousness and sensibility necessary to the enjoyment of happiness.” Blackburne's *Hist. View*, Ch. vi. p. 28. See Vol. III. p. 378.

‡ *Institutio Christianæ Religionis*, which was thus complimented:

“ Præter apostolicas, post Christi tempora, chartas

Huic peperere libro, sæcula nulla parem.” *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 342.

An equal work, save apostolic lore,

No age, since Christ appear'd, had seen before.

§ From Basil, *Calend. Augusti*, 1536. *Institut.* Ed. 1590.

|| “ Calvin enivré du progrès de sa secte, mais accablé d'infirmités, mourut à Genève l'an 1564, laissant un grand nom, beaucoup d'admirateurs, et encore plus d'ennemis.” This biographer thus exposes the vices of his countryman's *polemic* style, yet does justice to the reformer's personal character:

“ Le chef traita ses adversaires avec un emportement indigne, non-seulement d'un théologien, mais d'un honnête homme. Les epithets de *porceau*, d'*âne*, de *chien*, de *cheval*, de *taureau*, d'*irogne*, d'*enragé* étoient ses compliments ordinaires.—Il étoit d'ailleurs, désintéressé, sobre, chaste, laborieux. Il ne laissa en mourant que la valeur de cent vingt écus d'or.” *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* II. p. 22.

SECTION XI.

Of the Reformation in the Low Countries.

As the people in the Low Countries distinguished themselves by their application to manufactures and commerce more than any other people in Europe, a long time before the Reformation, we are not surprised to find many inquisitive persons among them. About the end of the fifteenth century, some of the clergy, as Wessel* of Groningen, John of Amsterdam, John Van Gooch, and some others, attacked various errors of the church of Rome. The last-mentioned of these openly maintained that the writings of Thomas Aquinas, and the other schoolmen, were fitter to darken the truth than to discover it, that the Scriptures were the only rule of faith, and that the decrees of popes and of councils ought to be judged by that rule.†

The doctrine of Luther spread so early, and so much in the Low Countries, that in A. D. 1521, a placard was published by Charles V. to stop its progress. In this it was said that Luther was “not a human creature, but a devil in the figure of a man, and clothed with the habit of a monk.” that he might the more easily occasion the death and destruction of mankind.‡

The year following, Cornelius Grapheus, a man of learning, and a great friend of Erasmus, was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment for the freedom of his writings; and in the same year, Henry Voets and John Esch were burned alive at Antwerp, as was mentioned before; § and from this time, says Erasmus, the doctrine of Luther began to be in vogue in that city. || The nuns of Holland, he says, ran from their convents, and most of the inhabitants of Holland, Zealand and Flanders, embraced the doctrine of Luther; ¶ and notwithstanding the execution of Voets and Esch at Antwerp, the Lutherans continued to hold their

* “Doctor Wessel Hermanson Grandsfort.” He travelled to Rome, from his zeal “for promoting the Hebrew language.” Pope Nicolas “offered him great presents and employments; but the Doctor made this only request, that he might be allowed to take out of the Vatican library, and carry to Holland, a certain MS. Hebrew Bible.” He had been called *Lux Mundi*, on account of his classical and scientific attainments; but for “the opposition he made afterwards to the abuses of the Papaey,” the name of *Magister Contradictionis* was conferred upon him. *Brandt*, B. i. pp. 95, 96.

† *Ibid.* [abridged by La Roche, 1725] l. p. 12. (P.) *Ibid.* B. i. p. 109.

‡ *Ibid.* B. ii. p. 121.

§ *See supra*, p. 147.

|| *Ibid.* B. ii. p. 139.

¶ *Ibid.* p. 156.

assemblies without the walls of that city. In these circumstances, Margaret, daughter of the emperor Maximilian, governess of the Low Countries, very wisely exhorted the monks to admit none into their pulpits but learned and prudent persons, who would tell no idle stories; and she particularly enjoined them not to make any mention of Luther in their sermons.*

In A. D. 1527, the doctrine of the Anabaptists began to spread in the Low Countries, and John Waden and two other persons were the first of this sect who suffered death for it. They were burned with a slow fire at the Hague.† Some of this denomination were afterwards guilty of great disorders, especially about the time that Muncer appeared in Germany.

In A. D. 1530, Margaret dying, Mary, the emperor's sister, was made governess of the Low Countries. She was a lover of learning,‡ and disposed to moderation, but she could not prevent the persecution of the reformers.§ In A. D. 1533, the courts of judicature, finding that the Reformation spread in consequence of the public execution of those who were condemned to death, represented to her that it would be better to have the executions private, and she allowed them to act as they thought best.|| In A. D. 1536, William Tindal, who had translated the Bible into English, was apprehended at Antwerp,¶ and burned on that account.

The Anabaptists being every where more obnoxious than any other of the reformers, a man was put to death in A. D. 1539, for only harbouring Menno Simonson, a leader of that sect, and from whom all of that persuasion in that country were afterwards called *Mennonites*. He was a man of learning, at first a Romish priest, and a great opposer of the

* Nor of "the opinions of other heretics of former ages." This circular was "given at the Hague, 27th September, 1525." *Brandt*, B. ii. pp. 165—167. In 1523, Margaret had "set herself with great earnestness to reform the avarice of the Zealand clergy," who "endeavoured to draw to themselves all the temporal goods, either by sale, gifts or legacies." *Brandt*, p. 150.

† *Ibid.* p. 174.

‡ "Especially of the Latin tongue. Whereupon Erasmus said, 'that the very nature of human affairs was altered; the men had forgotten letters, and the women had taken them up.'" *Ibid.* p. 186.

§ On the contrary, within two months of her arrival, she published an edict at Brussels, dated December 7, 1531, forbidding to *write* or *print* any book "without having first obtained letters of licence, on pain of being pilloried, and marked with a red-hot iron, or an eye put out, or a hand cut off, according to the discretion of the judge," who was to see the sentence executed without delay or mercy. *Ibid.* p. 181.

|| *Ibid.* pp. 185, 186.

¶ "Carried to *Vilvorde*, and there, at last, strangled and burnt." *Ibid.* p. 216.

Anabaptists, though he joined them afterwards.* In A. D. 1543, a reward of one hundred florins was offered to any person who would apprehend Menno.

In A. D. 1540, the emperor, arriving in the Low Countries to suppress an insurrection at Ghent, published a violent placard against both the Lutherans and the Anabaptists, which was followed by a great persecution.† One of the most distinguished of the martyrs in the Low Countries at this time was Angelus Merula, who had taken orders at Utrecht. Being old, and much esteemed for his learning, probity, charity and eloquence, though the inquisitors were very desirous of having him burned, they for a long time did not venture to do it, for fear of the people. They therefore continued to deceive him into a seeming abjuration of his opinions, when he meant no such thing. This losing him the affection of the people, he was apprehended, and condemned to the flames; but while he was kneeling down to pray before his execution, being extremely feeble, he fell down, and was taken up dead.‡ He had been in a state of persecution five years, the greater part of which he had passed in prison, where he experienced the most cruel usage.

In A. D. 1559, Philip II. left the Low Countries, and went to Spain, where the Reformation had begun to make some progress, leaving his natural sister Margaret, duchess of Parma, governess, with orders to extirpate all heresy. The same strict orders were given to the governors of all the provinces; and from this time the persecution raged with peculiar violence, and being accompanied with oppression in civil matters, did not end but with the loss of these provinces to Spain.

SECTION XII.

Of the Reformation in Spain.

THE overbearing power of the court of Spain, and the rigour of the Inquisition, soon suppressed the Reformation in that country; but notwithstanding this, Spain can boast

* *Brandt*, B. ii. p. 239.

† In which "two women were buried alive." *Ibid.* pp. 243—245.

‡ This happened at Mons, in 1557, when *Merula* was aged 75. *Brandt* has given a large account of these cruel transactions. He adds, that "*Angelus* was the great uncle of *Paul Merula*, Professor of History at *Leyden*, who has also transmitted to posterity an account of this martyrdom, in Latin." *Ibid.* B. iv. pp. 341—367. *La Roche*, l. pp. 81—88.

of its Protestant martyrs, and many, no doubt, there were, whom we have not at present any means of discovering.

The first person that suffered martyrdom in Spain for being a Protestant, was Nicolas Burton, an English factor. He was burned at Seville, in the reign of queen Mary. All his goods and notes were seized, and the person sent to claim them was imprisoned on the suspicion of heresy.*

In A. D. 1558, Augustin Cazala, who had been several years chaplain and preacher to Charles V., in Germany, after undergoing the cruelties of the Inquisition, in which his mother died, was burned, together with thirteen more, on account of his faith.†

At the same time with Cazala was burned Herezulo, who had been his convert. He was an eminent lawyer. A person who was present at his execution said, "I observed all his gestures and motions; for he could not speak, having his mouth gagged; and though I marked him very narrowly, I did not discover the least sign or expression of any uneasiness in him." After several years' imprisonment, his widow also was burned. They suffered, it is said, with as much fortitude "as if they had been made of stone, and not of flesh and blood." There also was burned "Dr. Perez, a secular priest of great learning, and exemplary piety." Soon after, Don Carlos de Seso, a nobleman of an illustrious family, was burned, with forty others, one of them, John Sancho, who had been a servant of Cazala. These, says the writer of the *Historia Pontifical*, "endured being burnt alive with a courage that astonished all that beheld it." ‡ Don John Egidio, another favourite preacher of Charles V., and who had been nominated to the bishopric of Tortosa, died in the Inquisition, and was afterwards burned as an impenitent heretic.§

"Dr. Constantino Pontio, chaplain, and as some say confessor, to Charles V.," and appointed by him to attend his son to Flanders, as the most learned man, and the most

* *Geddes's Tracts*, I. p. 456. (P.)

† *Ibid.* pp. 456, 457.

‡ *Ibid.* pp. 458, 459. Dr. M. Geddes adds, that of these martyrdoms, "Charles, prince of Spain, [Don Carlos,] was a spectator, who was afterwards privately put to death by his father, as was commonly said, for his having discovered a strong affection to the Protestant faith." *Ibid.*

"Multi affirmant Carolum regis Philippi II. filium, ab Inquisitione, in jus vocatum, quod dixerit, *mitius cum Belgis esse agendum*: quæ res ei maximè mortem fertur accelerasse." *Hispanica Dominationis Arcana*, 1653, p. 28. Other reasons have been assigned for the cruelty of Philip towards his son, who was put to death in 1568, whether by strangulation, poison, or opening his veins in a bath, is uncertain. See *Novæ Dict. Hist.* II. pp. 50, 51, IV. pp. 1000, 1003.

§ "In an *Act of Faith*, at Seville. *M. Geddes*, I. pp. 460, 461.

eloquent preacher, in Spain, also died in the prison of the Inquisition; and his body, together with several of his writings, were burned at an act of faith. When Charles heard that Constantino was taken up as a heretic, he said, that if he was one, he was not an ordinary one, alluding to his great learning and piety.*

The monastery of St. Isidore was a great seminary of Protestantism in Spain. Five monks were taken from it and burned, and twelve made their escape from it to Geneva. M. Geddes gives an account of several more, whose sufferings were well deserving of being recorded, and adds, that they were "but a small part of the glorious army of Spanish Protestant martyrs, burnt by the Inquisition, and who, for the exemplary piety of their lives, and their admirable patience and courage, which triumphed over death in the most terrible of all shapes, were nothing inferior to the martyrs of any other nation, in any age."†

It is something remarkable that many of the great persecutors, both of Christians and Protestants, have either come to an untimely end, or have suffered in some other exemplary manner. Philip II. may be added to those that are enumerated by Lactantius, in his treatise *De Mortibus Persecutorum*. He had been seized with a hectic fever, which reduced him very much, when he was attacked with a violent fit of the gout, on St. John's eve. The acrimony of the juices produced an abscess, which first broke out at his knee, and then in several parts of his body; and from these abscesses issued swarms of lice, which could not be removed. He was also diseased in several other ways. The purulent matter from his ulcers exhaled such a stench, that the servants who attended him were infected by it. He was insupportable to himself, and died in the most agonizing pain.‡

SECTION XIII.

Of the Reformation in France.

THE disputes about indulgences in Germany did not pass unnoticed in France, especially after the censure of

* M. Geddes, pp. 462—464.

† *Spanish Protestant Martyrology*, pp. 173, 174. P. See *Thomson* L. xxiii. in *Linboch*, L. i. C. xxx. l. pp. 156—159; and *Chandler's Hist. of Persecutions*, 1786, pp. 135—168.

‡ *Zacal*, V. p. 318. (P.) "Usé par les débauches de sa jeunesse — causant par une complication de maux, et aggravé par les jours, il expira le 13 Septembre, 1595, dans la 74 année de son âge." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* IV. p. 1002.

the writings of Luther by the Sorbonne; and the Reformation received much countenance from William Brissonet, bishop of Meaux, who, though it was then unusual, preached himself; and besides this, employed several learned men, and of excellent characters, to preach in his diocese. Of this number were James Faber and William Farel, who so greatly promoted the Reformation in Switzerland. By this means, the Reformation spread in Meaux, though chiefly among the lower orders of the people. Of these, John le Clerc, a carder, was in A. D. 1523 sentenced to be whipped, and branded in the forehead, and after this he was burned alive at Metz, in A. D. 1524.* Many others suffered in the same manner, and, terrified probably by these examples, the good bishop, though a friend to the Reformation, proceeded no farther. This cruelty, however, did not put a stop to the progress of the Reformation in other places. It was received by many in Orleans, Bourges, Thoulouse, and in every part of the kingdom.

The Reformation was more particularly countenanced by Margaret, queen of Navarre, sister to Francis I. † She published a treatise, entitled *The Mirror of the Sinner's Soul*, the sentiments of which were entirely agreeable to those of the reformers.‡ The king himself was at one time so well disposed, that he invited Melancthon to go to France, that he might hear him on the subject of the matters in dispute; but he was offended at the extreme zeal and violence of some of the reformers, who fixed their charges against the tenets of the church of Rome in the public places, and to the door of the king's own apartment. Also, his affairs requiring the aid of all his subjects, and that of the Pope, † he persecuted the Reformed during the whole of his reign, more than he was naturally inclined to do; and though he at the same time wished for the assistance of the Protestants in Germany against Charles V. On the whole, however, the Reformation made such progress in France in this reign, that there was hardly any city or town in which the reformed had not some assemblies.§

Henry II., as an evidence of his zeal for the Catholic religion, not only caused many of the Reformed to be put to death,

* He was imprisoned "at Meaux, in 1523, and condemned to be whipt for three different days, and to be branded with a *Flower de Luce* on the forehead, which was executed with the utmost rigour." He removed "to Metz, where he was the founder of the reformed church in that place." *Laval*, I. p. 28.

† Grandmother of Henry IV. She died in 1549, aged 57. *Ibid.* pp. 76, 77.

‡ This book was "censured by the Sorbonne." *Ibid.* p. 76.

§ *Ibid.* p. 69. (P.)

but in a more cruel manner than had been used in his father's time; having many of them drawn up by pulleys, and let down again into the fire, in order to prolong their torments. At these horrible executions the king himself was sometimes present; but he was so much affected at the shrieks of one of these martyrs, that it was said to have affected his mind all his life after. He did not, however, change his conduct.* These executions contributed much to the spread of the Reformed religion; so that Mezeray says, that "there was no town, no province, no trade in the kingdom where the new opinions had not taken root. The lawyers, the learned, nay, the ecclesiastics, against their interest, embraced them."†

In D. A. 1559, the Reformed held a national synod at Paris, at which they drew up forty articles of faith, and as many of discipline.‡ Still, however, the persecution went on, and the most illustrious martyr at this time was Annas du Bourg, a person of considerable note, who, after a long trial, was first strangled, and then reduced to ashes.§ At this time the Reformed in France got the name of *Hugonots*, as supposed from Hugo, who was said to have been a king, whose apparition rode in the night through uninhabited places; and as the Reformed resorted to such places, and often in the night, they got that appellation. ||

At an assembly held at Fontainebleau to consult about restoring the peace of the kingdom, in A. D. 1560, admiral Coligni, who distinguished himself as one of the chiefs of the Reformed, presented two petitions for liberty of conscience, which he said more than fifty thousand persons were ready to sign,¶ and with a view to support it, he voted for a convocation of the states of the kingdom. This was agreed to, and in the mean time all capital punishments were suspended, except in case of a breach of the peace. But by the influence of the Guises this liberty was soon infringed, and it was resolved that a Catholic confession of faith should be signed by every person, and that they who refused should forfeit their lives and estates. The measure was, however, frustrated by the death of Francis II.

At the assembly of the states, which was held in A. D.

* *Laval*, pp. 75, 76.

† *Ibid.* p. 107.

‡ This was "the first national synod of the Reformed churches." See the previous proceedings and the articles at length. *Ibid.* pp. 116—139.

§ *Ibid.* pp. 113, 115, 141, 142, 175—182.

|| *Ibid.* pp. 228, 229.

¶ "In the single province of Normandy, D'Avila says one hundred and fifty thousand." *Ibid.* pp. 260, 261. This year, 1560, the holy communion was administered to about six hundred persons, at three in the morning." *Ibid.* p. 356.

1561, the judges were enjoined to release all prisoners on account of religion, and to restore them to the possession of their estates ; but at the same time it was enacted, that for the future all persons should conform to the rites of the church, though it was made a capital crime to reproach any person on account of his religion. At this time also a conference was appointed between the Catholic prelates and the Reformed, at Poissy, in which the chief speaker was Theodore Beza, a colleague of Calvin at Geneva, on the part of the Reformed, and the cardinal of Lorraine for the Catholics. The king and the court attended : * but though the Reformed conceded more than they ought to have done with respect to the doctrine of the eucharist, they broke up dissatisfied with each other ; so that though great things had been expected from the conference, it did nothing towards an union of the parties. The next year, however, an edict was published, allowing the exercise of the Reformed religion under certain restrictions ; and in some places the Catholics and the Reformed made use of the same churches. But notwithstanding this, the Reformed suffered much in popular tumults, excited by the clergy and the monks.

Presently after this the civil war, in which religion and civil policy were about equally concerned, broke out, and kept the country in a disturbed state many years. The object of most of the leaders was too evidently their own aggrandizement, while their followers fought, as they imagined, for their religion. We must, however, except the admiral Coligni, a truly great character, who suffered at the massacre of St. Bartholomew, of which an account will be given in the next period. In this civil war it appeared, that the kingdom was so nearly equally divided, that it was often as probable that the Reformed would prevail, and establish their religion, as the Catholics.

SECTION XIV.

Of the Reformation in England.

IN England a good foundation was laid for the introduction of the Reformation by the labours of Wickliffe and the Lollards, as his disciples were generally called, in a preceding period, and also by the violence of the clergy in the persecution of them. In London the whole body of the

* *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 360. *Laval*, I. pp. 482, 486, 515.

clergy became exceedingly obnoxious to the laity, in A. D. 1515, by the murder of Richard Hunn, a merchant, who prosecuted some of them in the temporal courts for suing him for a mortuary in the courts of the legate; he alleging, that they had no right by the laws of the land to bring the king's subjects before a foreign tribunal. Provoked at this opposition, and finding that he had Wickliffe's bible in his possession, they had him apprehended as a heretic; and not being able by this means to make him desist from his suit, the bishop's chancellor, Dr. Henry, with some assistants, murdered him in prison, and afterwards, having procured his condemnation as a heretic, his body was burned.

This atrocious conduct being considered as the act of the whole body of the clergy, the rage against them proceeded so far, that the bishop of London complained that he was not safe in his own house. Hunn was supposed to have been encouraged in his prosecution of the clergy by an attack made by Dr. Standish, a Franciscan, on the pretended immunities of the clergy in cases of civil offence. After much debate the king declared against the clergy, but in order to give them some satisfaction, it was settled that when Dr. Henry was prosecuted for the murder of Hunn, no evidence should appear against him. This conduct gave no satisfaction to the common people: on the contrary, it greatly increased their discontent, and disposed them to throw off the ecclesiastical tyranny.*

In this state of things the publications in Germany, being translated into English, made a great impression on many persons; and this irritating the clergy more than ever, they procured the death of six men and one woman, who were burned alive in Coventry,† for only teaching their children the creed, the Lord's prayer, and the ten commandments in English.‡ At this time Henry VIII. became the champion

* *Burton's* Abridgement, l. p. 19. (P.) *Hist. of Reform.* Ed. 3, l. pp. 14—17. *Hist. of Popery*, II. pp. 364—366.

† “At a place called *The Little Park*, April 3, 1519.” The woman had been discharged, “but the bishop's *Apparitor*, as he was leading her home by the arm, perceiving the raffling of a scroll within her sleeve, searched and found there the Lord's prayer, the articles of faith, and the commandments, all in *English*. So he brought her again to the bishop, where she was immediately condemned and burnt with the six men. Their children were charged, upon pain of suffering the same death as their parents, not to presume to meddle any more with the Lord's prayer, creed, or commandments in *English*.” *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 367.

‡ In the beginning of the reign of Henry V., an act passed which expressed, that whoever should read the Scriptures in their mother tongue, then called *Wickliffe's language*, they should forfeit their lands, life and goods, to the king from their heirs for ever. *Neal, [Hist. of Puritans,] l. p. 7. (P.)*

of the church by writing against Luther,* and he was rendered more averse to the Reformation in consequence of the asperity with which Luther treated him in his answer. Notwithstanding this, it was by means of this very king, the most arbitrary of any monarch of England, that Divine Providence was pleased to bring about a reformation.

Being dissatisfied with his wife, who had been the widow of his elder brother, and sister to Charles V., he, in A. D. 1527, applied to the Pope for a divorce; and for some time with a great prospect of success; but afterwards, the Pope, unwilling to disoblige the emperor, deferred the decision of the cause so long, that the king, impatient at the delay, took other measures. At the suggestion of Cranmer, then a student at Cambridge, he consulted the principal universities and divines in Europe, as their decision was sufficient to satisfy his conscience. They unanimously declaring against the marriage as unlawful, he was divorced from the queen, notwithstanding her appeal to the Pope, and in A. D. 1533, was married to Ann Boleyn, who was favourable to the Reformation. At the same time Cranmer, who was equally favourable to it, was made archbishop of Canterbury.

The Pope, against his own inclination, but in compliance with the wishes of the emperor, declaring the former marriage valid, and requiring the king to live with the former queen as his wife, this haughty prince, notwithstanding his attachment to the doctrines of the church, formed the design of shaking off the yoke of the Pope, and in that year all intercourse with the court of Rome was, by act of parliament, declared to cease. At the same time it was declared that there was no design to relinquish any of the articles of

* See *supra*, p. 140. Bishop Burnet has inserted, among the *Records* in his third volume, p. 7, the following letter from Cardinal Wolsey to the king, copied from an Original in the Paper Office:

"Sir,

"These shall be onely to advertise your Grace that at this present tyme I do sende Mr. Tate unto your Highnes with the booke bounden and dressed, which ye purpose to sende to the Popes Holyenes, with a memoriall of such other, as he also to be sent by him with his authentique bulles to all other Princes and Universities. And albeit, Sir, this booke is right, honorable, pleasant and fair, yet I assure your Grace, that which *Hall* hath written which within four days wolbe perfited is fere more excellen and princely; and shall long contynue for your perpetual memory, whereof your Grace shall be more plenarye informed by the said Mr. Tate. I do sende also unto your Highnes the choise of certeyne versis to be written in the booke to be sent to the Pope, of your owne hande: with the subscription of your name to remain in *Archivis Ecclie ad perpetuam et Inmortalem vestre Majestatis gloriam Laudem et memoriam,*

"By your most humble Chaplain,

"*T. Carlis Ebor.*"

the Catholic faith. The monasteries were also subjected to the king's visitation, and the clergy in convocation assented to these acts. The year following the king was, by act of parliament, declared to be *Supreme Head of the Church of England*, and power was given him to reform all heresies and abuses in the ecclesiastical jurisdiction; also the first fruits and tenths of all church livings were given to him, as they had belonged to the Pope. This was, in fact, setting up another ecclesiastical tyranny instead of that of the Pope, attended with this absurdity, that the head of the church was a layman. In this state, however, the church of England has continued to this day.

Complaint being made of the severity of the ecclesiastical courts by the act of supremacy in the twenty-sixth of Henry VIII., the act of the second of Henry IV. was repealed, but those of Richard II. and Henry V. were left in full force * with this qualification, that heretics should be proceeded against by two witnesses at least, and could not be put to death without the king's writ *de heretico comburendo*. Heretics were therefore now to be tried according to the forms of law.†

In the mean time, it being thought that the Pope would be more favourable to the king's divorce by severe proceedings against the heretics, a proclamation was issued against their books and persons, and ordering all the laws that had been enacted against them to be put in execution. But Tindal's translation of the Bible, which was printed at Antwerp, did more to favour the Reformation than all the temporal powers could do against it; and it being the king's interest to unite with the reforming princes of Germany, a stop was put to the persecution.

The monks being the chief opposers of the Reformation, a general visitation was made of all the religious houses in the kingdom, and the visitors finding in them many dis-

* By an act of Henry IV., the bishops might take into custody any persons suspected of heresy, and if they refused to abjure their errors, or relapsed after abjuration, they were to be delivered over to the secular power, and burned to death before the people. This was without trial by jury, by the bishops in their spiritual courts. *Neal*, I. p. 6.

The act of Richard II. enacted, that "all who preached without licence against the Catholic faith should be arrested, and kept in prison till they justified themselves according to the law and reason of holy church. This commitment was to be by act from the chancellor." In the beginning of the reign of Henry V. it was enacted, that "the Lollards, or Wickliffites, should forfeit all the lands they had in fee simple, and all their goods and chattels to the king." (*P.*)

† *Ibid.* p. 14. (*P.*) See Vol. V. p. 340.

orders, and the account of them being printed, a great indignation was excited against the whole system.* On this, some of the monasteries voluntarily surrendered their revenues to the king,† and by an act of parliament, in A. D. 1536, all the monasteries whose revenues did not exceed two hundred pounds per annum, were suppressed. In A. D. 1537, the greater monasteries were in like manner given up. On this occasion the shrine of Thomas à Becket was broken, and the gold belonging to it was so much, that it filled two chests, each of which took eight men to carry it out of the church.‡

That the monasteries in general were in a very disorderly state in this reign, may be safely concluded from what we find concerning them in the reign immediately preceding; when the dissolute manners of the clergy, especially of the regulars, were much talked of, and gave great offence to the laity; who were provoked to see the immense possessions bestowed upon the church, by the piety of their ancestors, so shamefully abused.

The court of Rome becoming apprehensive that this discontent of the laity might have serious consequences, Pope Innocent VIII. sent a bull to archbishop Morton, in March A. D. 1490, in which he acquaints him, that “he had heard with great grief, from persons worthy of credit, that the monks of all the different orders in England had grievously degenerated, and that, giving themselves up to a degenerate sense, they led lewd and dissolute lives, by which they

* *Burnet*, I. pp. 174, 175.

† See the forms of *Surrender* in *Hist. of Popery*, II. pp. 433, 434. “The friars of St. Francis in Stamford,” profess to have discovered, that “the perfection of Christian living dothe not consiste in the dome ceremonies, werying of the grey coote, disgeasing ourselfe after straunge fashions, *dokyng* and *beckyng*, in gurdng ourselfs with a gurdle full of knots, and other like papistical ceremonies, wherein wee have byn moost principally practised and misselyd in times past; but the very tru way to please God, and to live a tru Christian man, wytheowt all ypocrasie and fayned dissimulation, is sincerely declaryd unto us by our Master Christe, his Evangelists and Apostles.” *Ibid.* p. 433.

‡ See Vol. IX. p. 331. *Burnet*, I. pp. 233, 234. That *flaming* Protestant, *Bale*, took occasion from this demolition of the shrines to give *Henry*, in 1544, the following hints for the persecution of Papists:

“Soche tyme as oure most worthye soverayne Kyng Henrye the VIII. now lyving, after the most godlye example of Kyng Josias vsyted the temples of his realme, he perseyed the synnefull shryne of this Becket to be unto his people a most pernycouse evyll, and therefore in the worde of the Lorde he utterlye amonge other destroyed yt. If he had upon that and soche other abhominable Shrynes brent those ydolatrouse prestes which were (and are yet) theyr chefe maynteners, he had fulfilled that godlye historye through out. But that which was not than performed in hope of theyr amendement, maye by chaunce lyght upon them hereafter, whan no gentyll warnyng will seme to be regarded.” *Brefe Chronycle*, pp. 109, 110.

brought ruin upon their own souls, set a bad example to others, and gave great offence and scandal to many.”

He then directed the primate to admonish the abbots and priors of all the convents in his province to reform themselves, and those under them; and if any of them did not obey the admonition, he gave him authority to visit and reform them by ecclesiastical censures, to cut off incurable members by deprivation, and to call the secular arm to his assistance when it was necessary.

In obedience to this bull, the archbishop sent monitory letters to the superiors of all the convents and religious houses in his province, admonishing and commanding them, by the authority he had received from the Pope, to reform themselves and their subjects from certain vices, of which they were said to be guilty, and of which he accused them.

The monitory letter that was sent on this occasion to the abbot of St. Alban's, has been published. If that abbot and his monks were stained with all the odious vices of which the primate in his letter says they were notoriously guilty, “they were,” says Dr. Henry,* “a most execrable crew, and stood much in need of reformation. Some of these vices,” he adds, “are so detestable, that they cannot be so much as named in history.

“You are infamous,” says the archbishop to the abbot, “for simony, usury, and squandering the possessions of your monastery, besides other enormous crimes mentioned below.” One of these crimes was, that he had turned all the modest women out of the two nunneries of Pray and Sapwell, (over which he pretended to have a jurisdiction,) and filled them with prostitutes; that they were esteemed no better than brothels, and that he and his monks publicly frequented them as such.

The archbishop seemed to be well-informed; for he names some of those infamous women and their gallants. The monks were at least as profligate as their abbot: for besides keeping concubines both within and without the monastery, he accuses them of stealing the church plate and jewels out of the shrine of their patron St. Alban. He allows them sixty days to reform from all their vices, especially from cutting down the woods, and stealing the plate and jewels of the monastery; but if they did not reform in that time, and become very chaste, honest and good monks, he threatens them with a visitation.

* From whose *History of England*, XII. p. 3, I quotethus. (P.)

What effect this monitory letter had on the abbot and his monks we are not informed. It is probable, the historian adds, that it was not great: for we learn from the same letter that they had been several times admonished before to no purpose. When the monastics lived in idleness, wallowed in wealth and luxury, and were doomed to celibacy, the temptation to certain vices, he justly observes, was too strong to be overcome by monitory letters, which they probably considered as things of course.

Speaking of the monasteries after their dissolution, Dr. Henry says, "the visitations that preceded their suppression discovered, if credit be due to the inspectors, crimes the most degrading to human nature. Hypocritical sanctity and holy frauds, are congenial to every monastic institution, and the counterfeit relics imposed on the vulgar, or the artifices practised to support their credit, are to be regarded as the established trade of religious orders. Intemperance also is to be expected wherever ascetics have obtained a relaxation from rigid discipline. But the reports are replete with other crimes of a deeper complexion, the lewdness of the monks, the incontinence of the nuns, and the abortions forcibly procured by the latter, and the monstrous lusts which the former indulged. The particulars would stain and dishonour our page. Yet an historian, anxious for the dignity of human nature, might wish to believe that the reports of the visitors were inflamed by zeal, and perverted by an interested and malignant policy. It is difficult to conceive that they would venture, unsupported by evidence, to accuse a community, of crimes repugnant to human nature; and their veracity seems to be vindicated by their solicitude to preserve some convents whose conduct was exemplary. But these crimes were apparently notorious; nor is their existence doubtful, or the licentious lives of the regulars disputable, when their debaucheries had already attracted the papal indignation, and their crimes incurred the censures and menaces of the archbishop. If at the commencement of this period the monks of St. Alban had begun, in different convents, to displace the nuns and substitute prostitutes, it is not probable that their morals were afterwards improved, or their discipline re-established."*

In this year [1536] the Bible was printed in English, and

* *History*, XII. p. 357. (P.)

a copy was ordered to be put into all the churches.* But notwithstanding this, so zealous was the king for the doctrines of Popery, that the next year Lambert, who had been associated with Tindal in this translation of the Bible, was burned for denying the corporal presence,† and six articles were enforced by act of parliament, in A. D. 1539, to prevent diversity of opinion. They related to communion in one kind, the observance of the vows of chastity, private masses, the celibacy of the clergy, and auricular confession. However, on the remonstrance of the ambassador from the German princes, the king said the act was necessary to

* *Burnet*, l. p. 238. *Abridgment*, Ed. 6, l. pp. 150, 152, 203, 204.

“The first time holy scripture was printed in English was about the year 1526, and that was only the New Testament, about that time translated by *William Tindal*, assisted by *Joy* and *Constantine*, and printed in some foreign parts. This whole impression was almost all bought up and burnt at St. Paul’s Cross, by bishop *Tunstall* and Sir *Thomas More*. Whereupon *Tindal* revised and corrected his translation, and printed it again about the year 1530.

“In the year 1532, *Tindal* and his companions finished the whole Bible, and printed it in foreign parts, all but the *Apocrypha*. Some time after this, whilst a second edition was preparing, *Tindal* was taken up and burnt for heresy in Flanders. However, the work was carried on by *John Rogers*. He added prefaces and notes out of *Luther*, and dedicated the whole to King Henry VIII., under the borrowed name of *Thomas Matthews*; for which reason this has been commonly called *Matthews’s Bible*. This was printed at *Hamburgh*. The prefaces and notes gave such offence, that it was not thought fit to be set up in the churches. Besides, there were but fifteen hundred of them printed, and not in the largest volume; so that they could not be so much dispersed as the Bible ought to be, in the vulgar tongue.

“It was now resolved to print the Bible in a large volume, and to procure an order to have it set up in all churches for public use. *Miles Coverdale* was therefore employed to revise *Tindal’s* translation, which he did, comparing it with the *Hebrew*, and mending it in several places.

“This Bible was printed of the largest volume, in the year 1540, and in the month of May, that year, the king, by his proclamation, ordered, that ‘this Bible should be provided by the curates and parishioners of every parish, and set up in their churches, under the penalty of forty shillings a month, every month they should be without one, after *All Saints’* day in that year.’ He also, in that same proclamation, set the price of the book, at ten shillings unbound, and well-bound and clasped, not above twelve shillings; and accordingly, it was set up in the cathedral and parish churches. For *Bonner*, then newly made Bishop of London, set up six of them in convenient places in St. Paul’s Church; and I find, in the church-wardens’ accounts for that year, in the parish of *Wye*, that twelve-pence was paid for making a desk for the Bible. After this, there were several other impressions of this Bible, though about two years after, the popish bishops obtained of the king to have it suppressed again: and from henceforth, that Bible was stopped from being printed or sold during the remainder of King Henry the Eighth’s reign.” See “An Essay upon the *English translation of the Bible*.” *Bibliotheca Literaria*, 1722, No. IV. pp. 3—6. See also *Lewis* on “the several English translations in the reign of Henry VIII.” *Complete History*, Ed. 2, 1789, pp. 72—154.

A copy of *Tindal’s* first edition of the New Testament, in 1526, supposed to be the only one in England, is in the Baptist library at Bristol. It was presented by the late Dr. Gifford, a minister of the Baptist persuasion, and a librarian of the British Museum. See *Beloe’s Anecdotes*, III., and *Annual Review*, VII. p. 794.

+ *Burnet*, l. pp. 241—243. *Life of Master John Lambert*, in *Clarke’s Martyrologie*, 1652, p. 80—88.

repress the insolence of some persons, but that it should not be carried into execution except in cases of great provocation.*

In A. D. 1547, the king died, and was succeeded by his son Edward VI., a young prince, but of great capacity and much knowledge, and a sincere promoter of the Reformation, in which he was warmly seconded by Cranmer, who had been exposed to much danger in the latter part of Henry's life. One of the first things that was done by the privy council (which had all the royal power till the king should be of age) was, to procure the composition of certain homilies, or discourses, chiefly in favour of the Reformation, ordering them to be read in churches, and to direct that an English translation of Erasmus's Paraphrase of the New Testament, together with a new translation of the Bible, should be lodged in them all.†

A strict charge was also given for the due observance of the Lord's day, which was directed to be wholly employed in the duties of religion, or in acts of charity; only in time of harvest persons were allowed to work, as well as on other festival days. A general visitation of all the churches was appointed, and in the mean time the jurisdiction of the bishops was suspended.‡ When the parliament met, an act was passed to repeal that of the six articles, enacted in the preceding reign, and also all the acts against the Lollards. Communion in both kinds was allowed, and a new Liturgy

* "Many complaints" being made in this reign "of those that were licensed to preach, that they might be able to justify themselves, they began generally to write and read their sermons;" and this was the beginning to the preaching from notes. All preaching before this time was extempore, or from memory. *Burnet*, [Abridgment,] I. p. 270. England is the only country in which preaching is generally from notes, the discourses being carefully precomposed. (*P.*)

Burnet adds to the passage here quoted from him—"Thus did this custom begin, in which what is wanting in the heat and force of delivery, is much made up by the strength and solidity of the matter." This was handsomely said by one who was among the most ready and practised *extempore* preachers of his age. See the Life annexed to his *Own Times*, fol. 2, p. 675, and *Note*. It is, however, to be regretted when the *matter* of a sermon wants the advantage of a familiar manner, and seems to have been prepared rather for the press than for the pulpit.

† It was also directed, "that all dignified clergymen should preach personally twice a year.—That the people should be taught not to despise any of the ceremonies, not yet abrogated; but to beware of the superstition of sprinkling their beds with holy water, or the ringing of bells, or using of blessed candles for driving away devils.—That they should, in bidding the prayers, pray for souls departed this life." *Burnet*, II. pp. 25, 26. *Abridgment*, II. pp. 24, 25. Bishop Hurd remarks, with approbation, that the *Reformation* in England, "advanced, under the eye of the magistrate, by slow degrees; nay, it was more than once checked and kept back by him." *Hurd's Sermons*, Ed. 2, 1777, L. p. 259.

‡ *Burnet*, II. p. 27. *Abridgment*, II. pp. 24—26.

was composed in English.* In A. D. 1548, another act was passed permitting the marriage of the clergy.†

Unhappily, the spirit of the Reformation was not thought to be inconsistent with that of persecution, and in this year there arrived some Anabaptists from Germany, and among them some who “denying a trinity of persons in the god-head, and maintaining that Christ was not God, and did not take flesh of the Virgin,” were exposed to it. The most distinguished sufferer was Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent, who, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the young king, was burned alive; Cranmer persuading him that, being God’s lieutenant, he was bound in the first place to punish offences against God.‡

George Van Paris, a Dutchman, being convicted of saying that “God the Father was the only God, and that Christ was not very God,” was condemned in the same manner with Joan of Kent, and burned in Smithfield April 25th, A. D. 1551. He was a man of strict virtue and great piety, and he suffered with great constancy, kissing the stake and the faggots that were to burn him.§ These cases were justly brought by the Catholics against criminals in the time of queen Mary.||

* *Burnet*, II. pp. 69—72. “In the first book of *Edward VI.*, there were these prayers for the dead:—*Priest.* From the gates of hell, *Answer.* Deliver their souls, O Lord.

“O Lord! grant unto this thy servant, that the sins which he committed in this world be not imputed to him, but that he, escaping the gates of hell and pains of eternal darkness, may ever dwell in the region of light, with *Abraham, Isaac* and *Jacob*, in the place where there is no weeping, sorrow, or heaviness; and when that dreadful day of the general resurrection shall come, make him to rise also with the just and righteous, and receive this body again to glory, then made pure and incorruptible.” *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 482.

In 1549, an act was passed in parliament, “confirming the Liturgy,” which the “learned and discreet bishops, and divines, by the aid of the Holy Ghost, had, with one uniform agreement, concluded on.” *Burnet*, II. p. 89. *Abridgment*, II. p. 69. For the severity with which this Liturgy was now imposed, see Vol. V. p. 342.

† *Burnet*, II. p. 84.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 107. *Records*, pp. 10, 152—154. *Abridgment*, II. p. 81. See Vol. V. p. 342.

§ *Burnet*, II. p. 107. *Abridgment*, II. p. 82.

|| *Neal*, I. p. 50. (*P.*) Fox the martyrologist, published at Basil, in 1559, a Latin work, written during his exile, entitled *Rerum in Ecclesia gestarum, ve. Commentarii. Pars Prima. Autore Joanne Foxo.* In this work, among the passages which Protestant policy could not venture to translate into the *Book of Martyrs*, are the following, which I am induced to quote, as the original is now, I believe, a very scarce book. I never saw it, but in *Williams’s Library*.

The author has described Bishop Gardiner as “*furca profecto quam turri dignior,*” and praised the lenity of Edward’s reign, during which of Papists “*multus vitam perdidit,*” he adds, “*Cæterum ob religionem fideique rationem, nulla persecutionis flamma in caedem ejus quam grassabatur, nisi quod Thomas quidam cognomento Dobæus, primo regnantis Edwardi anno, carcere mulctatus extinctusque sit.*”

Strype says, that "Arianism shewed itself so openly" in the reign of Edward VI., "and was in such danger of spreading farther, that it was thought necessary to suppress it by using more rugged methods than seemed agreeable to the merciful principles of the profession of the gospel."*

In A. D. 1550, farther progress was made in the Reformation. Images were ordered to be defaced, all the prayers to the saints were struck out of the primer published by the late king, a book of ordination was published, the book of common prayer was revised, altars were put down, and in A. D. 1551, forty-two articles of religion (the same that were afterwards reduced to thirty-nine) were agreed on.† All these things were confirmed in the convocation of the clergy, who in general complied with the new regulations. Also a reformation of the ecclesiastical laws was prepared.

Postque cum quo alii incendio occubuerint, quorum alter Germanus Moguntinus: altera femina fuit Cantiana."

Thomas *Dobens* appears to have been apprehended for publicly interrupting the Popish mass in St. Paul's, before it was suppressed by authority, and to have died in prison after a short confinement. "Cui tamen si ad pauculos superfuisset dies venia, ac instrumenta jam restituendæ libertatis ad parabantur, intercedente apud Ducissam D. Protectoris Joanna illa Cantiana, quæ tum frequens ei in carcere ministravit." Fox adds, p. 202:

"Post hæc uno deinceps aut altero anno condemnati sunt ab Archiepiscopo Cant. et exusti, duo alii sexu non minus quam opinionibus inter se diversi. Quippe mas alter, et Germanus de divina Christi essentia. Altera, de humanitate quam, è cælo devectam, non è matre susceptam putabat, à Catholicis nonnihil dissentire videbantur. Ac Germanus quidem ille Georgius dicebatur: at femina vero Joanna appellabatur ex patria, Cantiana, mulier, alioqui si eo vacasset errore, et in Scripturis prompta, quum tamen nihil sciret legere, et etiam officiosa maximè in eos si quos carceres haberent captivos, quibus illa perpetuò adesse consuevit. Londini tandem exusta est, Anno 1550, Maii 2.

"Altero demum anno, post ejus cineres, eodem supplicii genere affectus est Germanus ille, quem dico, cognomento Georgius, Anno 1551. Germanorum, hoc tempore, ecclesiam moderante Joanne à Lasco. Rudis erat is prorsus literarum atque doctrinæ expertus. Porrò, ne sermonis quidem illius guarus, in quo condemnatus est. Unde quam per se non potuit, per interpretum respondere episcopum Exoniens [Coverdale] cogabatur. Vitæ alioqui integræ et inculpata: à suis dicebatur conterraneis. Herum habebat Moguntinum quemdam, virum nobilem, qui scriptis ad Cant. literis in Angliam magnoperè pro illius salute deprecatus est. Idem et ab uxore etiam illius factitatum, si precibus impetrari vitæ. Utinam talis vitæ aut in eam non incidisset opinionem: aut aliter ea quam morte illi potuisset eximi, vitæque divinæ gratiæ relinqui, si ita visum esset ecclesiæ proceribus. Sed ingenio mitissimus Cant. qui et ipse, ut post dicemus, exustus est non tam in eo naturam suam, quam ducis Northumbriæ imperiari secutus dicebatur." Northumberland probably has persecuted in any direction which might appear to suit the views of his ambition, but I am not aware of any historical authority for this *charge* of supposition in favour of Crammer.

* *Lindsey's Historical View*, p. 84. (P.)

† "To root out the discord of opinions and establish the true agreement of the religion." *Essay on the Articles*, (by Collins,) 1724, p. 2. See the form of the Article on Church Authority, *ibid.* pp. 4, 5.

But while things were in this progress, the king died,* and being succeeded by his sister Mary, who was a bigotted Catholic,† all the steps that had been taken to promote the Reformation were reversed, and the favourers of it were exposed to a dreadful persecution. Cranmer was presently imprisoned, and in the first parliament in this new reign all the late laws relating to religion were repealed. In A. D. 1554, the kingdom was solemnly reconciled to the holy see, and the year following many were publicly burned alive for heresy. Cranmer at first recanted, but afterwards suffered with great heroism.

The first who suffered in this reign was John Rogers, a reader of divinity in St. Paul's church; and it is something remarkable that he, as well as Cranmer, had approved of the burning of Joan Bocher, in the preceding reign. When she was under sentence of death, a friend of Mr. Rogers earnestly requested him to use his interest with the archbishop that she might only be kept in prison, and not put to death. When he would not consent to this, his friend begged that he would plead for some easier kind of death than that of being burned alive. But to this, Rogers replied, that burning alive was not a very cruel death, but easy enough. To this his friend, taking him by the hand, said with peculiar earnestness, "Well, perhaps it may so happen that you yourselves may have your hands full of this mild burning."‡ Whether Mr. Rogers ever changed his opinion on the subject of persecution, does not appear; but, though a persecutor himself, no person could behave with more firmness, or more propriety in all respects, when it came to his turn to suffer, than Mr. Rogers did.

It was computed, that in this reign two hundred and eighty-four were burned alive, many more were imprisoned, and sixty died in prison, or of the tortures to which they were exposed. Many fled from this violent persecution.

* July 6, 1553. Buchanan mentioning his death, describes Edward as a youth "maxima expectationis, propter raram ad omne genus virtutis indolem et naturam inditam, et doctrina exultantam." *Historia*, L. xvi. Sect. iv. p. 460.

† And who, it should not be forgotten, had been restrained in the exercise of her own religion, and almost insulted by the *Reformers* during the short day of their power under Edward. See *Burnet, Abridgment*, II. pp. 132—137. Ridley's *Life of Bishop Ridley*, 1763, pp. 280, 329—331, 379—381.

‡ *Crosby's History of the English Baptists*, I. p. 60. (P.) *Mon. Repos.* VII. pp. 363, &c. "Ingenti spiritus ardore, illius compresse dextram tenebat, suam dextræ dextram collidens: Age, inquit, usu fortasse veniet, ut ipsi manus aliquando vestras plenas tum mihi habeatis, incendio." Such is the language of *Fox*, from whose *Commentarii* this narrative is taken. Mr. Pierce, who translates the passage more at large, very probably concludes that "*Rogers's* friend was no other than *Fox* himself." *Vindication*, Ed. 2, 1713, p. 34.

especially to Frankfort and other cities of Germany, where the Reformation had been carried farther than in England.*

According to Mr. Neal, the number that suffered death in the reign of queen Mary was not less than two hundred and seventy-seven persons, of whom five were bishops, twenty-one clergymen, eight gentlemen, eighty-four tradesmen, one hundred husbandmen, labourers and servants, fifty-five women, and four children. Besides these, there were fifty-four under persecution, seven of whom were whipped. Sixteen perished in prison. The rest who were making ready for the fire, were preserved by the death of the queen.†

The Lutherans would not receive those who fled from the persecution of queen Mary, because they were Sacramentarians. Melancthon interfered for them, but without effect.‡ The number of refugees was about eight hundred.

But in A. D. 1558, the queen died, and being succeeded by Elizabeth, the Reformation was resumed. The next year, the English Liturgy was again used, and a new translation of the Bible was made. Many of those who now returned to England were advocates for a more complete reformation, but the queen resolutely opposed them, and insisted on a strict conformity to every thing that she thought proper to fix, even with respect to the use of things allowed to be in themselves indifferent, as the popish vestments, &c. On this, many persons refusing to comply, were exposed to great hardships, as they continued to be in all that and the following reign of the Stuarts. Professing a purer religion than that which was established by law, they got the appellation of *Puritans*. Their history will be given in the next period.

SECTION XV.

Of the Reformation in Scotland and Ireland.

SCOTLAND, in consequence of a long series of civil wars, which had almost desolated the country, had not, in the time of Luther, its natural proportion of learned men.§

* Burnet, [Abridgment,] II. p. 304. (P.) Hist. II. pp. 338, 339.

† Neal, I. p. 66. (P.)

‡ Ibid. I. p. 101. (P.)

§ Buchanan describes, under the year 1546, the disposition of the priests to punish those who read the New Testament. He then adds, "Illa tempestate id inter gravissima crimina numerabatur: tantaque erat cæcitas, ut sacerdotum plærique novitatis nomine-offensi, contenderent eum librum nuper à Martino Luthero fuisse scriptum, ac vetus testamentum reposerent." *Historia*, L. xv. Sect. xxix. 1762, p. 438.

But notwithstanding this disadvantage, the Reformation was introduced into this country at a very early period by several persons who had resided in Germany; and being embraced by some of the nobility, and other men of great power and influence, very few suffered in consequence of it. The only martyr of much note was Patrick Hamilton. He was nephew to the earl of Arran, by his father, and to the duke of Albany, by his mother, and an abbey was given to him for the prosecution of his studies. But on his travels he became acquainted with Luther and Melancthon, and adopting their opinions, he openly preached them on his return to his own country. Being, in consequence of this, apprehended and committed to prison, and afterwards appearing before Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews, together with the archbishop of Glasgow, three bishops, and five abbots, he was condemned as an obstinate heretic, and ordered for execution on the afternoon of the same day.* This was while the king was absent on a pilgrimage; for they were apprehensive of the friends of Mr. Hamilton making interest for him.

When he was fastened to the stake he expressed great joy, and the fire not taking effect immediately, for want of gunpowder, the friars were very urgent with him to recant, and especially one Campbell, who had frequently been with him in prison. But he replied to them all with great energy, and particularly to Campbell, charging him to answer for his conduct before God. When the gunpowder was brought, and the fire rekindled, he died, frequently repeating *Lord Jesus, receive my spirit*. It is remarkable that, soon after, Campbell became insane, and died within the year, and this, as well as the behaviour of Hamilton, made a great impression on the people.

After this, a friar saying in his confession to another, that he thought Hamilton was a good man, and the confessor discovering it, this was received as evidence, and he was condemned and burned.† Many others were brought before the bishops' courts, and the greater part of them abjured,

* In 1527, he was burned alive at St. Andrews, according to Buchanan, who describes him as "Juvenis, ingenio summo et eruditione singulari, conjuratione sacerdotum oppressus." *Historia*, L. xiv. Sect. xxxii. p. 403. "This reformer had not attained the twenty-fourth year of his age," says Dr. Stuart. "His youth, his virtue, his magnanimity and his sufferings, all operated in his favour with the people." *Hist. of Reform. in Scotland*, 1805, pp. 7, 8.

† This was "Henry Forest, a Benedictine Friar." His "guilt was aggravated by the discovery that he was in possession of a New Testament." He suffered in 1538. *Ibid.* pp. 9, 10.

but two, of the names of Gourlay and Straton, were condemned and burned.*

The king, who was very expensive both in his pleasures and his buildings, and consequently in great want of money, especially to provide for his many natural children, being told by the clergy that from the persecution of the heretics he might raise a hundred thousand crowns a year, and provide for his children in the abbeys and priories, gave into their measures; when a canon, regular, a secular priest, two friars, and a gentleman were burned.

The archbishop of Glasgow disliked these persecuting measures, and when Russel, a friar, and Kennedy, a young man of eighteen years of age, were brought before him, and behaved with uncommon firmness and joy, he was staggered, and appeared unwilling to pass sentence, saying that these executions did more harm to the church than good; but being urged by the clergy about him, saying that he must not act differently from the other bishops, he pronounced the sentence, and they were burned; but they behaved with so much patience and joy, as made a great impression both on the spectators and those who heard of it.† George Buchanan, a most excellent Latin poet and historian, and who, at the king's instigation, had written an admirable poem, entitled *Franciscanus*, against the monks,‡ being now abandoned by the king, fled into France, and lived twenty years in foreign countries.§

The most active promoter of the Reformation by his preaching, was John Knox, a disciple of Calvin, who came to Scotland in A. D. 1559, a man of great zeal, undaunted resolution and popular eloquence; and being supported by a strong party who opposed the court, he was not exposed to much personal danger. ¶

* In 1531. "Two private gentlemen, Norman Gourlay and David Straton." *Stuart*, pp. 10, 11.

† "Mr. Kennedy seemed disposed to disavow his opinions, and to sink under the weight of a cruel affliction; but the exhortation and example of Russel awakening his courage, his mind assumed a firmness and constancy, his countenance became cheerful, and he exclaimed with a joyful voice, 'Now, I defy thee, death; I praise my God; I am ready.'" *Ibid.* pp. 11, 12.

‡ See *supra*, p. 69, and *Note* †.

§ Buchanan fled from Scotland in 1539, to escape the vengeance of cardinal Beaton, who had offered the king a price for his head. He first took refuge in England. What he found there he thus describes: "Ibi tum omnia adeo erant incerta, ut eodem die ac eodem igne utriusque factionis homines cremarentur." *Vita*. He returned to Scotland in 1560. *Ibid.*

¶ Knox had been "sent to France with the conspirators against cardinal Beaton," where "he was confined to the galleys, but had obtained his liberty in 1549." In 1556, he was "making a progress through Scotland." The same year he "accepted the charge of the English congregation at Geneva." In 1559, he again "arrived

Ireland followed the fate of England in all its changes with respect to the Reformation. There all the views of Henry VIII. were carried into execution by George Browne, a monk of the order of Augustin, who had been made archbishop of Dublin in A. D. 1535. He was deprived of his dignity by queen Mary, but under Elizabeth the Reformation was re-established in Ireland as well as in England.*

SECTION XVI.

Of the Reformation in the Northern and Eastern Countries of Europe.

1. Of the Reformation in Sweden.

THE Reformation was first preached in Sweden, by Olaus Petri, a disciple of Luther, soon after his rupture with Rome, and he was powerfully seconded by Gustavus Vasa Erickson, who had been just raised to the throne in the place of Christiern II., king of Denmark, whose cruelty had made them revolt. He sent for learned divines from Germany, and procured the Scriptures to be translated into the Swedish language. Much reputation was also gained to the side of the reformers by a public disputation, held by order of the king, at Upsal, in A. D. 1526. The year following the assembly of the states established the Reformation, and Gustavus was declared to be head of the church of Sweden.†

2. Of the Reformation in Denmark.

Christiern II., though a tyrant, was a zealous promoter of the Reformation in *Denmark*, and for this purpose, in A. D. 1520, he sent for Martin Reinard out of Saxony, and made him professor of divinity at Copenhagen. After his death, which happened the year following, he procured Carolostadt to succeed him; and he making but a short stay there, the king endeavoured to induce Luther himself to go thither.

in Scotland, in compliance with the second invitation which had been addressed to him by the leaders of the Protestants." *Stuart*, pp. 108, 111, 152.

* See "The Reformation of the Church in Ireland." *Phoenix*, 1707, No. v. 1. pp. 120—138. *Biog. Brit.* II. pp. 622—624. *Browne* on the *Jesuits* is quoted, Vol. V. p. 462, *Note*.

† "After warm debates, fomented by the clergy in general, and much opposition on the part of the bishops, in particular.—There was no country in Europe where that order and the clergy in general drew greater temporal advantages from the superstition of the times; while the nobility were in misery and want." *Moshem*, Cent. xvi. Sect. i. Ch. ii. Par. xxx. and *MacLaine's Note* [o].

His views were probably similar to those of Henry VIII. of England. He wished to make himself independent of the Pope, and to appropriate to himself the great church livings in his dominions.

Though this king was deposed in A. D. 1523, his uncle Frederic, who succeeded him, was as much a friend to the Reformation, and conducted himself with more prudence. At an assembly of the states, in A. D. 1527, he procured an edict to be published, declaring all the subjects of Denmark free to profess either the Catholic religion or that of Luther, on which the greater part of the people chose the latter. The Reformation was completed by Christiern III., a prince of exemplary prudence and piety. He reduced the authority of the bishops, and restored much of the possessions of the clergy to the heirs of the ancient owners, both these having become exorbitant in all the northern kingdoms. This prince sent for Bugenhagius from Wittemberg, to draw up a plan of religious doctrine, discipline and worship, which was approved at an assembly of the states held at Odensee, in A. D. 1539. Instead of bishops, Christiern appointed *superintendants* of the churches, without any temporal authority whatever.*

3. *Of the Reformation in Poland.*

The Reformation soon spread into *Poland*, both by means of the Lutherans, the Reformed in Switzerland, and the Bohemian Brethren, all of whom were well received by many of the nobility of that country; nor was the king himself ill-disposed towards them; and in A. D. 1555, the Protestants held their first general synod at Caminiec, when the confession of the Bohemian Brethren was read and approved, all parties giving each other the right hand of fellowship, and receiving the communion together.†

During the long reign of Sigismond, which was forty-two years, the German reformers poured their disciples into Poland; and the Lutherans, assisted by the Bohemian Brethren, taught with so much success, that Popery was reduced to the lowest ebb. Several of the nobility became their patrons, and the senate itself was filled with friends of reformation.‡

* *Mosheim*, Cent. xvi. Sect. i. Ch. ii. Par. xxxii.

† *Crantz*. (P.) *La Tröbe*, 1786, p. 50.

‡ *Robinson*, p. 560. (P.)

4. *Of the Reformation in Hungary and Transylvania.*

The Reformation was introduced into these countries in A. D. 1518, (which was only one year after Luther began to preach against indulgences in Germany,) by means of some merchants who brought books on the subject of religion into those countries; and they are among the very few in which it made a rapid progress with little opposition, or persecution of the friends of reformation. Not that the clergy were less violent than in other countries, or the sovereigns less disposed to favour them; but they were counteracted by the grandees, whose power was superior to that of any other order of men. In A. D. 1521, some merchants of Hermenstadt (*Cibinium*) brought several of Luther's books from Leipsic into Transylvania, as on the subject of Christian liberty, auricular confession, penance, monastic vows, communion in both kinds, and on the *Captivity of Babylon*, by the reading of which the eyes of many, the historian says, were opened.

At Vihely in Upper Hungary, the Reformation was promoted by Michael Sicklosi, and in Transylvania the business was undertaken by two persons whose names are not certainly known, but one of them was thought to have been Ambrose of Silesia, and the other George, of the order of preaching friars. These preached with the greatest vehemence against the abuses of Popery, at Hermenstadt. Complaint being made of this, they were called to appear before the bishop of Strigonia. How they were treated by him is not said, but soon after they left the country. The principal magistrate in this city at this time, was Marcus Pefflinger, and a person of great experience and prudence. He not only read the works of Luther himself, but recommended the reading of them to others. He was opposed by Matthias Colman, but this person died soon after the contest began. A circumstance that greatly contributed to promote the Reformation in this city was a contest, probably of some standing, between the inhabitants and their bishop. King Lewis endeavoured by an edict dated at Buda, in A. D. 1522, to check the progress of the Reformation by some violent measures; but owing to the intercession of Pefflinger, and the absence of the newly-appointed bishop, who was then at Rome, the persecution did not take place. Another severe edict was procured by the clergy in A. D. 1523, but nothing appears to have been done in consequence of it.

In A. D. 1524, several persons went from Hungary and Transylvania to study at Wittenberg, with a view to qualify themselves to promote the Reformation with more effect. At the same time the new bishop sent commissaries with letters to the senate at Hermenstadt, requiring them to execute the king's edict; and in consequence of this, many of the writings of Luther were taken from the citizens and publicly burned. Among these was a German psalter of Luther, which, when in flames, (probably by some accident in stirring the fire, and the direction of the wind,) fell upon the head of one of the commissaries; and whether in consequence of the injury he received from the fire, or being, as some thought, struck with terror, he soon after died. However, the only effect of this measure of the bishop was, that the principles of the Reformation were from this time more generally and more publicly avowed than they had been before; and this, notwithstanding another order of the bishop, under pain of greater excommunication, to prohibit the reading of the books, and burning all that could be found of them.

In A. D. 1525, an order was procured for the banishment of all the Lutherans out of the kingdom, or to apprehend and burn them, but no regard was paid to it; and the same year the Reformation was preached at Buda, where the court resided, by Simon Gryncæus and Vitus Weirshemius, the presidents of the public schools in that city; but being obliged to fly, Gryncæus went to Basil, where he was made professor of philosophy, and Vitus went to Wittenberg, where he was made professor of the Greek language. Their places were supplied by other persons sent by Luther and Melancthon, and among them was John Honter, who was followed by Leonard Stokell, both of whom, however, went to Transylvania.

In the year following, the archbishop of Buda, seconded by the clamours of the inferior clergy, endeavoured to persuade the king to destroy Pefflinger, and all the other favourers of the doctrine of Luther; but he was prevented by a formidable invasion of the Turks, whom he marched to oppose. He, however, wrote to this count, promising him his favour if, from that time he would do his duty in exterminating the Lutherans. He, however, deferred doing any thing till after a journey which he undertook to meet the king: but they never did meet, the king being defeated and killed in the fatal battle of Mohacs.

Many of the bishops who accompanied the king in this expedition, having perished with him, their revenues were

administered by laymen, who were the greatest promoters of the Reformation; and the return of count Pefflinger soon put an end to the proceedings of the monks in the execution of the edicts. As they had proscribed George of Silesia, and his companions, the count took them to his own house, and encouraged them to preach in the most public manner; and from this time all the inhabitants of Hermenstadt, and by degrees those of the neighbouring towns, embraced the Reformation. Indeed, after the battle of Mohacs, most of the counts and barons of Hungary joined the Reformers, and protected their preachers.

King John being defeated by Ferdinand, and flying to Poland, left the administration in the hands of Alexius Bethlen, a person of great moderation, who was urged in vain by the Catholics to adopt violent measures; and in A. D. 1529, on a report that the forces of Ferdinand had been defeated, the magistrates of Hermenstadt published an edict, ordering the monks either to abjure Popery, or leave the city on pain of death.

In A. D. 1530, five of the free cities of Upper Hungary sent a confession of their Protestant faith to Ferdinand, and many persons of the highest rank and the greatest power in Hungary, openly defended the Reformation.

At the return of king John to Buda, in A. D. 1533, the clergy left nothing unattempted to induce him to suppress the Reformation by the most violent methods; and the archbishop sent to prison a priest who had preached against the fasts of the church of Rome; and after having him scourged, he exposed him in the streets, with hares, geese and fowls fastened to him, and then had him pursued by dogs; in consequence of which he died: but within a few days after this, being struck, it was supposed, with remorse for what he had done, the bishop became insane and died.

In A. D. 1535, Matthias Devai distinguished himself so much by his zeal in promoting the Reformation, that he was commonly called the Hungarian Luther; but he did not adopt the sentiments of Luther on the subject of the eucharist, but leaned to those of Zuinglius; and their difference of opinion was the occasion of a division among the Reformers in this part of the world, that was prejudicial to the common cause here, as it was in Germany and other places.

This Devai was not only the cause of the conversion of Gaspar Draghius, a person of high rank, who became a patron of the Reformers, but he brought over to his party

the noble city of Vehely and its neighbourhood. He also preached with much success in Buda, the capital of the kingdom, and converted many in the court of king John, the rival of Ferdinand. Being, however, apprehended and imprisoned at Buda, he was examined by John Faber, the bishop of Constance; and when he was going to prison his conductor saying, "If you were a Christian, I would bless you;" he replied, "I do not want your benediction. It is God that will bless me, and have mercy on me." How he was delivered from his imprisonment does not appear. He was again apprehended at Vienna, but by some means or other he escaped a second time. He had a public disputation with Szegeidinus a Franciscan, the particulars of which he published.

The Reformation in Hungary was also greatly promoted by John Honter above-mentioned. He was a philosopher and mathematician, and studied first at Cracow, and then at Basil, drawn by the great reputation of Reuchlin; and returning to his native country in A. D. 1533, he set up a printing office, and first published a work of Luther's on auricular confession, and other works which had before been brought from Germany, and which sold for great prices.

In A. D. 1542, the senate of Corona were induced by his zeal, to appoint him their preacher, in order to establish the Reformation in that city; and he succeeded in bringing the whole province of Barcia into the Reformation. So industrious were he and his coadjutors in this work, that before the end of A. D. 1545, it had taken place in all that province of Transylvania in which is the city of Medies, called *Media Saxonum*, and there was published a confession of the Protestant faith. The same was done at Erdod, when twenty-three ministers of the Reformation drew up twelve articles of faith, and likewise professed their assent to the articles of that confession which had been presented to the states of the empire at Augsburg.

This was a great mortification to the archbishop Martinucius, who had always been an advocate for violent measures, and who had, some time before, procured one of the Protestants to be burned alive. This person, however, had in some measure provoked his fate, having struck a woman who was worshipping before an image, when this prelate was attending the queen at her entrance into Waradin. In A. D. 1552, mention is made of another martyr to the Protestant cause in Basilius Radon, but there is no account of the circumstances of his martyrdom; and these

are the only examples of Protestant martyrs that I can find in this country.

The principal of the grandees who opposed the violent proceedings of this ecclesiastic, was Urban Batjani, whom he procured to be poisoned in A. D. 1546; and even when he had been honourably buried, he had his body taken out of the grave, and exposed on a dunghill.

Under Ferdinand, the Protestants had better treatment; for though he favoured the Catholics, in some articles which were drawn up for composing the differences of religion, in A. D. 1548; yet by the opposition and influence of the grandees, especially of Alexius Turzo, and his two sons, equally zealous with himself in the cause of reformation, the preachers were protected.

In A. D. 1549, there was a numerous synod of the Protestants, at Temeswar, when they made thirteen canons concerning the duty of pastors. In the same year died John Honter, famous for his writings and other services in the cause of the Reformation, and of general literature. At this time, however, flourished Stephen Szegedinus, who after Matthias Devai distinguished himself the most in the same cause. He also followed Devai in adhering to the doctrine of Zuinglius on the subject of the eucharist.

In A. D. 1554, the dispute about the eucharist occasioned much disturbance in the Protestant churches of these countries; and in the same year another difference arose among them occasioned by the opinion of Francis Stancarus concerning the mediatorial office of Christ, which he said depended upon his human nature only, and not at all on his divine nature; and for this opinion he suffered something like a persecution from the great majority, who dissented from him. And yet this same Stancarus urged it upon queen Isabella, and the grandees of Transylvania, to punish heretics with death; and among them he mentioned Francis David, an Unitarian, as deserving to be put to death, for declaring war, as he had said, against Jesus Christ; saying it was of divine right that they and their works should be committed to the flames.

In A. D. 1555, the emperor Ferdinand found it necessary to allow the free exercise of religion to five free cities of Upper Hungary. But the Anabaptists were persecuted in these countries as well as in all other places. This year they were ordered to leave the kingdom in one month, and though for some time the nobles detained some of them who were artisans, they could not do it long.

In A. D. 1559, there was a public disputation between the Lutherans and the Sacramentarians, which the Lutheran reporter said ended in favour of his party; and in the year following, after another conference the Sacramentarians were absolutely excluded from communion with the Lutherans. But it appears that in A. D. 1562, a great number of the Lutherans embraced their opinion.

The last article that I have to mention relating to this period, is, that in A. D. 1563, in an assembly of the states at Temeswar, it was decreed that all persons should be at full liberty to follow whatever mode of religion they pleased, without disturbing one another; and in A. D. 1564, Maximilian II. granted the same liberty to a district in Hungary inhabited chiefly by miners.

From that time to the present even Unitarians are not only exempt from persecution, but enjoy every civil privilege, at least in Transylvania, of which they occupy a large district, which was once pointed out to me on the map of that country by a person who came from Presburg.*

SECTION XVII.

A more particular Account of some of the English Martyrs.

THOUGH I have undertaken to write nothing more than a *general history* of the Christian church, I think it right to give occasionally particular accounts of transactions, especially when they seem to be necessary to give a just idea of the manners and spirit of the times to which they relate, which succinct and general accounts can never do; and yet this is always considered as one principal object in writing history. Now nothing can contribute more to give a just idea of the spirit of the different parties, viz. the Catholics and Protestants, at the time of the Reformation, than the history of the persecution of the latter by the former, where we see the temper and behaviour of both.

I also choose to be more particular in this case, because such narratives tend in an eminent manner to inspire the true spirit of Christianity, which is my principal object in writing this history; and in peaceable times this spirit is too apt to be lost in that of the world, there being nothing

* This account of the Reformation in Hungary and Transylvania is abridged from *Lampe's History*, 4to. printed at Utrecht, A. D. 1728. (P.)

in these circumstances to draw our attention to it, and excite it. In such times as these there are but few, I fear, who interest themselves in books of *martyrology*, and therefore they must be ignorant of some of the most interesting and instructive articles in ecclesiastical history; for such general histories as that of *Mosheim* and others, though valuable on several accounts, contain nothing of this kind. If this subject be thought irksome or disgusting, though it ought not to be so to any Christian, the Sections relating to it will have their separate titles, so that they may be passed over without any prejudice to the rest of the work.

In perusing these accounts, readers of the present more civilized age will be shocked at the unnecessary cruelties with which persons, and persons of the most respectable characters, were then treated. But it was the object of those who were in power to bear down all that opposed them by any methods, however barbarous and illegal. For the sake of the English reader I shall select accounts of a few of the martyrs in the time of queen Mary, abridged from the much larger accounts in that most valuable, though now too much neglected work of Mr. Fox, entitled, *The Acts and Monuments of the Church*, but more commonly known by the title of *The Book of Martyrs*, beginning with John Rogers, who was the first that was executed in this reign for his adherence to the principles of Protestantism.

Mr. Rogers was educated at Cambridge, where he distinguished himself by his application to literature, and his good conduct. After this he was chosen by the society of Merchant Adventurers to be their chaplain at Antwerp in the reign of Henry VIII.; and in this situation he gave great satisfaction to his employers. Here it was that he became acquainted with William Tindal and Miles Coverdale, who had left England on account of their religion, which by their means he was led to embrace, and he assisted them in their translation of the Scriptures into English. Here he married; and going to Wittemberg, he made farther progress in theology; and being a great proficient in the German language, the charge of a congregation was committed to him.

On the accession of king Edward, he left his establishment at Wittemberg, and returned to his native country, without any other prospect than that of promoting the Reformation. But Ridley, then bishop of London, knowing his worth, made him a prebendary of St. Paul's church, and the dean and chapter chose him to be their reader of

divinity; and this duty he discharged till the accession of queen Mary.

When she came to the Tower, it being the duty of Mr. Rogers to preach at Paul's Cross, he so earnestly exhorted the people against the doctrines of Popery, that he was summoned before the council to give an account of his sermon; and this he did with so much firmness, and yet with prudence, that at this time he was dismissed. But after the proclamation concerning preaching, he was called before the council a second time; and though he clearly foresaw his danger, and had a wife and ten children to provide for, (which he could easily have done in Germany,) he did not choose to flee, when it was in his power.

Not giving satisfaction to the council, he was at first made a prisoner in his own house, but after about half a year he was, at the procurement of bishop Bonner, sent to Newgate, and there confined with the worst criminals; and all that is known of him, and his examinations, &c. from this time, we learn from an account drawn up by himself, left in his cell after his death, and so concealed that his enemies had not found it. Otherwise it certainly would never have seen the light.

After having been kept a close prisoner in these circumstances till the 22^d of January, A. D. 1555, which was nearly a year and a half, he was brought before bishop Gardiner, the chancellor, and the rest of the privy council; when being asked if he would conform to the Catholic church, as the nation in general had done, and receive a pardon, he answered in the negative with great firmness; and after a long altercation about the supreme head of the church, the service in Latin, and the marriage of priests, to which his own marriage had given occasion, he was remanded to prison.

In the night between the 28th and 29th of the same month he was brought out again, when he remonstrated with his judges on the subject of his imprisonment, which had been contrary to the law as it then stood, and the unreasonableness of maintaining himself and his large family, when his salary, the means of his subsistence, had been taken from him. But not answering to satisfaction with respect to the doctrine of the eucharist, he was informed that with the hope of his recanting, they would forbear to proceed any farther till the next day, when about nine o'clock he was brought up again; but beginning to charge his judges with temporizing, as they had done in

the former reigns, he was not allowed to speak any more, but was sentenced to be degraded and ordered for execution, together with bishop Hooper; and then the sheriff conducted them both to Newgate.

The only request that Mr. Rogers made, was, that his wife might be permitted to have access to him the short time that he had to live, but this was denied him, Gardiner saying that she was not his wife. He replied, that she had been so, eighteen years; and farther said, that, though they were offended with the marriage of priests, they made no objection to their open whoredom: for that in Wales every priest had his where living without disguise with him, and that the priests in France and Germany did the same. To this no reply was made.

On Monday the 4th of February, early in the morning, he was informed that he must prepare for execution that very day. He was, however, first carried before bishop Bonner, who degraded him in due form, first dressing him like a priest, and then, with certain ceremonies, taking those garments off. At this time he again requested that he might be permitted to speak to his wife, who, being a stranger in the country, and with a large family, might want some advice; but he was again peremptorily refused.

As he was on his way to Smithfield, the place destined for his execution, he was met in the crowd by his wife, who had the youngest child in her arms, and was accompanied by two others; but this affecting sight did not move him from his purpose; and when he had an offer of a pardon at the stake, he would not accept of it on the condition of his recanting. Not being permitted to address the people, who attended in great crowds, he only sung as he went along, the psalm which begins with the word *miserere*, and he suffered with the greatest constancy. It is conjectured that he particularly wished to speak to his wife to inform her of the *manuscript* which he had written in the prison, and which was found by one of his sons, when they went to the place, after it had, no doubt, been examined by the keeper.

With the same constancy died many others, in these times, who, like Mr. Rogers, had themselves been advocates for the doctrine of burning heretics. But this opinion, abhorrent as it is now acknowledged to be to reason and Christianity, was then nearly, if not wholly, universal; so that the holding of it argues no particular disposition to cruelty. Protestants, of all descriptions, when in power, as well as the Catholics, acted upon it.

Bishop Hooper, as I have observed, was confined in Newgate at the same time with Mr. Rogers, and his history and martyrdom is the next that I shall give an account of.

He was educated at Oxford, and there he was equally noted for his love of literature and his zeal for religion; but the *six articles* of Henry VIII. being then published, and he not approving of them, some divines of Oxford gave him so much trouble that he left the university, and was received in the capacity of steward by Sir Thomas Arundel, who, though a zealous Catholic, was much pleased with his behaviour; and with the friendly view of reclaiming him, he sent him on a message to the bishop of Winchester, with a letter informing him of his design. By the bishop he was detained four or five days, in which his lordship endeavoured to convince him of his errors; but not succeeding, he sent him back with much commendation of his ability and learning; but from this time he conceived a rooted aversion to him on account of his opinions, and, as he would naturally think, his obstinacy.

Being warned by a friend, of his danger in continuing in the family of Sir Thomas Arundel, he fled to France, but soon returned, and was received by a Mr. Sentlow, till, a snare being laid for him, he went to Germany, where he formed a connexion with several learned Protestants, and especially at Basil and Zurich, where he formed a strict friendship with Mr. Bullinger. There he applied himself to the study of Hebrew, and also married.

On the accession of king Edward, he took an affectionate leave of Mr. Bullinger and his other friends at Zurich, and returned to England; and arriving in London, he never failed to preach once, and often twice, every day; and being very eloquent, he always had crowded audiences. Being called to preach before the king, he was soon advanced to the bishopric of Gloucester, and after two years, that of Worcester was added to it. The duties of this high office he discharged with singular assiduity and success. As he had always objected to the popish vestments, he was by the king's authority excused from using them at his installation, which gave much offence to the other bishops. To comply, therefore, with his brethren, as far as he could, he consented to be habited as they were when he preached before the king.

On the accession of queen Mary, this excellent bishop was one of the first that was sent for to appear before Gardiner and the rest of the privy council in London; and though he

was fully apprized of his danger, he refused to leave the kingdom any more; saying that, though he had fled before, he was now determined to live or die with his flock.

His appearance before the council was on the 1st of September, A. D. 1553, when, after being insulted by Gardiner, he was sent to the Fleet prison, where he was subjected to the harshest treatment, not being allowed to leave his room except just to take his meals, and for this he paid an unreasonable sum. The keeper being a creature of Gardiner's, he was by his means more strictly confined, and put into a place where nothing was given him but a bed of straw with a rotten coverlet, a tick, and a few feathers; but afterwards some charitable person sent him a bed. On one side of this place were the sink and filth of the house, and on the other side was the town ditch, so that with the stench of the place he contracted several diseases. When in this situation, he was sometimes near dying, and called for help; the warden, who heard him, ordered the door to be kept closed, and suffered no servant to go near him; saying, that if he died, there would be a good riddance of him, so that he expected to die before he should be brought to his trial.

The year following, on the 19th of March, he was again brought before his judges, and without being allowed to speak for himself, he was sentenced, on account of his marriage, to be deprived of his preferment. Being also questioned on the subject of the eucharist, and not giving satisfaction, he was by the bishop of Chichester called a hypocrite, and by Toustal and others, a beast.

On the 22nd of January, A. D. 1555, he was brought before the commissioners, at the house of bishop Gardiner, but giving them no more satisfaction than he had done before, he was remanded to prison. On the 28th of the same month he was brought before them again, when both he and Mr. Rogers were informed that they would be heard again the next day; and then, as they could not be persuaded to recant, they were sentenced to be degraded and delivered to the secular power to be executed, after which they were conducted to Newgate. On their way thither, great crowds pressed to see them, praising God for their constancy in the doctrine which they had preached.

In Newgate they were kept six days without any person being permitted to see or converse with them. Bonner, however, and other Catholics, visited them, in order to induce them, if possible, to recant; but this was without any effect. There was, however, a report circulated that the

bishop had recanted, and it gave him some disturbance. But this did not continue long; for, on Monday the 2nd of February, the bishop of London came and performed the ceremony of their degradation; and the same night the bishop was informed that he was to be carried to Gloucester, and to suffer there; at which he was much rejoiced, since he should then die in the midst of his flock.

When they were on their journey, his conductors always took care to avoid the inns that he had been used to frequent, and at Cirencester they took him to the house of a woman who had been used to revile him; but, contrary to their expectation, she shewed him every mark of kindness, lamenting his case, with tears. When they came near to Gloucester, they were met by so great a crowd of his friends, that the aid of the mayor and his officers was thought necessary for his guard. He was, however, perfectly composed, ate a hearty supper, and slept soundly as usual; but the remainder of the night, and all the next day, he passed in acts of devotion.

When the sheriff, who was to see him executed, waited upon him the next morning, he said he had only one request to make, which was, that they would make a quick fire, and dispatch him as soon as possible. At five o'clock that night he went to bed, and slept soundly as before, but employed the remainder of the night as he had done the preceding day, and at nine he was conducted to the place of his execution, attended by a prodigious crowd, but he was not permitted to make any address to them. After a solemn prayer, he undressed himself, and was bound with an iron hoop to the stake, though he assured them that it was not necessary, for that he should be quiet and give them no trouble. They allowed him to put a bag of gunpowder between his legs, and with great calmness he shewed them how to place the faggots. Bundles of reeds being given him, he kissed them, and placed one under each arm.

When the fire was lighted, the faggots were found to be so green, that the heat only scorched him, and after some time drier faggots were brought, but still the wind blew the flame in such a manner that his lower parts only were scorched. In this state of extreme torture he was heard to pray, saying, "Jesus, thou son of David, have mercy on me, and receive my soul." Then, wiping his eyes, he called for more fire. With the third fire the gunpowder exploded, but so as to be of little service to him. He kept praying as long as he was able to speak, striking on his breast with one of his hands

till it fell off; and then with the other, till, on its touching the hot iron hoop, it stuck fast to it, and presently after this, falling forwards, he expired. Though owing to the unfavourable circumstances above-mentioned, he was for three quarters of an hour in extreme torture, he continued, the historian says, quiet as a lamb, never moving his body, though his lower parts were so burned, that, before he died, his bowels fell out.

Willing to complete this Section by a third example of those noble martyrs, I was a long time undetermined which to select, from so great a number as presented themselves, in Mr. Fox's book; all the cases having in them something particularly deserving notice. Having given the preceding account of bishop Hooper, I pass over the cases of the bishops Cranmer, Latimer and Ridley, especially as the lives of two of them have been excellently written, and in a popular manner, by Mr. Gilpin, and on the whole I have thought it most eligible to take that of *Mr. Bradford*, though for a long time I hesitated between his case and that of Mr. Taylor, of Hadley, in Suffolk; especially as I had been upon the spot where he suffered, and witnessed the veneration with which his memory is still cherished in that town, so that though he has been so long *dead, he yet speaketh*.

Mr. John Bradford was born at Manchester, in Lancashire, and was not originally designed for any of the learned professions, but entered into the service of Sir John Harrington, who had great employments under Henry VIII. and Edward VI.; and by his skill in writing and accompts, as well as by his general behaviour, he gained his entire confidence. Though it was probable that in this situation he might have acquired a decent fortune, he quitted this employment, and appears for some time to have applied to the study of the law, in the Temple; but afterwards he went to the university of Cambridge, with a view to qualify himself for the Christian ministry, and there he gained so much favour by his diligence and proficiency in his studies, that after one year he was admitted to the degree of master of arts, and soon after was chosen fellow of Pembroke College. Here he particularly recommended himself to Martin Bucer, one of the most eminent of the Reformers, who greatly encouraged him to undertake the office of preacher. In consequence of this he was ordained by Ridley, the bishop of London, and was made a prebendary of St. Paul's church.

In the faithful and laborious discharge of his duty in this situation he continued three years; but on the accession of

queen Mary he was apprehended, and sent to the Tower on a charge of sedition, though his behaviour entitled him to the thanks of the clergy and the court. For, when the bishop of Bath preached at St. Paul's Cross, with a view to reconcile the people to the change of measures that was to take place, and was so much insulted by the people, that he was in danger of his life, Mr. Bradford, who was a great favourite with them, protected him; and preaching at Bow Church the Sunday following, he sharply reprov'd the people for their disorderly behaviour, at the same time that he exhorted them to adhere to their principles of Protestantism.

From the Tower he was removed to the King's-bench prison, and there the keeper had so much confidence in him, that he permitted him to go out whenever he pleased, and he always returned at the time that he promised, though he might have made his escape.

On the 22nd, and again on the 29th of January, 1553, he was brought before the council, and after such an examination, and such insults, as Mr. Rogers and bishop Hooper had experienced before him, he was sentenced, as they were, to be degraded and burned, and then was sent to the Compter prison in the Poultry. This was after he had been a year and a half in the King's-bench; and wherever he was confined, he exerted himself so much in exhorting his fellow-prisoners, and preaching to them, and to others who came to the prison to hear him, that he was of eminent use, and he was held in the highest esteem on that account.

When he was in the Compter, he had notice given him that he was to be removed to Newgate, and executed the day following; and on hearing this he took off his cap, and said, "I thank God for it. The Lord make me worthy of it." The prayer which he made on that occasion was highly edifying to many who were present; and when he left the place, all the prisoners, as well as the jailer's family, bid him farewell, with many tears.

His removal to Newgate had been in the night, between eleven and twelve o'clock, it being thought that at that time nobody would be in the streets; but they were crowded with people, who were loud in their expressions of esteem, and exhortations to constancy. On the day of his removal from Newgate, all Smithfield was crowded by four o'clock in the morning, because it was supposed that, in order to avoid a crowd, his execution would be at that early hour, but it was nine before he was actually brought.

As he went along, a brother-in-law taking him affectionately

by the hand, one of the sheriff's officers broke his head with his staff. Being come to the place of execution, he first prostrated himself on the ground in silent prayer; and then, having stripped himself to his shirt, he calmly went to the stake, and suffered without any other indication than that of joy, together with a young man, an apprentice, of the name of John Leaf. At this time many persons in the ordinary ranks of life professed the principles of the Reformation, and suffered for them, with as much firmness as those who had had a liberal education; and women shewed as much fortitude as men.

Harsh as the treatment of these excellent persons will appear to be in these days of greater humanity and justice, it will be seen to have been mild when compared with that of the French Protestants in the next period, some examples of which I shall there exhibit, with the same view with which I have produced these. I wish the reading of such accounts was so general, as to make these Sections in my work unnecessary.

There is a circumstance deserving of particular notice in the history of martyrdoms, which is, that strong mental feelings overpower, and in some measure counteract, those of the bodily senses; so that the pain of torture is less sensibly felt.

This was exemplified in the case of Thomas Tomkins. The cruel Bonner, thinking to overcome his constancy by the sense of pain, had a lighted candle held under his hand in his own presence, till, as the historian says, "the sinews shrunk, and the veins burst;" and yet he afterwards told a friend of his, that "his spirit was so wrapt that he felt no pain." Soon after this he was burned at Smithfield, but nothing farther is said of him.*

I shall recite another instance of a similar nature. Thomas Hawkes being sentenced to be burned alive, some of his friends, who expected the same fate, desired him to give

* *Fox*, p. 154. (*P.*) "Bonner kept this man in prison half a year, and sometimes beat him cruelly about the face, and plucked off a piece of his beard." Clarke's *Martyrologie*, p. 127.

A torture too much like that inflicted by Bonner, seems to have been practised by the *Parliamentarians*, if not by the *Royalists*, in the next century. *Mercurius Rusticus*, 1646, p. 3, relates how the *Brownists*, as he calls the parliament's forces at Colchester, in 1642, having seized a servant of Sir John Lucas, "bund him to a tree, set a musquet to his breast, and a sword to his throat, and he lighted matches between his fingers, and then "examine him concerning his master's intentions, houses, money," &c. *Whitlock*, An. 1641, mentions "a design for betraying Reading, discovered by the apprehending of a spy, who, having lighted matches put to his fingers, confessed all." *Mem.* p. 114.

them a token when he was in the fire, whether the pain was such as to be in any degree tolerable; so that, as they said, a man might keep his mind quiet and patient." If it was so tolerable, they desired him to shew it by lifting up his hands. Accordingly when, as the historian says, "he had continued long in the fire, so that his speech was taken away by the violence of the flame, his skin almost drawn together, and his fingers consumed in the fire, so that now all men thought certainly he had been gone, he reached his hands over his head, and with marks of joy clapped them three times." At this there was great joy expressed by the spectators, but especially by those who knew the meaning of it. After this he soon sunk down into the fire and died.*

I hardly need to observe that, on these trying occasions, women have shewn as much firmness in bearing torture and death as men. Thus, in the account of the martyrdom of Mrs. Joyce Lewis, it is said, that when she was fastened to the stake with a chain, she shewed so much cheerfulness, that "it passed man's reason, being so patient," which greatly affected all who were present: and when the fire was lighted, "she neither struggled nor stirred, but only lifted up one of her hands to heaven."†

Cicely Ormes, who was burned at Norwich, had at first recanted; but repenting of it she was brought to the stake, when she kissed it, saying, "Welcome the cross of Christ." When the fire was kindled, she said, "My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit rejoices in God my Saviour." Then looking upwards, she raised her arms, and held them in that posture "till the sinews broke asunder, and she died as quietly as if she had felt no pain."‡

It is by no means my object to recite all the affecting circumstances that occur in the narrative of these murders; for, considering the spirit with which they were conducted, they deserve no other name: but I shall just mention the case of a blind man, and another that was lame, who were burned at the same stake; § of a blind boy,|| and of a woman who was delivered of a child when she was in the fire, and which the inhuman sheriff threw back into the fire to be

* Fox, p. 220. (P.) This occurred in 1555, at Coggeshall, Essex, of which county Hawkes was a native. He had been "brought up a courtier, and was tall, comely, and endued with such excellent qualities, as made him to be much beloved." Clarke, pp. 140, 142.

† Ibid. p. 704. P. Ibid. pp. 190—193.

‡ Ibid. p. 717. (P. Ibid. pp. 197, 198.

§ Ibid. p. 587. (P.)

|| Ibid. p. 589. (P.) Clarke, p. 166. See also the martyrdom of "Joane Waste, a blind maide in the town of Darby." Ibid. p. 178.

burned along with her.* Surely there will be a time of recompence for these things.†

SECTION XVIII.

Of the Unitarians in this Period.

WHEN the amazingly complex system of errors and abuses which had been introduced into the Catholic church, began to be examined, it could not be expected that all the Reformers should agree in the same principles, but that some would go farther than others, and of course give offence to the rest, who would wish to preserve some character for orthodoxy with those from whom they had separated: and as no question in the whole compass of theology had undergone so much discussion as that concerning the person of Christ, and the prevailing opinion had been established by power and not by argument, we cannot be surprised that many persons should entertain doubts concerning the doctrine of the perfect equality of the Son to the Father, or of his divinity in any proper sense of the word. Indeed, we find traces of such persons in every period, and especially among the Albigenes. It was, therefore, natural to expect that when the minds of men were more than ever awakened to every thing that could be suspected to be an abuse in this period, some should revive the opinion of the ancient Unitarians, and other modifications of antitrinitarian sentiments.

Accordingly it appears, says *Moshcim*, that “so early as the year 1524, the divinity of Christ was openly denied by Lewis Hetzer,” an Anabaptist, “who about three years afterwards was put to death at Constance.”‡ He was a man of considerable learning. He wrote against the use of images in churches, and translated the prophets of the Old Testa-

* *Fox*, p. 627. (*P.* “July 18, 1556, in the Isle of Guernsey, *Catherine Cavelas*, the mother, *Guillemine Gilbert*, and *Perotine Massey*, her daughters, were all sent to the same fire. There were three stakes, the mother being in the middle, and a daughter on each hand. They were ordered to be strangled first, and then burnt, but the rope broke before they were dead, and the poor women fell into the fire. The youngest, who was in a state of pregnancy, fell on her side, which, bursting by the violence of the flame, an infant fell into the fire. One of the spectators snatched it up and laid it upon the grass, but it was ordered to be thrown in again. Thus, says *Fox*, this poor infant, who was born and died a martyr, was literally baptized with fire.” *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 660.

† “It is generally agreed that there suffered 5 bishops, 21 divines, 8 gentlemen, 84 tradesmen, 100 husbandmen, labourers and servants, 26 wives, 20 widows, 2 virgins, 2 boys, and 2 infants.” *Ibid.* p. 663.

‡ *Cent.* xvi. *Sect.* iii. *Pt.* ii. *Ch.* iv. *Par.* iii. See *Vol.* V. p. 86.

ment into German.* His treatise against the Trinity was suppressed by Zuinglius.†

“John Campanus, a native of Juliers, taught at Wittemberg and other places, that the Son was inferior to the Father;”‡ and one Claudius propagated an opinion of a similar nature in A. D. 1530 in Switzerland, and excited no small commotion by this means, though no regular sect was formed by any of these persons. Pope Clement, in his speech to Charles V. said, there were some who had lately revived the error of Paul of Samosata, which makes Christianity a pure Mahometanism.§

The person who in this period distinguished himself the most by tenets, which in the opinion of the majority tended to degrade the person of Christ, was Michael Servetus, who was born in A. D. 1509,|| at Villa Nova in Arragon,¶ and studied the civil law at Thoulouse. The Reformation making much noise at this time, he there applied himself to the study of the Scriptures; and conceiving that the doctrine of the Trinity was one of the articles that required to be reformed, he wrote a treatise on the subject, entitled *De Trinitatis Erroribus*,** which he published at Strasburg and Frankfort, in A. D. 1531, when he was not more than twenty-one years of age.††

This book gave great offence to the principal Reformers. Œcolampadius at Basil was required by the magistrates to examine the book, and finding in it, as he thought, erroneous

* *Robinson*, p. 519. (P.) † *Beausobre*, IV. p. 145. (P.)

‡ *Mosheim*, Cent. xvi. Sect. iii. Pt. ii. Ch. iv. Par. iii. Sandius's *Bib. Ant.* p. 17.

§ *Beausobre*, IV. p. 242. (P.)

|| “Or 1511, for about the time of his birth historians are not agreed.” *Apology for Servetus*. “By Richard Wright, Wisbech, 1806.” p. 90. As an Unitarian Missionary, Mr. Wright, whom I have the pleasure to rank among my most valuable acquaintance, has enjoyed, more than any other individual of his time, opportunities which he has ably and zealously improved, for explaining and recommending to the people that scriptural doctrine, to the assertion of which Servetus sacrificed his life; while Calvin, unhappily violating the spirit of the gospel, brought on his own name an indelible disgrace. See on the date of Servetus's birth, *Histoire de Michel Servet*, by Michel de la Roche, in his *Bibliothèque Anglaise*. Amst. 1717, II. p. 79. De la Roche was a correspondent of Lardner. See his Works, VIII. p. 269; *Life*, I. pp. xix. cxxviii.

¶ It appears from his own confession, in his examination at Vienne, that he was born at Tudela, in Navarre. It seems most likely that he descended from a Spanish family, which had lately removed from Arragon, and at the time of his birth resided in Navarre. They might still call themselves of Villa Nova, having lately left that place, and probably possessed some estate there.” *Apology*, pp. 89, 90.

** In 7 books. See extracts from the first, in Sandius, pp. 9—11. This work was translated into Dutch in 1620. *Ibid.* p. 12. Sandius attributes to Servetus an earlier publication, *Thesaurus Animæ*, written in Spanish, and thence translated into Latin, Italian, French, Dutch and German. *Ibid.* p. 11.

†† He had previously conferred on theological subjects with Œcolampadius, Bucer and Capito. *Bib. Ang.* II. p. 80. *Apology*, p. 91.

and blasphemous propositions, he published them, and had a conference with the author on the subject. On this occasion Servetus complained that his antagonist, who was in general of a mild disposition, was very rough with him, saying, "I will be mild in other things, but not when I hear Jesus Christ blasphemed."* Œcolampadius, writing to Bucer on the subject of Servetus's book, says, "Our churches will be very ill spoken of, unless our divines make it their business to cry it down. I beseech you in particular to keep a watchful eye upon it, and to make an apology to our churches, at least in your confutation inscribed to the emperor. We know not how this beast came to creep in among us. He wrests all the passages of Scripture to prove that the Son is not co-eternal and consubstantial with the Father, and that the man Christ is the Son of God." This clearly shews how desirous these Reformers were to keep some measures with the church of Rome, and to avoid the charge of heresy.†

The year following, A. D. 1532, Servetus published another treatise on the same subject.‡ This, no doubt, added to the alarm of these Reformers. Melancthon, writing to Joachim Camerarius, [1533.] says, "You know that I was always afraid that these disputes about the Trinity would break out some time or other. Good God, what tragedies will this question excite among our posterity, whether the Logos be a subsistence or a person, and whether the Holy Spirit be a subsistence or a person! I have recourse to those words of Scripture which command me to worship Christ, that is, to ascribe to him the honours of divinity, which is full of consolation; but it is by no means expedient to examine accurately into the ideas of *subsistence* or *person*."§ Thus were these Reformers afraid of free inquiry, when they apprehended that it might lead men farther than they had gone themselves,

After this Servetus passed two or three years at Lyons, and then went to Paris to study medicine, which he after-

* *Ruchat*, III. p. 108. (*P.*) *Bib. Ang.* II. pp. 84, 85.

† *An Impartial History of Michael Servetus*, 1724, p. 35. (*P.*)

‡ "Dialogorum de Trinitate libri duo. De justitia regni Christi capitula quatuor. Per Michaëlem Servetum, alias Reves, ab Arragoniâ, Hispanum. Anno MDXXXII. Sandius, p. 22. *Bib. Ang.* II. pp. 85, 86. *Apology*, pp. 103, 104.

§ Ἐπεὶ τῆς Τριάδος, οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐπιθέσις τοῦ πνεύματος; Ego me refero ad illas Scripturæ voces quæ jubent invocare Christum, quod est ei honorem Divinitatis tribuere, et plenum consolationis est. Τὰς δὲ λέξεις τῶν ἐπιθέσεων καὶ διαφορᾶς ἀκριβῶς ζητεῖν οὐ τῶν συμφέρει. (*Melancthon Epist.* L. iv. Ep. 110, Ed. Lond.) *Bib. Ang.* II. p. 86.

wards practised, and he published some treatises on medical subjects.* It was at Paris that Calvin became acquainted with him. From Paris† Servetus retired to Vienne in Dauphiné, where he practised physic ten or twelve years. In this time his books were much read, especially in Italy, and it is thought that Lælius Socinus and others were led by them to reject the doctrine of the Trinity. In all this time he corresponded with Calvin, who says that for the space of sixteen years he endeavoured to reclaim him from his errors. It appears that in the course of this correspondence they were both much irritated. Calvin in his Commentaries calls Servetus "a profligate fellow, a man full of pride, the proudest of the Spanish nation, a dog, and an obscene dog."‡ However, during this correspondence, he sent Calvin a manuscript which, though it never was printed, he ungenerously produced against him at his trial.

Servetus not convinced of any error, and continuing to think the opinion he had advanced, of much importance, published in A. D. 1553. another book, but without his name, against the Trinity and some other doctrines. This was entitled *Christianismi Restitutio*.§ and it was in this treatise that he introduced his opinion of the circulation of

* "Ratio Symporum, Paris, 1557, Venet. 1545." *Sandius*, p. 13.

† "Where he became Master of Arts and Doctor of Medicine." *Bib. Ang.* II. p. 69. *Apology*, pp. 109—112.

‡ In a copy of the Commentaries, at *Acts*, xx. 28, where Calvin had called Servetus *Hispanicum Canem*, Francis Lismannus wrote the following distich, the point of which cannot be translated:

Cur tibi sum, Calvine, *canis*? tuis efficit ardor,
Ne *canis*, heu deior, sed miseranda *cinis*.

Sandius, p. 35. Toulmin's *Socinus*, pp. iv. v.

§ Of this work, consisting of 731 pages, a thousand copies were printed. The following were the titles of the six parts into which it was divided:

i. "De Trinitate divina, quod in eam non sit indivisibilium trium rerum illusio, sed ver substantiæ Dei manifestatio in verbo, et communicatio in spiritu." *Libris* 7.—ii. De fide et justitia Regis Christi, legis justitiam superantis, et de charitate. *Lib. 8.*—iii. De regeneratione ac manducatione superna, et de regno Antichristi. iv. Epistola triginta ad Joannem Colvium Genevensium concionatorem.—v. Signa sexaginta regni Antichristi, et revelatio ejus jam nunc præsens.—vi. De mysterio Trinitatis, ex veterum disciplina, ad Philippum Melanethonem et ejus collegas apologia." *Sandius*, pp. 13, 14. "Hos libros fertur Calvinus curasse flammis aboleri." *Ibid.* p. 15. See also *Bib. Ang.* II. pp. 96—98. *Apology*, pp. 124, 125, 151.

The *Restitutio* has long been a very rare book, very few copies having escaped the flames of Vienne, Geneva, and Frankfort. *Sandius*, who died in 1680, had consulted every in the library of the prince of Hesse; and the learned W. Wotton saw a manuscript copy, a transcript of that printed one, in the library of the Bishop of Norwich in 1697. *De la Roche* in 1717, had been long possessed of a MS. copy, and he understood that there was a printed copy in the library at *Wolfenbittel*. See *Sandius*, p. 14. Wotton "Upon Ancient and Modern Learning," Ed. 2, 1697, p. xxvi. *Bib. Ang.* I. p. 311.

Servetus has probably suffered great injustice in his reputation as a Christian reformer, from misrepresentations of his sentiments, or by detached, if not corrupted

the blood.* It was for writing this book that Calvin by his letters,† procured Servetus to be apprehended; and though

quotations from his works. Even Mr. *James Peirce*, on the authority of *Knox*, ("Against the Adversaries of God's Predestination, pp. 208, 209," charges Servetus with having represented "that the soul of Christ is God, and that the flesh of Christ is God; and that as well the flesh as the soul were in the very substance of the godhead from all eternity: that the substantial godhead is in all creatures: that the soul of man, although it be not God, is made God by the Spirit, which is God himself." See Mr. Peirce's Letter to Dr. Snape, dated *Exon. Nov. 28, 1717*, and entitled "The Dissenters' Reasons for not writing in behalf of Persecution." *Lond. 1718*, pp. 43, 44.

Mr. Peirce asks, "Would any one think that man's intellectuals were sound?" and charitably concludes that Calvin, "whose proceedings," says he, "I own were unwarrantable," had "widely mistaken the case of *Servetus*, whose opinions were frantic, and called for the skill of a physician rather than an executioner's." *Ibid.* It had been more worthy of the Author of the *Vindication*, instead of concluding that "these were some of the notions" of *Servetus*, because "Mr. *Knox* tells us he maintained" them, to have recollected with what a jaundiced eye *John Knox* must have read the *Christianismi Restitutio*, if indeed *Knox* himself had not taken some story upon trust.

* Dr. Aikin, in his *Life of Harvey*, says that *Servetus* "asserted the communication of the pulmonary artery and veins; that through them the blood passes from the right to the left side of the heart, and that the blood flows into the lungs not merely for the nutrition of that organ, but in order to be elaborated and subtilized by the reception of a spirit from the air in inspiration, and the exhalation of a fuliginous matter in expiration." Dr. Aikin adds, "This was an ingenious hypothesis which its author would have found it difficult to support, since he was ignorant of the force of the heart in propelling the blood, and the action of its valves in determining that force to a particular direction. In other points he adopted the errors of Galen, supposing the liver and veins to be the seat of the blood, and the heart and arteries that of the vital spirit, which was at times communicated to the blood, by anastomoses." *Biographical Memoirs of Medicine*, 1780, p. 304.

The passage from *Servetus* on this subject, was quoted from the *Norwich MS.* just mentioned, by *Wotton*, pp. xxvii—xxxii. It was again quoted (probably from another copy, as I find a few variations in "Bibliographiæ Anatomicæ Specimen: sive Catalogus omnium penè auctorum, qui, ab *Hippocrate* ad *Harveium*, rem Anatomicam, ex professo, vel obiter, scriptis illustrarent. Curâ et studio *Jacobi Douglas*, M. D. Societ. Reg. Soc. et in Colleg. Chirurg. *Londinens.* Prælect. Anatomic." *Lond. 1715*. From thence the passage was copied by *De La Roche* in *Bib. Ang.* l. pp. 309—311. *Wotton* had printed in his 1st edition, 1694, the principal part of this passage, which he received from "Mr. Charles Bernard, a very learned and eminent Chirurgion of London." Mr. Bernard received the extract from *Mr. Abraham Hill*, a "member of the Royal Society," who had copied it from the *Restitutio* long before. I here subjoin that extract, placing between brackets the variations on comparing it with the extract from the *Norwich MS.* and that given by *De la Roche* from Mr. Douglas.

"Vitalis spiritus in sinistro cordis ventriculo suam originem habet, juvantibus maximè pulmonibus ad ipsius generationem [*perfectionem*]. Est spiritus tenuis, caloris vi elaboratus, flavo colore, igneâ potentia, ut sit quasi ex puriore sanguine lucidus [*tucens*: vapor *substantiam continens aqua, aëris, et ignis*] generatur ex facta in pulmone mixtione inspirati aëris cum elaborato subtili sanguine, quem dexter ventriculus sinistro communicat. Fit autem communicatio hæc non per parietem cordis medium, ut vulgo creditur, sed magno artificio à dextro cordis ventriculo, longo per pulmones ductu, agitatur sanguis subtilis: à pulmonibus præparatur, flavus eicitur [*efficitur*], et à venâ arteriosâ in arteriam venosam transfunditur; deinde in ipsâ arteriâ venosâ inspirato aëri miscetur et expiratione [*expiratione*] à fuligine repurgatur [*expurgatur*]; atque ita tandem à sinistro cordis ventriculo totum mixtum per diastolen attrahitur, apta supellex ut fiat spiritus vitalis. *Servet Christian. Restit.*" See *Wotton*, p. 230.

† They were *Trie's* letters which Calvin is supposed to have dictated. *Bib. Ang.* II. p. 102. *Apology*, p. 132.

he escaped out of prison, he was sentenced, if he could be caught, to be burned alive with a slow fire. His books and his effigy were burned. In order to procure his condemnation, Calvin sent to Vienne above twenty letters which he had received from him.*

Flying from France, it was the intention of Servetus to go to Naples, and practise physic there; but going through Geneva, Calvin, on being informed that he was in the town, had him apprehended, and procured thirty-eight articles of accusation to be exhibited against him. After this, he was detained in prison about five months, and his trial commenced August 14, [1553]. The principal accusations against him related to the doctrine of the Trinity. Though he was a foreigner, he was not allowed an advocate to plead for him; and though he suffered exceedingly from cold and vermin,† he was unable to obtain any relief. He also pleaded in vain the rights of conscience, and the innocence of free inquiry, not attended with any breach of the peace.

Calvin, writing at this time to Farel, says, “I hope Servetus will be condemned to death, but I wish the severity of his punishment may be softened;‡ the very language always used by the Popish inquisitors on similar occasions. Farel, who had himself suffered persecution, replied that Servetus deserved to die a thousand deaths,§ and intimated that the judges would be very cruel, and enemies to Christ and his church, if they did not proceed and make an example of him. Bucer said he deserved to have his entrails plucked out, and to be torn in pieces.|| Bullinger said the magistrates acted nobly, and that punishing such obstinate heretics was for the glory of God.¶ How does this justify the proceedings of the Catholics against themselves!

On the 27th of October, Servetus was sentenced to be burned alive the day following, together with all his books,

* *Bib. Ang.* II. pp. 102—108. *Apologu*, pp. 140—152.

† In his petition to the Lords his judges, September 15, 1553, he says, “Les pouls me mangent tout vif, mes chauses sont descirées et nay de quoy changer, ni perpoint, ni chamise, que une mechante.” *Bib. Ang.* II. p. 146. See *Apology*, p. 206.

‡ “Spero capitate saltem fore iudicium: pœnce verò atrocitatem remitti cupio.” (*Calvin Epist.* p. 114, *Genevæ*, 1575.) *Bib. Ang.* II. p. 168.

§ “Multis myriadibus commertus est.” See the letter in Latin and French, *Bib. Ang.* I. pp. 169—171.

|| “Dignum esse, qui avulsis visceribus, discerperetur.” *Ibid.* p. 178.

¶ “Si ergo hunc rependeret Amplissimus Senatus quod blasphemio nebuloni debetur, totus orbis cerueret Genevenses blasphemos oclisse hæreticos, qui verè sunt pertinaces hæretici, gladio justitiæ persequi, et gloriam majestatis divini vindicare.” *Ibid.* p. 175.

printed and manuscript, and Beza says, it was according to the opinion of all the Helvetic churches.* Servetus would have appealed to the council of two hundred, who, it was thought, would have acquitted him, but Calvin prevented it. Before his execution he desired to see Calvin, and when they met, he begged his pardon for the harsh language he had sometimes used, towards him; but Calvin, who had offended at least as much in the same way, did not ask his. He only exhorted him to repent of his heresy. But Servetus continued steady, and died calling upon God.†

In this period we find Valentine Gentilis, a Neapolitan, who suffered at Bern. in A. D. 1566. He adopted the Arian hypothesis. He left the place of his nativity, which was Cosenza, on account of religion, and retired to Geneva, where several Italian families had already formed a church, and one of the principal of them was George Blandrata,‡ a physician, who afterwards went to Poland. Gentilis having given great offence by his writings, and especially to

* “Rediit ab Helvetiis Nunciis. Uno consensu pronunciant omnes, *Servetum* impios errores, quibus olim turbavit Satan ecclesiam, nunc renovasse et monstrum esse non ferendam.” Calvin to Farel, October 26, 1553. *Bib. Ang.* II. pp. 177, 178. Switzerland, however, produced an extraordinary exception to this general recommendation. In 1554, a book appeared there entitled, “*Contra libellum Calvinii*, in quo ostendere conatur Hæreticos jure gladii coercendos esse.” This book was reprinted in Holland *incorrectly* in 1612. *Ibid.* pp. 116, 112, 113, 190.

† See *Sandius*, pp. 7, 8. *Bib. Ang.* II. p. 189. *De La Roche* had visited, and describes *Champel* the spot where Servetus suffered. See also *Apology*, pp. 255—260. On the whole case of Servetus, Dr. Benson’s four papers, first published in the *Old Whig*, 1739, and reprinted in his Tracts, are well worthy of attention. See Ed. iv. 1753, pp. 157—210. There are also several interesting accounts of Servetus in different volumes of the *Monthly Repository*. In the 10th Volume is a life and portrait of that much injured Reformer. The following remarks on the discredit which Calvin brought upon the Protestant cause, among Papists, by his treatment of Servetus are too important to be here omitted:

“Comment les magistrats de Genève, dit l’auteur du *Dictionnaire des Hérésies*,) qui ne reconnoissent point de juge infallible du sens de l’Ecriture, pouvoient-ils condamner au feu *Servet*, parce qu’il y trouvoit un sens différent de *Calvin*?—Cependant *Calvin* osa faire l’apologie de sa conduite envers *Servet*. Il entre prit de prouver qu’il falloit faire mourir les Hérétiques. Cet ouvrage a fourni aux Catholiques un argument invincible *ad hominem* contre les Protestans, lorsque ceux-ci leur ont reproché de faire mourir les Calvinistes en France. Les ministres équitables de la Réforme, ont abandonné aujourd’hui la doctrine meurtrière de leur Apôtre.” *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* V. p. 568, art. *Servet*.

‡ See “A short history of Valentinus Gentilis, wrote in Latin, by *Benedictus Aretius*, translated into English for the use of Dr. Sherlock,” 1690, pp. 17, 18. From the *Historia* of Aretius, Bayle professes to have taken his article *Gentilis*. It is the work of an inveterate enemy who appears to have witnessed the execution with all the calm indifference of an inquisitor. He dedicates his history (June, 1567) to those who had persecuted *Gentilis* unto death, “the most honourable and noble Lords of Bern.” The English translator was some eager partizan of South, and as zealous a foe of Sherlock, whose *three distinct, copious, eternal Minds* he affects to consider as the same with the *three distinct Spirits* of Gentilis. But in the sentence, September 9, 1560, it is charged against Gentilis that “he acknowledges the Father only to be that infinite God which we ought to worship.” *Ibid.* p. 132.

Calvin, fled from Geneva,* and after various adventures was apprehended at Bern, the 11th of June, A. D. 1556.† He was sentenced to be beheaded, and at the place of execution said, "Many had suffered for the glory of the Son," meaning, probably, for their Christian faith, "but none that he knew of before himself had died for the glory and superiority of the Father.‡ Servetus, however, had suffered before him.

Calvin, and other foreign divines, had many friends in Poland; and by their means sent letters and tracts into that country, justifying the murder of Servetus and Gentilis, and asserting the necessity of employing secular power to rid the world of such monsters as denied the Trinity and infant baptism.§

Andrew Dudith, a most accomplished person, who was sent to the Council of Trent, and had great preferment in the Church of Rome, joined the Reformers, and settled at Cracow. Writing on this subject to Wolf, a divine at Zurich, he says, "Tell them, my learned friend, now that the Calvinists have burned Servetus, beheaded Gentilis,

* In 1558, where he appears to have previously undergone the execution of the following sentence, pronounced by the magistrates of Geneva, under the influence of Calvin:

"First you shall be stript close to your shirt, then barefoot and bareheaded shall carry in your hand a lighted torch, and beg God's pardon and ours on your knees, by confessing yourself maliciously and wickedly to have spread abroad a false and heretical doctrine; but that you do now from your heart detest and abhor those abominable, lying, blasphemous books you composed in its defence; in testimony whereof you shall cast them with your own hands into the flames, there to be burnt to ashes; and for more ample satisfaction we do enjoin you to be led through all the streets of this city, at the sound of the trumpet, and habited as before; and do strictly command you not to depart this city without permission." *Short Hist.* p. 36.

Gentilis first escaped to *Fargia*, in the neighbourhood of Geneva. There he became intimately acquainted with *Gribaldus* and *Alciatus*. From *Fargia* he removed to Lyons, where he examined the Greek and Latin fathers, being furnished with books by *Baptista Lucensis*. *Ibid.* pp. 19, 20. *Sandius*, p. 17.

† At Lyons he had written a book entitled, *Antidotes*, which "was found lying by him in MS." Thence he went to Grenoble, where "Gribaldus was then public professor." After returning to Lyons, he spent two years in Poland, with *Blandrata* and *Alciatus*. At length he came to Gaium, a town belonging to Bern. Here he was seized or rather entraped by the governor, whom he was said to have formerly affronted, June 2, 1566. On the 19th of July he was brought to Bern. The proceedings against him were continued from Aug. 5, to Sept. 9; immediately after which he appears to have suffered death. *Short Hist.* pp. 21, 23, 25—28, 181.

In the catalogue of *Williams's Library*, 1801, p. 81, besides the original of *Arctius*, there is "Gentilis Valent. teterrimi Hæretici Impetatum Explicatio, ex Actis publicis Senatûs Genevensis." *Genevæ* 1567. These works I regret that I have not had leisure to consult while this volume has been in the press.

‡ *Bayle*, (P.) *Short Hist.* pp. 72, 131—135.

§ *Robinson*, p. 584. (P.)

and murdered many others; now that they have banished Bernard Ochin with his wife and children from your city in the depth of winter;* now that the Lutherans have expelled Lasco, with a congregation of foreigners that came out of England with him, in an extremely rigorous season of the year, and have done many other such exploits contrary to the genius of Christianity, how shall we meet the Papists? With what face can we tax them with cruelty? How dare we say, *Our weapons are not carnal?* How can we any longer urge, *Let both grow together till the harvest?* Let us cease to boast that *faith cannot be compelled*, and that conscience ought to be free.”†

Other persons are also mentioned who held similar opinions, though with many variations. But the proper origin of the *Unitarians*, as a separate body of Christians, is, with some degree of probability, ascribed to some private assemblies of Italians, especially in A. D. 1546, at Vicenza, in the territory of Venice. They met for the discussion of religious subjects,‡ and among them it is said, but not with certainty, was Lælius Socinus, born in A. D. 1526, at Sienna, designed for the profession of the law, and greatly distinguished for his learning and piety.§ He certainly travelled much in search of truth.|| He was, however, of a timid disposition; for though it was evident that he was no Trinitarian, he lived and died a member of the Helvetic church of Zurich, in A. D. 1562.

It was his nephew, Faustus Socinus, a man of perhaps less learning, but of greater ability, and more zeal, who gave celebrity to the sect, and from him the Unitarians were long called *Socinians*; but his history falls within the next period. About this time, however, many persons who entertained these sentiments, as well as those of the Anabaptists, being persecuted by all the other denominations of Christians, took refuge in Poland, where, behaving with much moderation,

* “Anno 1563, natus annos 76 à Tigurinis pulsus est, asperima hyeme, viis omnibus, nive et glacie, impeditis, ut refert Bzovius ex *Dudicii* ad Bezam epistola.” *Sandius*, p. 3, art. *Ochinus*.

† *Robinson*, p. 592. (P.)

‡ *Toulmin's Mem. of F. Socinus*, pp. ii. iii.

§ “In eo studio, ad quod sublimis et pia mens inflammat impetu rapiebatur, non sine divina, procul dubio, ope, magna ei lux repente oborta est. præcipuè cum ad eruendos Scripturæ sensus, orientalium linguarum, Hebrææ præcipuè atque Græcæ, quin et Arabicæ cognitionem attulisset.” *Vita F. Socini Senensis, descripta ab Equite Polono*, 1656, p. 6. *Toulmin*, p. x.

|| “1547. Admodum adolescens patriam reliquerat. Proximo quadriennio *Galliam, Britanniam, Belgium, Germaniam* universam, ipsam quoque *Poloniam* circumiens, apud *Helveticos Tiguri* sedem fixit.” *Vita*, p. 6. *Toulmin*, p. xi. where *Britain* is omitted, probably by accident.

they were at first received into the churches of the Reformed, and did not separate from them till A. D. 1565.

Lælius Socinus, it is said, instilled sentiments contrary to the prevailing ones, into the mind of Francis Lismaninus, who was preacher and confessor to Bona Sfortia, the wife of Sigismond king of Poland. This Lismaninus published several treatises to prove the supremacy of the Father, as the origin and fountain of divinity to the Son; and this encouraged Gregory Paul, a minister of the Protestant church at Cracow, openly to assert the same opinions.*

About this time, also, a person from the Low Countries, whose name was Spiritus, arrived in Poland; who having proposed the question, whether there were three Gods, doubts on the subject of the Trinity arose in the mind of Andreas Fricius Mordrevius, secretary to the king; and at the desire of this prince, who was of an inquisitive disposition, he studied questions of this kind, and wrote some treatises in favour of the Unitarian doctrine, which he entitled *Silvæ*.†

In A. D. 1556, Peter Gonesius, a Pole, after his return from his travels, avowed his rejection of the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds,‡ and in A. D. 1558, there came to Pinczow, George Blandrata, a physician of considerable eminence, whom Sigismond invited to his court, and who brought with him Francis David, an Unitarian minister; and then, it is said, Blandrata embraced the doctrine of the supremacy of the Father.§ He here met with Gonesius and Stancarus, an Italian, who held the same opinion. These persons entering into a dispute on the subject, a synod was called for the purpose of composing the controversy, at which were present many ministers, and also nobles; and though nothing was agreed on, it contributed much to the overthrow of the doctrine of the Trinity. The same controversy was carried into other synods, all of which terminated in the increase of Unitarians. In other synods, however, their doctrine was opposed; and at one held at Cracow, in A. D. 1561, letters were produced from Calvin, exhorting them to be on their guard against Blandrata.||

However, by the endeavours of Blandrata and Francis

* *Sandius*, pp. 34, 35, 45. *Toulmin*, p. iii.

† *Ibid.* pp. 35—38, *Ibid.* pp. iii. iv.

‡ “In Synodo Seceminiensi hæc proposituisse fertur, se quidem probare symbolum Apostolicum, sed cætera Nicenum, Athanasii, &c. rejicere.” *Sandius*, p. 41.

§ *Ibid.* pp. 28, 56.

|| *Toulmin's Life of Socinus*, pp. ii. &c. (*P.*)

David, the king and a great part of the nobility were induced to favour the Unitarians, so that they had liberty to profess their opinions in the most public manner. This gave them so firm a footing in Transylvania, that though Bathori, who afterwards succeeded to the kingdom, wished to suppress the new sect, he found it prudent not to make the attempt; and in this country they have ever since remained unmolested, having seminaries of learning, and holding their religious assemblies, though exposed to much danger from their many enemies.*

In this period the Unitarians endeavoured, but without success, to establish themselves in Hungary and Austria, being effectually opposed both by the Catholics and Protestants.

SECTION XIX.

Of the Jesuits.

It was peculiarly fortunate for the Catholic cause, that when the bishops became discredited, by their neglect of learning, and adopting the free manners of the nobility, the *monks* arose for the support of it: and that when they fell into discredit, the *mendicants* took their place. In this period, when the mendicant orders were in no higher credit than the monks, another order of learned men made their appearance, and by their ability and zeal were of more service to the same cause than the monks or the mendicants had ever been. These were the *Jesuits*, a society founded by Ignatius Loyola, a gentleman of Navarre in Spain, himself a man of no learning, and a wild enthusiast.

He was born in A. D. 1491. At first he was a page to king Ferdinand, and then served in the army, but was a man of pleasure to the age of twenty-nine; when being dangerously wounded at the siege of Pampeluna, he read for his amusement the lives of the saints: and by their example he was so fired, that from that time he gave himself wholly to such a life as he found most recommended there.

His first resolution was to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, going barefooted, and clothed in sackcloth; but being prevented in this, he went to Notre Dame de Montserrat, near Barcelona; and there, watching in the church all night, he solemnly hung up his arms, by way of renouncing the profession of a soldier, and devoted himself to

* *Mosheim*, IV. p. 199. (P.) Cent. xvi. Sect. iii. Pt. ii. Ch. iv. Par. xiii.

the service of the Virgin Mary.* Thence he went to the hospital at Manrese, where he lived on bread and water, except on Sundays, when he ate some boiled vegetables. At the same time he wore an iron chain on his loins, and a rough hair-cloth under his other clothes. He also whipped himself three times a day, lay on the bare ground, begged his bread from door to door, and made so dirty and hideous an appearance, that the boys hooted at and pelted him as he went along; and thence he retired to a cavern in the neighbourhood, where he was found almost dead with his excessive mortifications, and carried back to the hospital.

Being much perplexed with doubts about his salvation, in consequence of the free life he had formerly led, he went to the Dominicans at Manrese, where he fasted seven whole days, without eating or drinking, or relaxing of his other austerities in any respect. He went thence to Rome, where he arrived in the time of pope Adrian; and after this he performed his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, whence he returned to Barcelona in A. D. 1524; and finding the want of learning, which was necessary for his undertaking, he applied himself to the study of grammar, but made little progress. After this he went to study philosophy and theology at Alcalá, and there he got four disciples. But finding much confusion in his ideas on the subjects of his studies, he and his disciples applied themselves to the conversion of sinners.

From Alcalá, Ignatius went to Salamanca, but there he and his four disciples were imprisoned, and shut up in a dungeon, for teaching without proper qualifications. Being released on his examination, he went to France, without his companions, to study in the university at Paris, and there he formed a design of establishing a new society for the conversion of infidels, and proposed to take the members of it out of that university. Among the first who engaged with him was Francis Xavier, who then taught philosophy in the college of Beauvois, and who afterwards distinguished himself by his mission to the Indies. Another was James Lainez, both Spaniards. These and five others† he took to the church of Montmartre, near Paris, in A. D. 1534, and after a solemn communion, they took a vow, that, abandoning every thing in the world, they would go to Jerusalem

* “Il voulut se battre avec un *Mauve* qui avoit voulu contester la virginité perpetuelle de celle dont il étoit chevalier.” *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* III. p. 389.

† Four of them were, Peter *Le Fevre*, Alphonsus *Salmeron*, Nicholas Alphonsus *Bobadilla*, Simon *Rodriguez*. *Ibid.* p. 390.

for the conversion of the infidels; and if that should be impracticable, that they would throw themselves at the feet of the Pope, and devote themselves to his service, without requiring any thing for their labours. In the mean time he prescribed to them certain religious exercises, having composed a treatise on that subject some time before. Being then advised to return to Spain for the recovery of his health, which was much injured by his exercises, he engaged his disciples to meet him at Venice, in A. D. 1537.

When Ignatius was there, he became acquainted with J. P. Caraffa, who was afterwards Paul IV., and who endeavoured in vain to persuade him to join the order of Theatins, which he had instituted. Finding the times unfavourable to their intended voyage to Palestine, Ignatius, Le Fevre and Lainez, went to Rome to offer their services to the Pope, while the rest dispersed themselves in the universities of Italy, in order to gain proselytes. But before this they agreed upon the following rules: "to lodge in hospitals, to beg their bread, that when any number of them were together, they should be superiors in their turn, that they should preach in the streets, and wherever they could, that they should catechize the children, and take no money for their services."*

When Ignatius and the two others came to Rome, which was in A. D. 1538, Paul IV., at the solicitation of a Spanish doctor, Peter Ortiz, who knew Ignatius at Paris, accepted the offer of their service, and there Lainez became professor of scholastic theology. On this all the disciples, some of whom had been preaching with much success, assembled at Rome; and then Ignatius laid before them his great scheme of forming a fixed society, who to the vows of poverty and chastity, which they had taken before, should add one of perpetual and absolute obedience to the chief whom they should choose, and another of obedience to the Pope, to go wherever he should send them, without any allowance for their expenses. At the same time it was agreed that the *professed* Jesuits (for they called themselves *the company of Jesus*)† should have no property either in private or in common, but that they might have colleges, with revenues for the maintenance of students.

* *Histoire des Religieux de la Compagnie de Jesus*, 1741, l. p. 86. (P.)

† "Du nom de l'église de *Jesus* qu'on leur donna à Rome." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* III. p. 390. One of our poets sarcastically derives

Their name from *Jesus*, but their arts from *Hell*.

After some difficulty the Pope gave his sanction to this new order, September the 27th, A. D. 1540; but he fixed the number of professed Jesuits to sixty. At this time Ignatius had no more than ten disciples, and they chose himself for their superior or general. The year following, Ignatius settled the particular constitutions of his order, by which it appears that his design was, that his disciples should divide their time between a contemplative and an active life. He appointed no habit but that of the common clergy of the times, and he excluded particular mortifications, and also long prayers and meditations. They were not even to perform divine service, but rather apply themselves to study.*

By this constitution the general was to reside at Rome, and have four assistants, one in Italy, another in Spain, a third in France, and a fourth in Germany, to be appointed at the general assembly. Besides these, there were to be *Provincials*, appointed by the general, as also superiors of particular houses, and of the Probationers, called *Noviciates*, and rectors of colleges. That the general might have a more perfect knowledge of the persons he employed, the provincials in all parts of Europe were obliged to write to him once a month, and those in the Indies every opportunity. Besides this, every three years there was to be sent to him an account of every person in the society, in which their ages and their qualifications in all respects, were noted, and every thing else relating to the society.

Ignatius also divided his subjects into four classes, the *professed*, the *coadjutors*, the *scholars*, and the *novices*, who were to remain in that state two years. The professed were of two kinds, some of all the four vows, and others of three only, the fourth vow being that of obedience to the Pope, over whom the general had no power. The *coadjutors* were either spiritual or temporal, the former of whom did not take the fourth vow.

There being very soon a great demand for Jesuits, especially for the education of youth, Ignatius obtained leave of the Pope to make as many of the order of *professed* as he pleased, and in a short space of time there were foundations of Jesuits in all parts of Europe, and in all the European colonies in the East and West Indies. Ignatius also procured two of his disciples, Lainez and Salmeron, to be sent as the Pope's theologians to the Council of Trent. There

* *Histoire*, I. p. 59. (P.)

they found another member of their society. Le Jay, who was theologian to the cardinal of Augsborg, and by their ingenuity, humility and charity, they gained universal esteem.

The first person who founded a college for the use of the Jeusits was Francis de Borgia, duke of Gandia, where they taught philosophy, theology, and polite literature; and in this line they so much distinguished themselves, that in a short space of time their colleges were numerous in all parts of Europe, and the education of the opulent youths was almost wholly in their hands. They also recommended themselves so much to the great, that the confessors of Catholic princes were almost all Jesuits. At the same time they never lost sight of their original object, which was the conversion of infidels, and they were more indefatigable in that respect than the mendicants had been before them; and for some time their success seemed to correspond to their labours.

Ignatius, foreseeing the inconvenience that would arise to his society from the members of it aspiring to ecclesiastical dignities, made a new regulation in his society, by which he forbade their accepting of any church preferment as a mortal sin. But by not being bishops, the Jesuits gave less umbrage, and in fact had more power, and served the papal interest more effectually, than if they had been possessed of the highest stations in the church.

Soon after the establishment of his order, Ignatius admitted some women to take the same vows, and to come under the government of his disciples; but presently perceiving the inconvenience of this, he not only got his society discharged from this incumbrance, but he procured an order from the Pope, that there should never be any order of *Jesuitesses*; or that women should in any form have a connexion with his society.

The reputation of this new society was not universal. It had many enemies. Melchior Cano, a theologian of the order of Dominicans at Salamanca, represented them as the forerunners of Antichrist, and the false apostles who were to arise in the last times, and who, by their address in insinuating themselves into houses, their assiduity to the great, their intrigues in courts, their seeming zeal for the salvation of their neighbours, and the instruction of youth, and other peculiarities, were calculated to do much mischief. His opposition prevented their establishment in Salamanca, where he lived till they contrived to have him sent as a theologian

to the Council of Trent, when, in his absence, they secured their establishment. They found still greater opposition in France; but in Portugal they were encouraged for the purpose of sending missionaries to distant colonies. Above all others, Francis Xavier distinguished himself by his labours in the East Indies. After preaching with more or less success in several other places, he went to Japan.

Julius III. was no less a favourer of the Jesuits than Paul III. He published a bull in their favour, recommending the society in the strongest terms: saying that, having learned of his predecessors the great advantage which that society had been of to the holy see, by their entire devotion to the successors of St. Peter, he confirmed their institute. "Though," he says, "all the faithful ought to be subject to the sovereign pontiff, as the head of the church, and the vicar of Jesus Christ, yet to render the devotion of these fathers to the apostolic see the more entire, and the renouncing of their own will the more perfect, in suffering themselves to be guided by the holy spirit, we have thought proper that they who compose this society, besides the three ordinary vows, take a fourth, of entire submission to the sovereign pontiff, who can send them into any country, even among Turks and Infidels, into the Indies, or the countries of heretics, without their being able to refuse, or make any excuse whatever.* In this bull the Pope gave the disposal of the property of the houses to the general, the professed Jesuits having no property at all in them.

All the endeavours of the Jesuits to get an establishment in France were in vain. The parliament made the strongest remonstrances against it; saying that the institution was superfluous, and contrary to the canons, which forbade the establishment of new religious societies, that by their institute they were exempt from paying tithes, by which the curés would be deprived of their rights, that they might leave the kingdom without the leave of the parliament, and that they were not subject to the jurisdiction of the bishops, which was contrary to the liberties of the Gallican church.†

Some of the disciples of Ignatius entering more than he wished into the professed humble spirit of their order, and

* *History*, l. p. 128. (P.)

† See the opposition made by the *University* and the *Parliament* of Paris, in 1554 and 1569. *Hist. Du Parl.* Pt. i. pp. 165, 166. See also *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* III. p. 390, and *D'Alembert* on "the Destruction of the Jesuits in France," pp. 18, 19.

declining to be confessors to princes and great men, by means of which they afterwards obtained their great wealth and power, he reproached them for it, saying, "The humility of apostolical men like you, is more generous than you imagine. You ought not to despise the lowest functions, but neither ought you to dread the highest, for you are not monks confined to cloisters. It is true, you ought to exercise your zeal in hospitals, galleys and prisons, but you are not to fly from the palaces of princes. Being bound by your institute to labour for the salvation of all, you ought to make no distinction of persons, especially not to refuse to labour for kings, to whom you owe so much the more of your attention, as they are farther from the kingdom of heaven than other men."* By this time there was awakened in Ignatius an ambition which had not appeared before: for at his outset no man could avoid what is called the world, and especially the great world, with more care than he did. His followers soon shewed that they had no objection to the new admonition of their founder.

It must be acknowledged that the Jesuits were indefatigable in their attempts to introduce the Catholic religion, and exalt the power of the Pope, in many foreign countries, as China and Japan in Asia, Ethiopia and Congo in Africa, and for some time their success was very promising. But, contrary to the practice of the apostles, they always applied themselves, in the first instance, to the princes, and having by much address gained *them*, introduced their religion among the common people in a manner independent of any rational conviction; and having too generally aimed at civil power, so as to bring the people into subjection to the see of Rome, they every where at length gave umbrage to the governing powers, and were finally expelled, leaving the people more prejudiced against the Catholic religion, and Christianity in general, than they found them. It may, however, be clearly seen, from the perusal of the *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, that, whatever might be the views of their superiors and employers, no men ever shewed more of a truly Christian spirit, more zeal, disinterestedness, humility, patience and perseverance, in acting or suffering, than many, I believe than most, of the missionaries did. At the same time it is evident that they were men of extraordinary talents, qualified to rise in the world, if that had been their object. I have read these letters with singular satisfaction.

* *Histoire*, l. p. 136. (P.)

This I observe in this place in general, as it is not my design to relate the particulars either of their reception in, or their expulsion from, foreign countries.

The Jesuits did not succeed in their endeavours to establish themselves in England on the accession of queen Mary; their exorbitant demand of the revenues of all the suppressed monasteries being rejected with indignation by cardinal Pole and the bishops; from whose jurisdiction they were to have been exempt. They also failed with respect to Flanders, the council rejecting all their proposals, though favoured by Philip II., on account of the disturbances which they had occasioned in other countries.

On the accession of Paul IV., the founder of the *Theatins*, the Jesuits were much alarmed, as having given him offence by their not entering into his order. But finding how useful they were to the advancement of the papal power, he was reconciled to them, and only prevailed upon them to change one of their constitutions, which forbade their celebration of divine service; and, after some time, mass and vespers were performed every Sunday, and on all holy days, at their house in Rome.

In A. D. 1556, Ignatius, exhausted by his labours, died at the age of sixty-five, when he had the satisfaction to see his Society established in most parts of the world. They then had a hundred colleges, without reckoning the novitiates, the professed houses and missions, which in all composed thirteen provinces, administered and filled by more than a million of Jesuits.* After much cabal and disputation, he was succeeded by Lainez, a man much superior to himself in every respect.†

Under him leave was given to study, and to give lectures from, other theological works besides those of Thomas Aquinas, which the historian says opened a door to new opinions, and all the scandalous excesses which the Jesuits introduced into morality.‡ Pius IV. shewed them more favour than his predecessor, granting them a confirmation and extension of their privileges, with respect both to their universities, and their exemption from foreign jurisdiction.

* *Histoire*, p. 197. (P.) Here is, probably, some error as to the number. The French biographer of Ignatius says that when he died, "sa compagnie avoit déjà douze provinces qui avoient au moins cent collèges, sans les maisons professés. On comptoit il y a dix ans environ 20,000 Jésuites." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* III. p. 390.

† Lainez died in 1565. See *supra*, p. 213, Note.

‡ *Histoire*, p. 231. (P.) The following rule has been ascribed to them: "In conscientia magnum regendis sequentur nostri confessarii sententiam illorum qui liberio rem conscientiam faciunt ut, à nostra directione et consilio toti velint dependere." *Secreta Monita*, 1723, p. 16.

SECTION XX.

Of the Waldenses in this Period.

THE ancient Waldenses were far from being suffered to pass unnoticed in this period, notwithstanding the rise of new and more interesting objects of attention. Having suffered much in various and long-continued persecutions, in consequence of which their learned pastors had been dispersed, and much ignorance had prevailed among them, they had been generally induced to attend mass, and to have their children baptized by the Popish priests. But in A. D. 1530, hearing of the progress of the Reformation in Switzerland and Germany, they sent two of their ministers, George Morel and Peter Masson, to Basil, to confer with *Œcolampadius*, others to Strasburg to confer with Bucer and Capito, and two to Farel at Neuchâtel. To *Œcolampadius* they presented a large writing, in Latin, containing an account of their church discipline and doctrine,* in which their opinions on the subject of grace and predestination appeared to be unfavourable to what had been advanced by Luther, at which they seem to have been somewhat disturbed. They thought that it was in the power of man to do the will of God, that he willed all men to be saved, and that no man perished but through his own fault. *Œcolampadius* blamed them for yielding so far as they had done to avoid persecution,† but on the subject of grace and predestination he seemed to agree with them; saying, that men's destruction came of themselves, and salvation from God only.‡

On the return of the deputies from their mission they suffered greatly. Peter Masson was imprisoned at Dijon;§ Mr. Gonin, who was sent to Farel, was arrested at Grenoble, and thrown into the river in a sack, but the rest arrived safe at Merindol, where they gave an account of their mission, and a synod was called for the year following, at which some foreign ministers were requested to attend.

In A. D. 1574, Charles, duke of Savoy, was so much importuned by the archbishop and inquisitor of Turin to persecute the Waldenses who were then very numerous, that he sent about five hundred of his troops against them, and

* *Rochat*, III. p. 268. *P.* Clarke's *Persecutions*, 1651, p. 132. *Laval*, I. p. 41.

† *Laval*, I. p. 35, 41. *Rochat*, p. 269. *P.*

‡ "Where he was condemned to die as a *Lutheran*, that is, to be burnt." *Laval*, I. p. 45. *Coche*, p. 157.

§ "Morel escaped with his letters and papers, and came safe to Provence." *Ibid.*

they plundered and destroyed all that came in their way. But these poor people, when they were recovered from the panic with which they were first seized, returned upon their enemies, and repulsed them with great slaughter. After this, ambushes were laid for small parties of them, and many were cut off in this way, but this was far from extirpating them. George Morel, in his memoirs written a little before this time, says, then there were about eight hundred thousand persons who professed this religion.

In A. D. 1536, Francis I. having conquered Piedmont, Paul III. persuaded him to proceed against the Waldenses, and many of them were apprehended and executed in consequence of his orders for that purpose.*

In A. D. 1545, some troops under the command of D'Oppede† were sent against them, and they set fire to several villages, when the poor inhabitants were slain without resistance, and every kind of enormity to which soldiers are accustomed, was committed. At the same time all persons were forbidden, under pain of death, to give them any food or succours. At Cabrieres, where they offered to surrender the place and leave the country, provided they might be permitted to do it unmolested, this general, taking possession of it, put to death all the men, and shutting up the women in a barn full of straw, set fire to it and destroyed them all. More than four thousand persons were slaughtered on this occasion, and twelve towns and villages reduced to ashes.‡

The king was exceedingly offended at this cruelty; but when, in the next reign, an inquiry was instituted, in order to bring the criminals to justice, D'Oppede escaped punishment by the interest of the duke of Guise. However, in A. D. 1552, Guerin, an advocate who issued the commission and had been peculiarly active in promoting the persecution, was beheaded, and soon after D'Oppede himself died, as is related by Thuanus, of a dreadful disease in his

* "1540. The inhabitants of *Merindol* were summoned, and some of the chief appearing for the rest, they were all condemned to be burned alive, their children and families to be outlawed, and that the place of their habitation should be laid waste the woods to be cut down two hundred paces round about.

"The king, being informed of the rigour of this edict, and of the innocency of the people, countermanded the execution of it; but his letters were suppressed, and the Cardinal of *Tournon* obtained for a great sum of money the revocation of them." *Clarke*, p. 132. *Hist. du Parl. de Paris*, Pt. i. p. 120.

† "*Magniers*, Baron D'Oppede, premier President du Parlement de Provence." *Ibid.* See *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* IV. pp. 785, 786.

‡ *Clarke*, pp. 132, 133. *Hist. du Parl.* Pt. i. p. 121.

howels, receiving, as he says, from God, the punishment from which his judges had saved him.*

In A. D. 1559, Philibert Emanuel, being restored to his estates, was persuaded to attempt the reduction of these poor people, and their most earnest entreaties had no effect to divert him from his purpose; but the troops sent against them were defeated, and at length in A. D. 1561, at the intercession of the duchess, who was supposed to favour their doctrines, he entered into a treaty with them, by which they were allowed the exercise of their religion.†

SECTION XXI.

Of the Bohemian Brethren.

THE Bohemian Brethren had several conferences with Luther, as has been observed in his history; and though at one time he had conceived a great prejudice against them, he was afterwards reconciled to them, and did not disapprove their church discipline. He always lamented the want of it in his own churches, but had not fixed on any plan. At their last conference in A. D. 1542, he seems to have thought it best that the two churches should preserve their peculiar discipline, in brotherly love, using these words, "Be ye apostles of the Bohemians, I and mine will be apostles of the Germans." He also wrote to John Augusta, one of their deputies, saying to him, "I exhort you in the Lord to persevere with us unto the end in the fellowship of the spirit and of doctrine."‡

The Bohemian Brethren had also in this period some intercourse with the Waldenses, who sent a deputation to them to renew their fellowship with them, and also with the Reformed at Strasburgh, where Bucer was so much pleased with them, that he wrote to them as follows: "I believe ye are the only people at this day who, together with a pure doctrine, exercise a genuine and well-adapted discipline, which is not grievous but profitable."§ Calvin also kept up a constant correspondence with them, and is said to have introduced some part of their discipline into the church of Geneva.

* Clarke, p. 134. *Hist. du Parl.* pp. 121—123.

† Morland's "History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piedmont," 1658, p. 238. (P.)

‡ Crantz. (P.) *La Trobe*, pp. 44, 45. Clarke, p. 159. § *Ibid.* p. 45. (P.)

Not being willing to support the emperor Charles V. against the Protestants, these Brethren were exposed to a grievous persecution. John Augusta and others were put in prison and otherwise cruelly used, and he was not released till the death of Ferdinand, sixteen years after.* Being ordered to join either the Catholics or the Calixtins, many of the Brethren, under the conduct of their bishop, Matthias Lyon, went into Poland; and being driven thence they went to Prussia, where duke Albert, having had their doctrine and discipline examined, granted them, by a diploma dated March 19, A. D. 1549, the same civil privileges with his other subjects. Most of them settled at Marianwerder.†

These Bohemian Brethren constantly refused to take any part in the controversy between the Lutherans and the Reformed in Switzerland, about the eucharist, contenting themselves with the use of scripture expressions on the subject; and in A. D. 1560, those who were of this branch of the Reformed in Poland united with them at the synod of *Xians*, when the discipline of the Brethren was accepted by a majority of votes, with some alteration respecting the division of the churches into districts, and the appointment of an ecclesiastical and civil senior over each district, the business of the latter being to attend to the outward concerns of the church and all the provincial synods, which were to be held every year to hear differences and adjust them. This union of the Brethren with the Swiss made them suspected by the Lutherans, who in many places were never wholly reconciled to them, and frequently did them ill offices, notwithstanding the friendship which had been shewn them by Luther.‡

SECTION XXII.

Miscellaneous Articles.

1. BY this time the learned Catholics began to be sensible of the advantage which the Protestants derived from their skill in the languages in which the Scriptures were written, being able to quote the original instead of translations; but they took a very absurd and impolitic method to deprive them of it. The faculty of theology at Paris, which had been distinguished for the ability, learning, and

* La Trobe's *Crantz*, p. 46. *Clarke*, p. 159. † La Trobe's *Crantz*, pp. 46, 47.

‡ *Ibid.* pp. 54, 55. (P.)

even the liberality of its members in all the dark ages, now acted a part very unworthy of them; for, dreading the very shadow of heresy, they censured every thing that seemed to lead to it, and in A. D. 1530, they passed a censure on the two following propositions, viz. 1. "The Holy Scriptures cannot be well understood without a knowledge of the Greek, Hebrew, and other languages. 2. A preacher cannot truly explain the gospels and epistles without a knowledge of those languages."

In the same year they ordered the professors of Greek and Hebrew in the Royal College founded by Francis I. viz. Peter Dané, Francis Vatablus, P. Paradis, and A. Gierdacier, to appear before the parliament, and procured them to be forbidden to explain the Scriptures according to the Greek and Hebrew, without the permission of the university. It was, however, acknowledged that the study of those languages was commendable in those divines who were not suspected of the errors of Luther, and who were always disposed to maintain inviolate the authority of the Vulgate translation.* So much use was made of the Greek and Hebrew by the Protestant divines, that the bare knowledge of those languages was sufficient to render a man suspected of heresy. The magistrates of Lucerne, finding in A. D. 1523, some Greek books in the possession of Colinus, then a canon of Munster in Argaw, but afterwards professor of Greek at Zurich, said, "This man is a Lutheran. Every thing Greek is heretical."†

In this period the Florentine academy was established by the celebrated Lorenzo de Medicis, for the cultivation of the Platonic philosophy, with great credit. It was the first institution in Europe for the pursuit of science detached from the scholastic method then universally adopted. The doctrines of Plato were as remote from the purposes of common life and general utility, as those of Aristotle; but their introduction was of essential service to the cause of free inquiry and substantial knowledge. By dividing the attention of the learned, they deprived the doctrines of Aristotle of that servile respect and veneration which had been so long paid to them; and by introducing the discussion of new subjects, they prepared the way for the pursuit of truths more within the sphere of the human intellect.‡

2. The Catholics were more united among themselves

* *Cont. of Fleury*, XXVII. p. 224. (P.) † *Rachat Prelim. Disc.* p. 9. (P.)

‡ *Roscoe's Life of Lorenzo*, p. 36. (P.)

in consequence of having a common and formidable enemy to oppose. This put a stop to many disputes which otherwise might have occasioned dangerous divisions.

Before the Reformation there were ten or twelve different opinions about the question "in what manner the body of Christ is present in the eucharist," and animosities could not have been carried farther than they were by those who maintained them; but after the Reformation these differences subsided, and all united against the common enemy.*

3. Clement Marot, a valet to Francis I. of France, turned the first fifty psalms of David into metre, and to sing them became fashionable at the court. The rest were translated in a similar manner by Beza, and they were adopted by the French Protestants.†

Oratories had their origin in the time of Philip de Neri, who in A. D. 1540‡ founded the *Priests of the Oratory*, in Rome. To draw a congregation, he had hymns and psalms performed, sometimes by one voice, and sometimes in chorus. Afterwards he had some sacred story versified, and set to music; and he engaged the best performers, vocal and instrumental. From the place of their exhibition they had their name.

The first performance of this kind that was certainly sung throughout was *L'Anima et di Corpo*, in which the principal dramatic persons were *Time*, *Pleasure*, the *Body*, the *World*, and *Human Life*, dressed in character. Dances were also introduced. This drama exhibited the first instance of modern recitative.§

Luther was a great admirer of music, and is said to be the author of some of the best melodies used in the German and other Protestant churches, particularly that of the hundredth psalm. It is said that he paraphrased and set to music the forty-sixth psalm, on his way to the diet at Worms.||

4. There are some traces of unbelievers in this period, though not many. They were generally called *Libertines*, but they naturally complied with the times, and joined the prevailing party. The church of Rome, it is said, abounded with such men, and they were, says Mr. Brandt, the greatest

* *Laval*, IV. p. 372. (P.)

† *Williams*, p. 50. (P.)

‡ In 1564. He was not a *priest* till 1550, at the age of 36. *Neri* was canonized in 1622. He died at Rome in 1595, aged 80. To that city he had removed at the age of 19, from Florence, where he was born of a noble family. See *Nov. Dict. Hist.* IV. pp. 683, 684.

§ *Williams*, p. 43. (P.)

|| *Ibid.* p. 49. (P.)

enemies of those who suffered martyrdom. Balthazar, prior of the Dominicans at Antwerp, was said to be one of them;* and Tapper, the grand inquisitor in the Low Countries, a violent persecutor, was suspected to be an Atheist.† Calvin, Beza, and P. Viret, make frequent mention of these Libertines.‡

* *La Roche*, p. 79. (P.) *Brandt*, B. iv. p. 327.

† *La Roche*, p. 90. (P.) *La Roche* adds, "An atheist, unless he thinks it his duty to act according to the dictates of reason, is a very dangerous person, especially if he is a clergyman." On *Ruard Tapper's* cruelty, and his death in 1559, see *Brandt*, B. iv. pp. 398—401.

‡ Dr. Priestley, like *Mosheim*, has passed, unnoticed, the labours and sufferings of *Reformers* in Italy during this period. There exists, however, a curious testimony to the progress of the new opinions in that country, given by "I Lewis Cornaro, a noble Venetian;" whose example of temperance was recommended by Addison in the *Spectator*, (No. 195). At the beginning of Cornaro's "Treatise on a Sober Life," published about 1549, is the following passage, of which I quote the original and the translation, from a volume published in 1768, and in which the *Italian*, reprinted from the edition of Venice, 1620, is annexed to the translation:

Considerando, che per esser lui di tanta possanza, si sono introdotti in questa nostra Italia da non molto tempo in quà, anzi alla nostra età, tre mali costumi. Il primo è l'adulatione, et le cerimonie. L'altro il river secondo l'opinión Lutheraná, che pur da alcuni si cà mettendo à gran torto in consuetudine. Il terzo, la crapula: i quali tre viti, anzi mostri crudeli della vita humana, hanno tolto a' nostri tempi deprimere la sincerità del river civile, la religione dell'anima, et la sanità del corpo; ho deliberato di trattar di questa ultima, et di dimostrar, che è abuso, per levarla, se si può: che quanto all'opinioni Lutherané, et al primo, che è l'adulatione, son certo, che tosto qualche gentile spirito torrà il carico di biasimarle, et levarle dal mondo. "Discorsi Della Vita Sobria." In Londra, 1768, pp. 158, 159.

"Considering that, in consequence of this great force of habit, three bad customs have got footing in Italy within a few years, even within my own memory; the first, flattery and ceremoniousness; the second, Lutheranism, which some have most preposterously embraced; the third, intemperance; and that these three vices, like so many cruel monsters, leagued, as indeed they are, against mankind, have gradually prevailed so far, as to rob civil life of its sincerity, the soul of its piety, and the body of its health: seeing and considering all this, I say, I have resolved to treat of the last of these vices, and prove, that it is an abuse, in order to extirpate it, if possible. As to the second, Lutheranism, and the first, flattery, I am certain, that some great genius or another will soon undertake the task of exposing their deformity, and effectually suppressing them." *Discourses on a Sober and Temperate Life*, pp. 2, 3.

It was, I apprehend, for these Italian adherents to *Lutheranism*, which, according to Cornaro's fond expectation, was so soon to pass away, that, in 1551, the New Testament was printed at Lyons, where, according to the *History of Printing*, 1770, (p. 39), there had been a *press* as early as 1477. This translation is in 18mo., and very neatly printed in *Italic* types, with the following title: "Il Nuovo ed Eterno Testamento di Giesu Christo. Nuovamente da l'original fonte Greca, con ogni diligenza in Toscano tradotto Per Massimo Theofilo Fiorentino. In Lieue, 1551."

The translation is dedicated "A L'Illustriss. Signore, Il sig. Francesco de Medici, Principe Eccellentissimo." On a blank page some earlier possessor of the volume has written, "Vid. Le Long Bibl. S. Part 2, p. 138, ubi ex Voëtio. 'Transtulit Nov. Test. Maximus Theophilus, post Brucciolum, idque ut puritates linguæ Italicæ magis observare.'" Dr. Geddes mentions, "Bruccioli's Italian version from the originals, or rather from the Latin of Pagninus, first published at Venice in 1532," but he takes no notice of this translation in 1551. See *Prospectus*, p. 86.

For an account of Martyrs in Italy, between 1546 and 1560, and their executions described by a contemporary *Papist*, as "resembled to the slaughter of calves and sheep," see *Clarke*, pp. 231—244.

PREFACE

TO THE FOURTH* AND LAST VOLUME.

[1803.]



To the observations contained in the Preface to the first volume of this work, I wish to add, at the conclusion of the whole, the following additional ones:

Though I call this a *General History* of the Christian Church, being intended only to present a view of what is most important, as most worth remembering and reflecting upon, in it, there will be found interspersed through the whole of it, various particulars related more at large than the title would lead the reader to expect; but they are all of such a nature as appeared to me to be calculated to give a more distinct idea of the sentiments and spirit of the times to which they relate, than any more concise account; and a knowledge of these is what is of the most real value in all history, civil or ecclesiastical.

Also, besides the particulars of this kind that are dispersed through the body of the work, I have introduced four distinct Sections, in which I have made the narrative still more extended; but they have the same object with the particulars above-mentioned. These are, the history of Jetzer at Bern, † of the miracles ascribed to St. Anthony, the sufferings of Lewis Marolles, Le Fevre ‡ and Mauru, after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in France, and those of some of the most distinguished English martyrs in the reign of queen Mary. The two former will give the reader a much clearer idea of the frauds and impositions that were formerly practised in the church of Rome, and the two latter of the great power of Christian principles in enabling men to bear all that their enemies could inflict, than any more concise relation. Being, however, in separate Sections, they may be passed over by those who wish to see nothing more than a general view of the transactions of those times. §

* From the fall of the Western Empire, the *sixth* volume of the whole *History*.

† See *supra*, pp. 61—69.

‡ See Vol. IX. p. 19.

§ The account of Swedenborg, which the author had introduced here, is now reserved for insertion at the close of this volume.

As it is impossible to unite the two methods of writing history, viz. in the form of *annals* and according to the separate *subjects* of which it consists, and I have chosen the latter: to remedy, in some measure, the inconvenience attending a want of the former, I have added a *chronological table of the principal events in the order of time*, and also a view of the *succession of sovereigns*, in such countries as will be found to be of the most importance in the history, viz. of the popes, the emperors of the East and West, and the kings of France and England; and I have done it in such a manner as that it may be seen at one view which of them were contemporary, and how far they were so.

Having now lived to complete this work,* for which I am thankful to a kind Providence, I shall immediately proceed to print my *Notes on all the Books of Scripture*; † and if my impaired health will admit of it, and nothing unforeseen happen, I hope that in about a year from this time this work will also be finished. With respect to them both, I have done my endeavour not to disappoint the expectation of those generous friends who have enabled me to publish them. ‡ It is not long that I can now expect to live, but while I do I am happy to be employed in what I trust will contribute to promote the cause of rational religion.

* Dr. Priestley lived to superintend the *printing* through the third volume of the whole work. See Vol. IX. p. 19.

† Which the author had finished in 1799, and at his death, had conducted through the press as far as *Isaiah*. See Mr. Priestley's *Continuation of the Memoirs*, 8vo. pp. 196, 216; 12mo. pp. 177, 195.

‡ See the Editor's Preface, Vol. IX. pp. iii. iv.



PERIOD XXIII.

FROM THE CONCLUSION OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT,
IN A. D. 1563, TO THE REVOCATION OF THE EDICT
OF NANTES, IN A. D. 1685.



SECTION I.

*Of the Popes, and the General Character and State of the
Catholic Church in this Period.*

FROM the time of which we are now treating, the personal characters and conduct of the popes are of much less consequence with respect to throwing light on any thing in the history of Christianity than in the preceding periods; their influence on the affairs of Europe from the time of the Reformation, which was so well established at the conclusion of the Council of Trent, was diminished at least one half, and their revenues in proportion, though their spirit, and their pretensions, continued as high as ever. It will be proper, however, to mention the more considerable of them, and the transactions that immediately respected them.

Pius IV., under whom the Council of Trent was brought to a conclusion, was most sensibly mortified and alarmed by Maximilian II., when elected king of the Romans,* refusing to ask of him the confirmation either of that title, or that of king of Hungary and Bohemia. This prince was, in reality, much inclined to Protestantism, if not entirely Protestant in his heart; and the defection of the emperor at that time would probably have been followed by that of the empire in general, and also that of other states of Europe. It was not, therefore, without reason that the Pope was alarmed at these symptoms of the little respect that he bore to the authority

* In 1562. He succeeded to the empire on the death of his father Ferdinand I. in 1564. *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* IV. p. 447.

of the papal see. The Pope, not being able to gain any thing by negotiation, was content to confirm his election without being requested to do it.

The same emperor demanded of the Pope the communion in both kinds, and the liberty of marrying for the priests of his subjects, and in this he was joined by the electors of the empire. But the Pope, having now nothing to apprehend from the council, which was dissolved, chose to risk the consequences of refusing this request, the granting of which would have made the whole body of the clergy less dependent upon him, and more attached to their families and their country.

This pope proposed an interview at Bayon, between Philip II. of Spain, and Charles IX. of France, where the duke of Alva attended, the object of which, it is not doubted, was the extermination of all the heretics in their dominions; a measure which both these princes did every thing in their power to carry into execution, both by treachery and violence of every kind. This pontiff, so zealous for the church, died, it was thought, of the effects of intemperance.* His successor, Pius V., distinguished himself as much by his zeal against heretics,† causing some of them to be sent to Rome, where they were burnt alive without mercy; and his orders with respect to Germany would probably have alienated the whole empire, if his legate had not shewn more discretion in the execution of them.

The characters of the popes in this period were, no doubt, considerably superior, both with respect to morality and literature, to those in the preceding. This was, in a great measure, enforced by the Reformation. But whatever might be the character of the popes in other respects, they were all zealous for the interest of their see, and spared nothing that artifice or force could accomplish to stop the progress of the defection from it, and, if possible, to recover the countries which had revolted from their obedience.

Innocent X., who succeeded to the pontificate in A. D. 1644, was an exception to the general character given above, with respect to the decency of outward conduct, being notoriously indolent, profligate, and living in an illicit commerce with *Donna Olympia*, his brother's widow, a commerce which commenced before the death of her

* In 1565, aged 67, "emportant dans le tombeau la haine des Romains." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* IV. p. 1030.

† "Le bucher étoit la seule réponse qu'il donna aux hérétiques." *Ibid.* p. 1040.

husband. She was moreover, a woman of insatiable avarice and boundless ambition, and to her disposal the Pope left every thing.*

The character of Innocent XI., who was raised to the pontifical dignity in A. D. 1676, makes a great contrast with that of his predecessor of the same name, being a man of the most austere morals, uncommon resolution,† and withal, an enemy to the grosser superstitions of his church. But his example shewed in a striking light, that such is the corruption which prevails in the system, and so many are interested in the support of it, that every serious attempt of a reformation will be frustrated.

In this period a great attempt was made to suppress the Protestant religion in Germany, and the neighbouring countries; and the bigotted princes of the house of Austria entered warmly into it, pretending that the treaty of Passau [1552] had been infringed by the Protestants. But force was in the first place employed in Bohemia, by an open persecution of all who did not conform to the Catholic religion, without any regard to the faith of treaties. On the death of the emperor Matthias, [1619,] the Bohemians opposed force to force, and made choice of Frederic V., the elector Palatine, a Protestant prince, for their king. But the emperor, or Ferdinand II., aided by George, the Lutheran elector of Saxony, entirely defeated them in A. D. 1620, and subjected them to a more rigorous persecution than ever.‡ Having succeeded with respect to the Bohemians, the emperor in the next place attacked the liberties of Germany, and in A. D. 1629, issued an edict, by which the Protestants were required to restore to the church of Rome all the possessions they had acquired by the peace concluded in the preceding century. But his bigotry and ambition received a check from Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, who, encouraged by the policy of the French, entered Germany in the same year; and though after several victories, he fell in the battle of Lutzen, in A. D. 1632, the war was continued with so much success, that, at the peace of Westphalia, in A. D. 1648, the liberties of the Pro-

* *Mosheim*, IV. p. 282. (P.) Cent. xvii. Sect. ii. Pt. i. Ch. i. Par. i.

† “ Il avoit porté les armes avant que de porter la Tiare. Il ne lui resta de son ancien métier qu’une certaine fermeté qui ne savoit pas s’accomoder au tems.” *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* III. p. 399.

‡ “ In the year 1622, and in three or four succeeding years, to the number of thirty thousand fixed families quitted this country, not to mention women, children, handicraftsmen and others, and the greatest part of the nobility also who retired.” *Crutwell*, art. *Bohemia*.

testants were better secured than ever, though nothing could be obtained in favour of the Bohemians.

In Hungary, from A. D. 1671 to A. D. 1681, both the Lutherans and the Calvinists were exposed to great hardships, owing principally to the Jesuits. The same treatment was experienced by the Protestants in Poland; and the Waldenses, as will be shewn, were often persecuted in the most inhuman manner by the duke of Savoy.

In Spain the clergy succeeded in prevailing upon the court to expel a prodigious number of Moors, who, though they had outwardly embraced Christianity, were suspected of a leaning to Mahometanism; by which measure, though the clergy gained, the country lost a great number of its industrious inhabitants. This was effected in a manner the most shocking to humanity, in A. D. 1610. The numbers expelled are computed to have been not less than six hundred thousand, besides those that were slain or detained in the country.*

In A. D. 1618, the effects of this cruel and impolitic measure were so sensibly felt, that in a memorial presented to Philip III., it was said, "the depopulation in Spain is much greater than was ever seen or heard of before; it being in truth so great at this time, that if God do not provide such a remedy for us as we may expect from your majesty's piety and wisdom, the crown of Spain is hastening to its total ruin and destruction; its houses being in ruins every where, and without any body to rebuild them; and its towns and villages do lie like so many deserts" †

In Sixtus V., who got himself elected pope by the most profound and long-continued dissimulation, in A. D. 1585, the zeal for Catholicism was overpowered by ambition. He even rejoiced at the defeat of the Spanish Armada, expecting that the force of Spain would be thereby so weakened, that it might be in his power to conquer the kingdom of Naples, which was his great object.‡

In order to put a stop to the further progress of the Reformation, the Catholics employed the terrors of the Inquisition,§ wherever it could be introduced, as in Italy, Spain

* *M. Geddes*, l. p. 161.

+ *Ibid.* p. 163. (P.)

‡ *Histoire des Papes*, V. p. 75. (P.)

§ See "the bull of Sixtus V." An. 1587, respecting the office of the Holy Inquisition; "ex quo," says his holiness, "*uberis in agro Domini fructus indies prodire conspicimus.*" Of which in the field of the Lord we daily behold the abundant fruits.) *Holy Inquisition*, 1681, pp. 95—106.

"Pope Pius V. made *Rodericus á Mendoca*, naval inquisitor, because, about the year 1571, there were found men of several religions, in those galleys that assisted

and Portugal. They also prohibited the reading of the books of heretics, by publishing lists of them, and preventing their circulation.* With the same view also they encouraged literature among themselves, holding out ample rewards for those who should distinguish themselves in the defence of their system: and from this was derived great advantage to the cause of Christianity in general; many very valuable works having been produced by this means, and some which throw much light upon the Scriptures, and ecclesiastical history.

Several advantages were derived from the Reformation with respect to the Catholic church itself. Notwithstanding the opposition that was made to it by those who were most devoted to the temporal interest of the popes, their avarice and ambition were much repressed by the abolition of reservations, provisions, exemptions and expectatives, which we have seen to have been the source of much of the wealth and power of the court of Rome. This was chiefly effected by the Council of Trent. The call for the Reformation of such abuses as these was too general, and too loud to be resisted. Also the behaviour of the clergy in general was much more decent after the Reformation. Without some change in this respect, they could not have kept their ground against the Reformers, whose morals were distinguished for regularity. The superior clergy were, however, still devoted

the Italian princes against the Turks. This inquisition thus shipped and got to sea, was soon transported into the Canary Islands, and into both the Indies, in all the dominions of Spain and Portugal." *Holy Inquisition*, pp. 81, 82.

* "By the instructions of Clement VIII., anno 1596. 'Qui negotium suscepit corrigendi atque expurgandi, circumspicere et attentè notare debet, non solum quæ in cursu operis manifestè se offerunt, sed si quæ in scholiis, in summariis, in marginibus, in iudiciis librorum, in præfationibus, aut epistolis dedicatoriis, tanquam in insidiis delitescunt.'" *Ibid.* p. 222.

"In the rules of the *Sacred Congregation*, anno 1667, published by the authority of pope Alexander VII., the former injunctions are confirmed, and they expressly set down in the index of prohibited books, *Biblia vulgari quocunque idioma conscripta*; and in the rules make this sanction, 'Qui absque facultate episcopi aut inquisitoris sacra Biblia vulgari lingua habere præsumperit, nisi prius Bibliis ordinario redditus peccatorum absolutionem percipere non poterit.'" *Ibid.* p. 225.

"As for those books whereof the subject is judged to be good and useful, but that they have here and there things that border too much upon heresy, after the faults are amended by the inquisitors or their deputies, they may be permitted to be read. So saith the eighth rule: 'Libri quorum principale argumentum bonum est, in quibus tamen obiter quædam inserta sunt quæ ad hæresim spectant, à Catholicis theologis inquisitionis generalis auctoritate expurgati, concedi possunt.'

"These cautions and edicts of popes and inquisitors, extend also to them that buy or sell any forbidden books; and where the Roman tribunal is potent enough, the penalties against transgressors are exacted with great rigour. And Bzovius himself tells us of one Casper Tauberus, 1524, who was adjudged to be burnt at Vienna, because, after having foresworn the reading any more of heretical condemned books, he transgressed again." *Ibid.* pp. 226, 227.

to the pursuits of pleasure and ambition, though with more circumspection than before.* Leo X. revived the ancient custom of preaching in the church of Rome, after it had been discontinued for five hundred years. It was again revived by Pius V.†

The monastic orders were much improved by the Reformation. Before this period it appears from the writings of Erasmus, that ignorance, bigotry, and in many cases, gross vices, were prevalent among them; whereas after this event we have heard of few complaints of the kind. From this time the monasteries became more than ever places of retreat for persons who really wished to retire from the business of the world, or had no means of advancing themselves in it: and the nunneries were places of education, and a provision for such females of opulent families as could not be disposed of to advantage, in marriage. At the same time there were among them, no doubt, many examples of the most fervent, though mistaken devotion. Indeed, at no time were the monasteries without many persons of this character. Many new communities, on principles of the strictest discipline, were instituted, and some of the old ones were much reformed.

In this period the minds of both the Catholics and the Reformers were well exercised in disputation, but without any remarkable advantage to either party. The most distinguished champion on the part of the Catholics was Bossuet, bishop of Meaux. He thought to have overturned the whole system of his adversaries by exposing the variations in their doctrine and discipline.‡ But it is remarkable that his own *Exposition of the Catholic Faith* § was received by the members of his own communion in a very different manner. It was condemned by one pope, and approved of by another, applauded by the archbishop of Rheims, and censured by the university of Louvain. It was condemned by the Sorbonne in A. D. 1671, and in the following century was declared by the same society to be a true exposition of the Catholic faith.¶ Many friends of

* *Moshem, IV. p. 331. P. Cent. xvii. Sect. ii. Pt. i. Ch. i. Par. xxiv.*

† *Bingham, p. 639. P.*

‡ In his *Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes.*

§ "*L'Exposition de la Doctrine Catholique, ouvrage qui opera la conversion du grand Turc.*" *Nouv. Diet. Hist. I. p. 461.* As I am engaged, by his military profession, to fight in any war which his prince or government may deem just, is well prepared to profess any religion which they may have established.

¶ *Moshem, IV. p. 319. P. Cent. xvii. Sect. ii. Pt. i. Ch. i. Par. xv. Maclaine's Note.*

peace, in both communions, endeavoured to compromise the differences, and promote an union of the two churches, but they were all unsuccessful.

The most remarkable of those who deserted the communion of the Protestants in this period, were, Christina, queen of Sweden. Wolfgang William, count palatine of the Rhine. Christian William, marquis of Brandenburg, Ernest, prince of Hesse, John Frederic, duke of Brunswick, and Frederic Augustus, king of Poland. But these changes in the princes had no effect on their subjects.*

The Catholics observing the great advantage which the Reformers derived from the interpretation of the Scriptures, did every thing in their power to prevent it; but some of the methods to which they had recourse were such as did them considerable injury in the opinion of all serious Christians. The popes not only forbade the reading of the Scriptures in any of the vulgar tongues, but also the interpretation of them by any public teacher in any other sense than that which prevailed in the church; and it was common with the more zealous champions to maintain that the Scriptures themselves derived their authority from the church, and that the decrees of the popes, and even the records of oral traditions, were of superior authority to them.

There were among the Catholics some learned and judicious commentators, but they were not long held in much esteem. Their writers were in general of three kinds, the schoolmen from the former periods, the dogmatists, who resolved all controversies by the opinions of the fathers and the authority of the church, and the mystics, who made religion to consist in contemplation and tranquillity of mind, in opposition to the forms of external worship. These, though they held the ancient genuine maxims of the monks, were at this time regarded with a jealous eye by the zealous adherents of the church, but they were connived at, while they made no public opposition to them.

One of the most distinguished of the Catholic writers in the controversy with the Protestants in this period, was Bellarmine, a Jesuit. Against him all the defenders of the Reformation for a long time directed their attacks. But his fairness and candour in exhibiting the arguments of his opponents,† gave them a great advantage, and on that account was not pleasing to his friends.

* *Mosheim*, IV. pp. 311, 312. (P.) Cent. xvii. Sect. i. Pt. i. Ch. i. Par. xvi.

† “Presque tous ont avoué qu’il proposoit leurs difficultés dans leur force; et

In this period it began to be a prevailing opinion with the more moderate Catholics, that the authority of the popes ought to be confined to spiritual matters; and their influence in the political world, which had been so great, was almost annihilated, the Popish princes only availing themselves of it when it answered their purposes. This sufficiently appeared in the issue of several contests which the popes in this period had with some temporal powers in their obedience; the most remarkable of which was, that which Paul V. had with the Venetians on the subject of the immunities of the clergy.

This pope complained of their having reduced the number of religious houses, and prohibited the alienation of immoveable property to the church without the leave of the civil power, and of judging ecclesiastical persons in civil causes. Though the encroachment of the clergy in all these cases had been so great as to weaken very essentially the resources of the state, the Pope was exceedingly offended at their conduct: and in the first year of his pontificate he sent two briefs to his nuncio at Venice, one containing a revocation of their decrees relating to the acquisition of property by the church, and the other ordering some ecclesiastical state criminals to be sent to the spiritual courts.

The senate treating these decrees with contempt, the Pope issued a bull of excommunication against them, and in case they did not comply with his demands, by revoking, in twenty-four days, all that they had done, he pronounced an interdict on their city and territory; forbidding all public worship in them, and threatening them with farther marks of his displeasure if they should still persist in their obstinacy.

The publication of these bulls gave occasion to many writings on both sides. The person who distinguished himself the most in the defence of the Venetians was Paul Sarpi, of the order of Servites, the celebrated author of the *History of the Council of Trent*, and his great opponent was Baroni- us, the no less celebrated author of a voluminous ecclesiastical history. The Venetians, determined to maintain their rights, declared the Pope's bull to be abusive and null;

quelques-uns qui les détruisoit mieux qu'aucun autre écrivain Catholique." Cardinal *Bellarmino* was born at *Monte Paleiano*, in 1542, became a Jesuit at the age of 17, and died at Rome in 1621. " *Grégoire XV.* alla visiter le cardinal mourant, qui lui adressa ces paroles: *Deus, non sum dignus ut intres, &c.* Cet enthousiasme dans un homme agonisant, marque jusqu'à quel point le cardinal *Bellarmin* portoit son respect pour la personne du Pape." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* I. p. 362.

nor was there a single ecclesiastic in all their states that would publish it, or pay any regard to the interdict. The Capuchins and Jesuits asked leave to withdraw themselves. To the former leave was granted, with liberty to return when they should think proper; but the latter were ordered to depart without taking any of their property, and never to return again.*

At first the Pope made preparation to enforce his bull by arms, and was promised assistance from France and Spain; but it appearing that the real object of the Spanish court was to take advantage of the quarrel, and there appearing a prospect of much difficulty in carrying on the war, the Pope was prevailed upon to listen to terms of reconciliation, under the mediation of Henry IV. king of France, and these were sufficiently favourable to him; for, the prisoners were delivered up to the church, the decrees against the apostolical censures were revoked, and all the possessions taken from the church were restored. They only refused to readmit the Jesuits. These terms being agreed to, the Pope gave the Venetians his absolution, and they sent a solemn embassy to thank him, and assure him of their filial obedience.†

We have seen that Clement VII., for fear of disobliging the emperor Charles V., risked the giving offence to Henry VIII. of England. On the revolt of the Portuguese from the dominion of Spain, in A. D. 1641, Urban VIII., and also his successor, declined giving the title of *king* to the duke of Braganza, or confirming the bishops of his appointment, for fear of giving offence to the court of Spain. But the king of Portugal did not venture, or was not disposed, to act the part of Henry. Dreading the power of the Inquisition, and the superstition of the people, he did not venture to break with the see of Rome, and in this state things continued till the peace between the two countries, in A. D. 1668.‡

Superstitious as was Lewis XIV. of France, his impatience of contradiction led him to brave the resentment of the sovereign pontiff, at the same time that he was determined on subduing his Protestant subjects. The Corsican guards of Alexander VII. having affronted the French ambassador in A. D. 1662, Lewis demanded satisfaction, and not obtaining it, he ordered his troops to march and besiege the Pope, in

* *Histoire des Papes*, V. p. 141. (P.) † *Ibid.* (P.)

‡ *Mosheim*, IV. p. 322. (P.) Cent. xvii. Sect. ii. Pt. i. Ch. i. Par. xx. See "A History of the Pope's Behaviour towards Portugal from 1641 until 1666." *M. Geddes*, II. pp. 73—173.

Rome; and the Pope found himself under the necessity, in A. D. 1664, of pacifying this haughty monarch by the most mortifying concessions, especially the erection of a pillar in Rome to preserve the remembrance of it.*

In A. D. 1678, there arose a violent altercation between the same Lewis and Innocent XI., the most respectable, and the most resolute, of all the popes in this period† about what is called in France the *right of regale*, by which the king claims the nomination of the bishops, which had been allowed with respect to some, but not to all, to which the king was determined it should extend; and notwithstanding all the threats of the Pope, and the issuing of his bulls, the publication of which the king prevented, he carried his point, and in an assembly of the bishops at Paris, in A. D. 1682, it was declared that the power of the Popes was purely spiritual, and inferior to that of a general council; and this was agreed to by all the clergy and universities in the kingdom.‡

In A. D. 1687, this haughty prince had another contest with the same pope about the right of *asylum*, which had been enjoyed by the ambassadors of the kings of France at Rome, but to which this pope was determined to put a stop; and he persisted in his purpose notwithstanding all the threats of the king. After his death, the difference was in some measure compromised, the right of asylum being given up with the king's consent: also the right of *regale* was settled with certain modifications, but not to the disadvantage of the clergy of France.§

* *Mosheim*, IV. p. 325. (P.) Cent. xvii. Sect. ii. Pt. ii. Ch. i. Par. xxii. "Dans d'autres temps, les excommunications de Rome auraient suivi ces outrages; mais c'étaient des armes usées et devenues ridicules: il fallut que le Pape plût: il fut forcé d'exiler de Rome son propre frère; d'envoyer son neveu, le cardinal Chigi, en qualité de légat à latere, faire satisfaction au roi; de casser la garde corse, et d'élever dans Rome une pyramide, avec une inscription qui contenait l'injure et la réparation." *Voltaire*, "Siècle de Louis XIV." Paris, 1803, 18mo. I. p. 115.

† "Un homme vertueux, un pontife sage, peu théologien, prince courageux, ferme et magnifique." *Voltaire*, I. p. 210.

‡ *Mosheim*, Cent. xvii. Sect. ii. Pt. Ch. i. Par. xxii.

§ *Ibid.* IV. pp. 328, 329. P. Par. xxii. "Il y avait depuis long-temps dans Rome un abus difficile à déraciner, parce qu'il était fondé sur un point d'honneur dont se piquaient tous les rois Catholiques. Leurs ambassadeurs à Rome étendaient le droit de franchise et d'asile affermé à leur maison jusqu'à une très grande distance qu'on nomme quartier: ces prétentions, toujours soutenues, rendaient la moitié de Rome un asile sûr à tous les crimes. Par un autre abus, ce qui entraît dans Rome sous le nom des ambassadeurs ne payait jamais d'entrée. Le commerce en souffrait, et le fisc en était appauvri.

"Le pape Innocent XI. obtint enfin de l'empereur et roi d'Espagne, de celui de Pologne, et du nouveau roi d'Angleterre, Jacques II., prince Catholique, qu'ils renoncassent à ces droits odieux. Le nonce Ranucci proposa à Louis XIV. de concourir comme les autres rois à la tranquillité et au bon ordre de Rome. Louis, très mécontent du Pape, répondit, 'Qu'il ne s'agit jamais réglé sur l'exemple d'autrui, et que c'était à lui de servir d'exemple.'" *Voltaire*, I. pp. 210, 211.

SECTION II.

Of the foreign Missions for the Propagation of the Catholic Religion, and what was done by the Protestants to extend theirs.

THE Catholic religion having lost so much ground in Europe, the zeal of its friends was the more excited to extend its influence in foreign countries; and for some time their endeavours were not without a great appearance of success; both with Christians of various denominations in the East, and in countries wholly Heathen.

Various attempts were made to introduce the Catholic religion among the Copts of Egypt, the Abyssinians, the Armenians, and the Nestorians in Asia; and the Jesuits were chiefly employed for this purpose. But they proceeded on different maxims according to circumstances, and there were too evident marks of human policy in their conduct.

At first, when there were appearances of success, they insisted on the most rigid conformity in their new converts to all the doctrines and rites of the Romish church; but this being found to give too much offence, they afterwards generally went into the other extreme, tolerating every thing that was consistent with the general councils, and an acknowledged subjection to the Pope. An example of their extreme of haughtiness and rigour we have in the behaviour of Menezes, archbishop of Goa, to the Nestorians of Malabar, as is related in La Croze's excellent *History of the Christianity of the Indies*,* and of the contrary conduct of the Jesuits in China, where, at least according to some of the more zealous Catholics, their Christianity was little more than Heathenism disguised.

Gregory XIII. founded and endowed twenty-two colleges in different parts of Christendom, for the instruction of young persons, to qualify them for these foreign missions, and he sent missionaries to Ethiopia, Africa and Constantinople, at the same time that he neglected nothing nearer home. He maintained some nuncios in Germany, with a view to bring back the Protestants there into the pale of the church. He sent sixty-four English, Scotch and Irish

* "Histoire du Christianisme des Indes," 2 Vols. 12mo. *La Haye*, 1758. See also *M. Geddes* "Hist. of the Church of Malabar," V. pp. 53—109

Jesuits into England, in addition to four hundred missionary monks who were there before, and they did every thing that men of the greatest address could do to recover that kingdom to the holy see; but the greater part of them were discovered and banished.* He likewise assisted the kings of France and Spain with money for the extirpation of heresy in France and the Low Countries, and the emperor, for supporting the Catholic religion in Germany.†

In A. D. 1622, Gregory XV. founded a congregation of cardinals for the propagation of the faith, and its funds were greatly enlarged by Urban VIII.; and to this, in A. D. 1627, the last-mentioned pope added a college for the same purpose. By this means a vast number of missionaries were sent into all parts of the world, and every thing was done to prepare them for their missions, and assist them in them. A similar institution was, in A. D. 1663, founded in France, called *the congregation of priests of the foreign missions*, and another called a *seminary for those missions abroad*.‡

From these institutions a prodigious number of missionaries were sent into all foreign countries, chiefly from the Jesuits, Dominicans, Franciscans, and Capuchins; and many persons in almost all foreign countries were by this means brought to the profession of the Catholic faith. But the preachers of the different orders not agreeing among themselves, and some of them accusing others, especially the Jesuits, of unfair practices in making proselytes, as having in view the interest of their particular order more than that of Christianity, allowing therein practices inconsistent with the Christian religion, and also involving themselves in civil affairs and the cabals of courts, and even refusing obedience to the orders of the popes when they did not approve of them, the great object of these pompous missions was almost wholly defeated.§

The most distinguished, and to appearance the most successful of all these missionaries, was Francis Xavier, of whom some account was given in the history of the Jesuits in the former period.¶ In A. D. 1541, he sailed for the Portuguese settlements in the East Indies, where he is said to have preached with great effect both on the continent and in the islands. In A. D. 1549, he went to Japan,

* *Hist. des Papes*, V. p. 93. P. The Jesuits first came into England in 1580. See Camden's *Elizabeth*, Ed. 3, 1675, p. 245.

† *Ibid.* (P.) ‡ *Mosheim*, Cent. xvii. Sect. i. Par. iii.

§ *Mosheim*, IV. p. 206. (P.) Cent. xvii. Sect. i. Par. iv. || See *supra*, p. 281.

where he quickly laid the foundation of a flourishing church, which continued many years, but sailing for China, he died before he reached the shore, in A. D. 1552. Other members, however, of the same society penetrated into that country; and the most distinguished of them was Matthew Ricci, who, by his knowledge of the mathematics, recommended himself to the emperor and the Chinese nobility, so that he and his associates had liberty to preach and make converts, in consequence of which, notwithstanding the expulsion of the Jesuits afterwards, the church they founded subsists to this day.

The greatest expectations were raised from the successes of these missions in China, during the reign of Xunchi, the first emperor of the Mogul race; but this king dying and leaving a minor, his guardians persecuted the Jesuits in a cruel manner. However, when this emperor, whose name was Kanghi, assumed the government, they were restored to their former credit; and in A. D. 1692, an edict was issued, declaring the Christian religion to be no way detrimental to the interests of the monarchy; and in A. D. 1700, he directed a magnificent church to be built within the precincts of the palace. But the manner in which the Jesuits conducted themselves in this country was the occasion of much controversy, and frequent references to the court of Rome. They were more especially charged with indulging their Chinese converts in their former idolatrous rites, though they maintained that those rites were of a civil, and not of a religious nature. Yet when they were hard pushed, they had recourse to the necessity they were under of conniving at the use of such means, as nothing but the goodness of the end would justify.*

Next to Xavier, the most celebrated of the Jesuit missionaries was Robert di Nobile, an Italian. He had great success in preaching the gospel in Madura; but it was in consequence of pretending to be a Bramin from the northern countries, descended, as their Bramins were said to be, from the god *Brama*, and submitting to all the austerities of that order of men. But all these missions were suspended and abandoned by pope Benedict XIV. in A. D. 1744, who justly condemned all the artifices they had employed in the propagation of Christianity.

The conversion of Siam, Tonquin, and Cochinchina, was attempted by the Jesuits, under the direction of Alexander

* *Mosheim*, IV. p. 220. (P.) Cent. xvii. Sect. i. Par. xiv.

of Rhodes, a native of Avignon; and in A. D. 1658, Alexander VII. committed this new church to the conduct of some French priests of the congregation of foreign missions; but the Jesuits refused to act with them, which was the occasion of a long contest.

In A. D. 1667, a seminary for the instruction of youth was established in Siam, and in A. D. 1684, Lewis XIV. was encouraged to send a mission for the express purpose of converting the king. This was favoured by his prime minister Constantine. But with great address this prince declined complying with their wishes, though he gave the missionaries leave to propagate their religion among his subjects. But all the hopes that were conceived from this mission were blasted by the murder of the king and his minister in A. D. 1688, when the missionaries returned home.*

Such success had the Jesuits in propagating their Christianity in Japan, that, in A. D. 1583, three ambassadors came with them to pay their obedience to the Pope.† Their preaching in this country was favoured by the great similarity between some of the rites of their ancient religion and those of the church of Rome, and also by their fondness for a commercial intercourse with Europe, which the missionaries promoted. But here, as in China, the conduct of the Jesuits was greatly censured by the other missionaries, as

* *Mosheim*, IV. pp. 215—217. (*P.*) Cent. xvii. Sect. i. Par. viii. L'extrême goût que Louis XIV. avait pour les choses d'éclat fut encore bien plus flatté par l'ambassade qu'il reçut de Siam, pays où l'on avait ignoré jusqu'alors que la France existât. Il était arrivé, par une de ces singularités qui prouvent la supériorité des Européens sur les autres nations, qu'un Grec, fils d'un cabaretier de Céphalonie, nommé Phalk Constance, était devenu baralon, c'est-à-dire premier ministre ou grand-visir du royaume de Siam. Cet homme, dans le dessein de s'affermir et de s'élever encore, et dans le besoin qu'il avait de secours étrangers, n'avait osé se confier ni aux Anglais ni aux Hollandais: ce sont des voisins trop dangereux dans les Indes. Les Français venaient d'établir des comptoirs sur les côtes de Coromandel, et avaient porté dans ces extrémités de l'Asie la réputation de leur roi.

“Constance crut Louis XIV. propre à être flatté par un hommage qui viendrait de si loin sans être attendu: la religion, dont les ressorts font jouer la politique du monde, depuis Siam jusqu'à Paris, servit encore à ses desseins. Il envoya, au nom du roi de Siam son maître, une solennelle ambassade avec de grands présents à Louis XIV. pour lui faire entendre que ce roi Indien, charme de sa gloire, ne voulait faire de traité de commerce qu'avec la nation Française, et qu'il n'était pas même éloigné de se faire Chrétien. La grandeur du roi flattée, et sa religion trompée, l'engagerent à envoyer au roi de Siam deux ambassadeurs et six Jésuites, et depuis il y joignit des officiers avec huit cents soldats: mais l'éclat de cette ambassade Siamoise fut le seul fruit qu'on en retira. Constance périt quatre ans après, victime de son ambition: quelque peu des Français qui restèrent auprès de lui furent massacrés, d'autres obligés de fuir; et sa veuve, après avoir été sur le point d'être reine, fut condamnée par le successeur du roi de Siam à servir dans la cuisine, emploi pour lequel elle était née.” *Voltaire*, I. Ch. xiv. pp. 208, 209.

† *Histoire des Papes*, V. p. 42. (♣)

favouring of avarice and ambition. This occasioned violent disputes, as in other places; and on a suspicion of a design formed against the government, of which information was given by the Dutch, in A. D. 1615, the emperor suddenly issued an order for the utter extirpation of the Christian religion from his dominions; when many thousands, and among them many of the missionaries, suffered death in the most heroic manner, rather than renounce their principles. This persecution effected the entire extirpation of Christianity from Japan; and all the intercourse that any Christian nation is allowed to keep up with it from that time to this day, is confined to the Dutch, who send annually two ships with merchandize, but which are so strictly watched, that no transactions besides those of a mercantile nature can take place between them and the natives.*

In Africa, the kings of Benin and Averri, and in A. D. 1652, the queen of Metamba, were, by the labours of the Capuchin friars, brought to the profession of Christianity; but it does not appear that these conversions produced any permanent effect.†

The Portuguese and Spaniards enforced the profession of their religion in all their colonies in North America; but the principal agents in these conquests and conversions, which went hand in hand, disgraced their religion by their cruelties and their avarice; and beyond the limits of their power their religion has not extended. The most successful propagators of Christianity in America were the Jesuits, especially in Paraguay, where they civilized and Christianized a large district, from which, with great jealousy, they excluded all other Europeans. But in this, it is said, their principal object was the increase of their power and wealth, as they are said to have remitted annually large sums from that country to Europe.‡ This, however, appears to me from the perusal of the *Lettres Edifiantes*, § very improbable.

The zeal of the Jesuits carried them into Abyssinia, and in the beginning of the seventeenth century the affairs of that mission wore a very favourable aspect, the emperor Segued, who expected much assistance from the Portuguese troops, declaring himself openly in favour of the missionaries; and in A. D. 1626, he even took an oath of allegiance

* *Mosheim*, IV. pp. 280—288. (P.) Cent. xvii. Sect. i. Par. xvi.

† *Ibid.* p. 235. (P.) Par. xviii.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 287. (P.) Par. xix.

* "Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses écrites des Missions Etrangères par quelques Missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jesus," 12mo., 27 vols. Paris, pp. 1717—1749.

to the Pope, and endeavoured to oblige all his subjects to follow his example. But Alphonso Mendez, whom he appointed patriarch of the Abyssinians, behaved in so rigid and arbitrary a manner, according to the spirit of the Inquisition, using even violence to compel the people to abandon their former religion, to which they were strongly attached, and at the same time discovered such a disposition to encroach on the prerogatives of the crown, that, in A. D. 1631, the same emperor annulled the orders he had before given in favour of the Catholics, and gave his subjects leave to follow which of the two religions they chose. In the following reign of Basilides, in A. D. 1634, all the Catholics were banished from his dominions, some of them were put to death, and the strictest attention has ever since been given to prevent any Catholic from entering them.*

The Christians of St. Thomas, after being reduced to submission to the Romish church, by the management of Menezes, who employed both art and force for the purpose, recovered their liberty, and drove all the Portuguese from their country about sixty years after; and the only cause of this revolution was, the tyranny exercised by the Jesuits over a simple people, and little disposed to revolt, but attached to liberty and their religion.†

At one time these Christians, not obtaining a bishop from Rome, applied to their former patriarch at Mosul, to that of the Copts in Egypt, and that of the Jacobites in Syria; having less respect for opinions than to their ancient rites, which, though different from those of the church of Rome, are sufficiently uniform in the East.‡

Bermudez says, the conversion of the Abyssinians would have been easy; as there were not among them learned men who were haughty and obstinate, but pious and humble, who were desirous of serving God with much simplicity, and would easily embrace the truth, and give their attention to it.§

While the Catholics had any prospect of succeeding by the use of force, they did not scruple to assert the necessity and propriety of having recourse to it. Francis Xavier said, that no durable Christianity was to be expected among the Pagans, unless their auditors were within the reach of the

* *Moshim*, IV. pp. 314—317. (P.) Sect. ii. Pt. i. Ch. i. Par. xvii. See also the accounts of the *Habassin Missions*, in M. Geddes's *Church History of Ethiopia*, 1696, *passim*.

† *La Croze Ind.* II. p. 84. (P.)

‡ *Ibid.* p. 115. (P.)

§ "Hist. du Christianisme d'Ethiopie et d'Arménie, par M. V. de la Croze." *La Haye*, 1739, p. 261. (P.)

musket.* Bermudez, the nominal patriarch of Ethiopia, writing to the general of the Jesuits from Goa, in A. D. 1566, says, "there was one thing that he and the fathers were all agreed in, which was, that nothing but a good body of Portuguese troops would be able to reduce Ethiopia to the obedience of the Roman church." Writing to the Pope in A. D. 1567, he says, "could I but have five or six hundred *Portuguese*, sent hither from the Indies—I should not only hope to see Ethiopia quickly reduced, but should be infallibly certain of it: with which troops we should not only be able to convert all this empire, but innumerable multitudes of Heathens also, into whose countries they might march from hence, without crossing any sea; which Heathens being a simple sort of people, and not much addicted to idolatry, might be converted with great ease." †

The Jesuit Ferdinand Guerriero, in his annual relation of the missions of the company, says, "The missionaries of the company labour no less for the temporality than the spirituality. As many Heathens as they convert, so many vassals they acquire for his majesty. In the war which they had, like true Christians, they joined the Portuguese, and became good soldiers." ‡

Gonzales de Illasca says, that "if heretics were not burned in the early ages, it was that, besides that the Christians had no power, the popes had not the support of the secular princes: but, that now the faith being received and established, the sovereign pontiff has the power, and ought to exercise it. §

But it appearing that the use of force had not in reality answered their great expectations from it, the Catholic missionaries of a later period disclaim every thing of the kind, and express themselves as the primitive Christians and the suffering Protestants would have done.

One of their writers, after mentioning Prester John of Asia, || says, "This conquering priest had not learned of Jesus Christ, but of Mahomet, this strange manner of converting infidels. The church is established, and extends itself by other means. A slave converted the Ethiopians, one captive the Iberians, and another the Armenians. Those persons whom God chose, though mean in their

* *La Croze Ind.* II. p. 375. (P.)

† *Geddes's Ethiopia*, pp. 207, 208, 215. (P.)

‡ *La Croze's Ethiop. et Armén.* p. 398. (P.) § *Ibid.* p. 305. (P.)

|| From whom an embassy to pope Alexander III. was pretended, in 1177, and another in 1308, to Clement V. *M. Geddes* thinks it "probable that there was never any such emperor." *Church History of Ethiopia*, pp. 21, 22.

appearance, were respected for their virtue, and thus procured respect for the gospel which inspired it. Do we not see apostolic men" (meaning the missionaries) "following the apostles through crosses, as poor as they were, and triumphing as they did, over the pride, the voluptuousness, and the prejudices of their enemies? They are in want of every thing, and yet perform what all the power of the world could not do. They gain hearts, and bring them into subjection to the gospel of Christ. The fields which they have watered with their sweat are often not fertile till they have been watered with their blood. It is thus that the Christian church has, in all ages, caused the cross of the Saviour to be adored by so many nations."*

The same writer says, concerning one of the missionaries, "His courage was always superior to the contradictions that he met with. Nothing could discourage him when the glory of God was concerned, neither dangers, persecutions, threatenings, labours, fatigues, travels, nor sickness. He was singularly qualified to have to do with persons of condition, but he said that he gained more by preaching to the little than to the great."† Nothing can be more edifying than the spirit with which this work is written.

The Protestants made some attempts, though not equal to those of the Catholics, to extend the knowledge of a purer Christianity into the countries to which they had access. In A. D. 1647, a society was established for the *propagation of the gospel in foreign parts*, by an act of the English parliament.‡ Farther encouragement was given to it in a later period, and for some time it was of considerable use in promoting the conversion of the natives of North America; though what was done in this way was chiefly effected by the voluntary zeal and labours of those Puritans, who fled from the persecution of the Stuarts to settle in that country. Among those missionaries, Mayhew, Sheppard and Elliot, greatly distinguished themselves. The last-mentioned of them translated the Bible into the Indian language, and on account of his peculiar zeal in the cause, was commonly called the apostle of the Indians.§

* *Lectis Edifiantes*, III. p. 419 (P.)

† *Ibid.* p. 432. (P.)

‡ *Mosheim*, Cent. xvii. Sect. i. Par. xvii.

§ *Ibid.* IV. p. 241. (P.) Cent. xvii. Sect. i. Par. xx.

John Elliot was born "about the year 1604, at a town in England," says his biographer, "the name whereof I cannot presently mention. The *Atlantic Ocean*, like a river of *Lethé*, may easily cause us to forget many of the things that happened on the other side." He adds, that Elliot "came to New England in the month of November, A. D. 1631, among those blessed old planters, which laid the founda-

But the labours of the *society*, supported by the members of the church of England, ended in little more than some unsuccessful attempts to bring back the Puritans in North America to the church of England; and the Indians that were converted and civilized soon dwindled away, and are now nearly extinct.

The Hollanders did not neglect the propagation of the gospel in the East Indies when they got an establishment there, and it is said with some success. But with them, as with the English, avarice and ambition too generally prevailed over their zeal for religion.*

The Lutherans made some attempts to enlighten the Abyssinians in this period; and for this purpose, Heyling of Lubeck undertook a voyage to that country in A. D. 1634, and even became prime minister of the emperor. But nothing is said of his success as a missionary, and he died on his return to Europe. John Michael Wansleb, a native of Erfurt, was also sent by Ernest, duke of Saxe Gotha, in A. D. 1663; but he embezzled the money he received for that purpose, and went no farther than Egypt.†

tions of a remarkable country, devoted unto the exercise of the Protestant religion." See "The Life and Death of the Reverend Mr. John Elliot, written by Cotton Mather," Ed. 3, Lond. 1694, pp. 5—7.

Elliot's biographer thus describes the progress and success of his labours for the improvement of the Indians: "He hires a native to teach him this *exotic* language; and with a laborious care and skill reduces it into a grammar, which afterwards he published." In a letter from the biographer's father, *Increase Mather*, written in 1687, to *Leusden* of Utrecht, he says, "It is about forty years since that truly godly man, Mr. John Elliot, pastor of the church at Roxborough, about a mile from Boston in New England, translated the whole Bible into the *Indian* tongue; he translated also several *English* treatises of practical divinity and catechisms into their language. About twenty-six years ago he gathered a church of converted Indians in a town called *Natick*. Besides this, there are four Indian assemblies. Mr. Elliot formerly used to preach to them once every fortnight, but now he is weakened with labours and old age, being in the 84th year of his age, and preacheth not to the *Indians* oftener than once in two months." *Ibid.* pp. 91, 94, 95.

On this subject the biographer says, "One of his remarkable cares for these illiterate Indians was, to bring them into the use of schools and books. He quickly procured the benefit of schools for them; wherein they profited so much, that not only very many of them came to read and write, but also several arrived unto a liberal education in our college, and one or two of them took their degree with the rest of our graduates. And for books, 'twas his chief desire that the sacred Scriptures might not in an unknown tongue be locked or hidden from them. Our Elliot was very unlike to that Franciscan, who, writing into Europe, gloried much how many thousands of Indians he had converted; but added, 'That he desired his friend would send him the book called the Bible; for he had heard of there being such a book in Europe, which might be of some use to him.'—This Bible was printed here at our Cambridge; and it is the only Bible that ever was printed in all America, from the very foundation of the world. The whole translation he writ with but one pen. The Bible being justly made the leader of all the rest, a little *Indian* library quickly followed." *Ibid.* pp. 104—106.

* *Mosheim*, Cent. xvii. Sect. i. Par. xvii.

† *Ibid.* IV. p. 411. (*P.*) Cent. xvii. Sect. ii. Pt. i. Ch. ii. Par. vi.

SECTION III.

Of the Controversies in the Church of Rome.

NOTWITHSTANDING the authoritative decisions of the Council of Trent, and occasionally that of the popes, the Catholics were far from holding the same opinions. Various differences among themselves were openly avowed, and the controversies were conducted with as much acrimony as those between them and the Protestants. The popes, for fear of exasperating any of the contending parties, seldom ventured to interpose their authority, choosing to leave the questions undecided, and in this state several of them remain to this day.

One great difference of opinion among the Catholics respects the power of the Pope; some maintaining it to be absolute, and saying, that that of the bishops was delegated from him to them, a doctrine advanced in a former period, and supported by the Jesuits in this. With respect to the doctrines of original sin, grace and predestination, the Catholics differed as much among themselves as the Protestants; the Jesuits always leaning to the more liberal, and their adversaries to the more rigorous interpretation of the language of Scripture, and that of the fathers, on these articles.

The Jesuits maintained several opinions on the subject of morals, at which the minds of many of the best-disposed Catholics greatly revolted; as, that "it was a matter of indifference from what motive men obeyed the laws of God; that the operation of the sacraments is independent of the disposition of mind with which they are received; that there is no sin but in the transgression of a law, not only known to, and fully understood by the person, but present to his mind at the time; that a man may lawfully do what has been thought to be innocent by any one doctor of reputation, though, in the opinion of others, and of his own, it should appear unlawful." Some of these maxims were condemned in A. D. 1659, by Alexander VII., and in A. D. 1690, the article concerning *philosophical sin*, (or that of an action repugnant to the dictates of reason, and yet not offensive to the Deity,) met with the same fate in the pontificate of Alexander VIII.* But all those doctrines were exposed in

* *Mosheim*, IV. pp. 597, 598. P. Cent. xvii. Sect. ii. Pt. 1. Ch. i. Par. xxxv.

a vein of exquisite humour by Pascal, in his *Provincial Letters*,* a work which materially affected the credit of the order.

The great defender of the doctrines of Austin, or those which are generally considered as his, on the subjects of grace and predestination, was Michel de Baius, a doctor in the university of Louvain.† This drew upon him the censures of some Franciscan monks, as well as of the Jesuits; and in A. D. 1567, an accusation was brought against him in the court of Rome, and seventy-six propositions, extracted from his writings, were condemned by Pius V., but without naming the author; so that nothing was done that affected himself or his functions. The sentence of Pius was enforced by Gregory XIII., but no regard was paid to those decrees, by the admirers of Baius; and in a later period the Jansenists, who went upon the same ground, maintained that they are of no authority, and have never been received as laws of the church. The more prudent Sixtus V. asserted the authority of the Pope to decide all such questions, but he never made use of it. He contented himself with forbidding all controversy on the subject; leaving all persons in possession of their own opinions, and those of Baius were very prevalent.‡

This cessation of hostilities was not of long continuance, being interrupted in A. D. 1588, by the writings of “Lewis Molina, a Spanish Jesuit, professor of divinity in the university of Eborá in Portugal, who introduced a new kind of hypothesis to reconcile the jarring opinions” on these subjects. This gave great offence to the Dominicans, who said that he was endeavouring to revive the errors of Pelagius; and Clement VIII. thought proper, in A. D. 1594, to impose silence on the contending parties; saying, that he would himself examine the grounds of the controversy.§ Accordingly he referred the discussion to a select body of learned divines: but, which seems to have given him no small degree of uneasiness, these divines were of opinion

* “Les Provinciales, ou Lettres écrites par *Louis de Montalte*, à un provincial de ses ames et aux Jésuites, sur la morale et la politique de ces Pères.” *Mosheim*, Cent. xvii. Sect. ii. Pt. i. Ch. i. Par. xxxv. Note [w].

The *Provincial Letters* which appeared in 1656, are described by *Voltaire*, as “un modèle de éloquence et de plaisanterie.” He adds, that “Les meilleurs comédies de *Moliere* n’ont pas plus de sel que les premières lettres provinciales: *Bosquet* n’a rien de plus sublime que les dernières.” *Siècle*, Ch. xvii. III. p. 163. *Pascal* died at Paris in 1662, aged 39. See his Life, by his Sister, *Madam Perier*, 1723, p. 86. See *infra*, p. 317.

† He died in 1589, aged 76. See *Now. Dict. Hist.* I. p. 295.

‡ *Mosheim*, III. pp. 472—474. (P.) Cent. xvi. Sect. iii. Pt. i. Ch. i. Par. xxxviii.

§ *Histoire des Papes*, V. p. 476. (P.) *Mosheim*, Cent. xvi. Sect. iii. Pt. i. Ch. i. Par. xli. See Vol. V. p. 177, Note ¶.

that the doctrine of the Dominicans was more agreeable to the Scriptures and the ancient fathers, and that those of Molina savoured of Pelagianism. On this, the Pope seemed resolved, in A. D. 1601, to decide against the Jesuits. But this artful body of men alarmed him so much with their representation of the consequences of such a decision, that the next year he consented to re-examine the question, and decide it himself; and for this purpose he appointed a council, consisting of fifteen cardinals, nine professors of divinity and five bishops, which, during the space of three years, held eight congregations; but the Pope died before he gave the final sentence.

These congregations were resumed by Paul V., in A. D. 1605, and after much debating, chiefly about the propriety of deciding the question at all, and the manner of doing it, it was agreed that the whole controversy should be suppressed, and each party be allowed to retain their opinions. The Pope was afraid of offending the king of France, who protected the Jesuits, or the king of Spain, who favoured the Dominicans.* So much was there of human policy, and so little regard to truth, in the conduct of the papal chair.

This controversy, which was thus hushed up, was revived in A. D. 1640. on the publication of a posthumous work of Cornelius Jansenius, bishop of Ypres, called *Augustinus*, in which the doctrine of Austin concerning the natural corruption of man, and the nature and efficacy of divine grace, was largely insisted on, but expressed chiefly in the words of Austin himself. By the efforts of the Jesuits, whose doctrines were evidently struck at in this work, the Roman inquisitor, in A. D. 1641, forbade the perusal of it, and the year following Urban VIII. condemned it by a solemn bull, as infected with several errors.†

This did not silence the admirers of Jansenius, who were numerous in Flanders, and also in France, where they were patronized by the abbot of St. Cyran, John de Verger de Herrane, a man of eminent learning and piety, and also by Arnould, Nicole, Pascal, Quesnel, and others, generally denominated the authors of the *Port Royal*, and also by many others in the church of Rome, who thought that vital religion was of more consequence than the observance of the external rites of the church, on which the bigotted and ignorant Catholics always laid the greatest stress.

* *Moshelm*, IV. pp. 363—365. (*P.*) Cent. xvii. Sect. ii. Pt. i. Ch. i. Par. xxxviii. xxxix.

† *Ibid.* pp. 366—368. (*P.*) Par. xi. See Vol. V. p. 178. *Note.*

These writers were so popular, that they would have triumphed over their adversaries, if they had not been supported by sovereign princes, as well as popes, who thought the authority and stability of the church to be endangered by them. Many of the Jansenists being much inclined to superstition, laid great stress on certain miracles, which they said were wrought in their favour; and as the credit of some of them declined, others were advanced, and the last of all these were those said to have been wrought at the tomb of the abbé Paris, in A. D. 1731; * for the controversy was continued far beyond the period of which I am now treating.

In consequence of the efforts of the Jesuits, Innocent X., in A. D. 1653, condemned by a public bull five propositions extracted from the work of Jansenius, notwithstanding the strenuous endeavours of many of the French clergy to prevent it. On this, the Jansenists, who professed the greatest devotion to the holy see, acknowledged that the propositions condemned in the bull were justly censured; but they said that it was not declared that they were contained in the work of Jansenius, in the same sense in which they were condemned. But Alexander VII., in A. D. 1656, in another bull, declared that the five propositions were the tenets of Jansenius, and contained in his book, and in A. D. 1665, he proceeded so far as to send into France the form of a declaration to be subscribed by all the clergy, in which it was said that the five propositions were contained in the book of Jansenius, and in the sense in which they had been condemned.

Even this did not wholly silence the Jansenists; for they maintained that, with respect to matters of *fact*, the popes were fallible, especially when their decisions were not confirmed by a general council; whereas the Jesuits held, that the popes were infallible with respect to matters of fact, as well as of doctrine; and they carried their violence so far as to procure the imprisonment, or exile, of some who declined signing the declaration required. †

But Clement IX. was so much staggered by the resolute opposition of a great number of the most respectable bishops, who refused to subscribe the declaration without their own explications and distinctions, and they were so powerfully

* “Ce tombeau du diacre *Paris* fut en effet le tombeau du Jansénisme dans l'esprit de tous les honnêtes gens. Ces farces auraient eu des suites sérieuses dans des temps moins éclairés. Il semblaient que ceux qui les protégeaient ignorassent à quel siècle ils avaient affaire.” *Voltaire*, Ch. xxxvii. III. p. 185. See Vol. II. pp. 194—196.

† *Mosheim*, IV. p. 376. (P.) Cent. xvii. Sect. ii. Pt. 1. Ch. 1. Par. xlv.

seconded by the duchess of Longueville, who had gained great credit by renouncing the pleasures of the world, and who espoused with great zeal the cause of Jansenism, that he thought proper to accept of their declarations on their own terms; on which the Jansenists triumphed again, and enjoyed their former tranquillity. This was called the *Peace of Clement*, and took place in A. D. 1669.*

It was not, however, of long continuance; for in A. D. 1676, Lewis XIV., at the instigation of the Jesuits, declared that the indulgence was only granted for a time; and the duchess of Longueville dying in A. D. 1679, the Jansenists, deprived of all external support, were persecuted anew; when some, to avoid the storm, abandoned their country; and among them Anthony Arnauld fled to Holland, where he exerted himself so much by his writings, that the greater part of the churches in the Netherlands embraced his opinions, and the Catholic congregations in Holland were entirely gained over by him; and being secure in the protection of the government, they made no account of the threats of the Roman pontiff.

What offended the bigotted Catholics the most in the Jansenists, was, their never-ceasing call for the reformation of abuses in the church, in discipline, worship, and even doctrine, which they said retained no traces of its pristine purity. They said that the people ought to be more carefully instructed, that the Scriptures, and the public Liturgy, ought to be in the vulgar tongues. They maintained, that true piety does not consist in the observance of rites and ceremonies, but in inward holiness.

The piety of the Jansenists had, however in it, much superstition, and led to self-mortification. They even celebrated those who put an end to their lives by voluntary austerities; saying they were "the *sacred victims of repentance* that had been consumed by the fire of divine love."† They also pretended to a kind of inspiration; saying, that the minds of the truly pious had a proper residence in the Deity, and that they were his instruments; so that they might follow, without consulting their judgment, the first impulses of their minds when they were duly composed, and absorbed in devout contemplation.

Some of the most eminent of the Jansenists were slaves to the most ridiculous superstition. When the abbot of St.

* *Mosheim*, IV. p. 576. (P.) *Cont.* xvii. Sect. ii. Pt. i. Ch. i. Par. xlv.

† *Ibid.* p. 382. (P.) *Ibid.* Par. xlv. *Voltaire* says "L'Abbé de Saint-Ciran—écrivit, en 1608, un livre en faveur du suicide," *Prix de la Justice*, 1778, p. 21.

Cyran thought it necessary to read the books of some of the heretics, in order to confute them, he first, with great solemnity, marked them with the sign of the cross, in order to expel the evil spirit which he was persuaded lurked in them. The celebrated Pascal, whose elegant *Provincial Letters* gave so great a blow to the credit of the Jesuits, made a merit of denying himself every pleasurable sensation that he possibly could, even so far as to build a wall in order to shut out an agreeable prospect which he had from the window of his study;* and his sister, who wrote his life, abstained from drinking so long, that when, by the command of her superior in the convent, (which she held herself obliged to regard,) she consented to take something liquid, it was too late, and she died of thirst.

Such was the animosity with which the controversy between the Franciscans and the Dominicans about the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary was carried on, about the beginning of the seventeenth century, especially in Spain, that it endangered the peace of the country; and though the popes were continually urged to decide it, neither Paul V., Gregory XIV., nor Alexander VII. would venture to do it, awed on the one hand by the remonstrances of the court of Spain, which favoured the Franciscans, and restrained on the other by the great credit and influence of the Dominicans, who conducted the Inquisition in Spain. At length, however, the Pope did decide, but in this curious manner, viz. that the opinion of the Franciscans in favour of the immaculate conception had a high degree of probability attending it; and forbidding the Dominicans to oppose it in public; and by another bull, the Franciscans were forbidden to treat the opinion of the Dominicans as erroneous. Notwithstanding this, Clement XI., in A. D. 1708. ordered a festival to be celebrated in honour of the immaculate conception. But the Dominicans say that the obligation to celebrate it does not extend to them. They persist in maintaining their opinion, and do so without censure.† Such is the boasted unity of the Catholic church and the great utility of an infallible judge of controversies.

* "When necessity laid him under a constraint of doing something, which would probably yield him a little satisfaction, he had a wonderful art of putting it out of his mind, in order to save *that* from having any share in the delight. And when any body happened to admire the excellency of any dish, in his presence, he was not able to endure it; he called that being sensual to an enormous degree, even although the dish spoken of, were no more than a common dish; because, said he, it is a plain indication that such persons eat for *no other end*, but to please the *palate*, which is always sinful." *Life*, pp. 40, 41.

† *Mosheim*, IV. p. 387. (*P.*) Cent. xvii. Sect. ii. Pt. i. Ch. i. Par. xviii. *Note*.

An idea of the great merit of *contemplation*, by which it was supposed that the mind obtained a kind of union with God, (an idea entertained by the Pythagoreans and later Platonists,) was in very early times introduced into the Christian church. It was embraced by most of the monks, and had never disturbed the peace of the church, though these *Mystics*, as they were generally called, were known to lay more stress on inward acts of the mind than on any of the externals of devotion. But in this period a great disturbance was occasioned by a publication of Michael de Molinos, a Spanish priest, residing at Rome, entitled *The Spiritual Guide*, and which had many admirers, who obtained the name of *Quietists*. They were violently opposed by the Jesuits; and at the instigation of the French ambassador in A. D. 1685, Molinos was put in prison. Two years after this he was sentenced to abjure his errors, and suffer perpetual imprisonment; and to this, with great resignation, he submitted, and died in A. D. 1696.*

Notwithstanding this, the doctrine of Molinos had many admirers in all parts of Europe. Among them was the cardinal Petrucci, a Barnabite friar, the spiritual director of Madam Guion, a woman of fashion in France, and equally remarkable for her understanding and her piety,† who gave into the same system, and especially Fenelon, archbishop of Cambray, the celebrated author of *Telemachus*. The writings of Madam Guion made much noise about A. D. 1687, and Bossuet wrote in confutation of them. They were defended by Fenelon; but by means of the intrigues of his adversaries, Innocent XII., in A. D. 1699, published a bull in condemnation of his book; and this he had the magnanimity, or as some thought, the weakness, to read from his

* *Mosheim*, IV. pp. 387—389. (P.) Par. xlix. See Vol. V. p. 356.

† She was born in 1648. See "La Vie de Madame J. M. B. de la Mothe Guion. Ecrite par Elle-même." *Cologne*, 1720, p. 8. Prefixed to this publication is, "Extrait d'une lettre sur quelques circonstances de la mort de Mad. Guion," written a few days after her decease. The following passage may serve to shew that the friends of Madame Guion had been curious to ascertain the effects of her exercises and mortifications, on her bodily frame.

"Quand on eut ouvert son corps, on n'y trouva aucune partie saine, à la réserve du cœur, qui pourtant étoit fletri, et du cerveau, qui se trouva entier, comme celui d'un enfant seulement un peu plus humide qu'à la ordinaire. Toutes les autres parties et entrailles étoient ou pourries ou enflammées; et ce qui est remarquable son fiel étoit pétrifié comme celui de *S. François de Sales*. Elle avoit été, comme ce grand Saint, extrêmement vive et prompte naturellement, mais par la grace elle étoit devenue la plus douce des humains et d'une patience angelique, comme il parut par la grandeur et le nombre de ses maladies. De Blois ce 16. Juin 1717."

A selection from the *Cantiques Spirituels* of Madam Guion has been rendered into English, and published as the translation of *Couper*.

own pulpit, and exhort his audience to acquiesce in, though it was never supposed to have produced any change in his own sentiments.*

In A. D. 1671, Pasquier Quesnel, a priest of the oratory, published an edition of the New Testament, with pious meditations and remarks, which gave great offence to many bigotted Catholics, and was the occasion of much controversy.† Clement XI., on his first reading it, said it was an admirable book, that no person at Rome was capable of writing in that manner, and that he should be glad if he could engage the author to reside there; and yet this same pope afterwards publicly condemned this work, and employed all his authority to suppress it.‡

SECTION IV.

Of the Religious Orders.

NOTWITHSTANDING the great number of religious orders which existed at the time of the Reformation, and the prohibition to form any new ones, more new ones were erected, at least old ones reformed, in the present period, than in any of the preceding. Many of them failed for want of a sufficient support; but several stood their ground, and some of them were exceedingly favourable to the interests of literature in general, sacred and profane.

Of this class was that of the *Priests of the Oratory*, founded by Philip de Neri,§ a native of Florence, and honoured with the protection of Gregory XIII., in A. D. 1577. It had its denomination from the *oratory*, or closet for devotion, built by Neri for his own use. This order produced Baronius, the author of the *Ecclesiastical Annals*,|| and other men of much eminence.¶

Many of the ancient monasteries were in this period recovered from the shocking corruption of former times. The most considerable of these reformations was made by some

* *Mosheim*, IV. pp. 391—393. (P.) Cent. xvii. Sect. ii. Pt. i. Ch. i. Par. li. See Vol. V. pp. 356, 357.

† “Trente pages,” says Voltaire, “changées et adoucies dans son livre auraient épargné des querelles à sa patrie; mais il eût été moins célèbre.—Né en 1634; mort en 1719.” *Verriens du Siècle De Louis XIV.*, V. p. p. 287, 288.

‡ *Mosheim*, IV. p. 361. (P.) Par. xxxvii. Maclaine's Note.

§ See *supra*, p. 289.

|| “*Annales Ecclésiastiques*, en 12 Vols. fol. depuis Jesus-Christ, jusqu'en 1198, commencées dès l'âge de 30 ans.” Baronius, who was librarian of the Vatican, died in 1607. *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* I. p. 324.

¶ *Mosheim*, IV. p. 447. (P.) Cent. xvi. Sect. iii. Pt. i. Ch. i. Par. xviii.

learned and pious Benedictines, and the example was followed by several of the other orders.

The Christian world is more particularly indebted to the *congregation of St. Maur*, founded by the express direction of Gregory XV. in A. D. 1620, and enriched by Urban VIII. in A. D. 1627; as the members were encouraged to apply themselves to literary pursuits of every kind, and furnished with the most ample means of prosecuting them. They even eclipsed the Jesuits, and were their rivals and adversaries. They fell, however, under the censure of the more rigid of the monks, for exchanging bodily for mental labour; but their writers were abundantly able to defend their conduct.*

The austerity of all the former orders was exceeded by that of Bouthillier de Rance, † abbot *de La Trappe*, the most gloomy, barren and desolate place in the kingdom of France. His order was called that of the *Reformed Bernardines of La Trappe*, and has several monasteries in Spain and Italy. This gentleman had been distinguished by an early application to literature, and also to pleasure, but it is said that he took his austere turn on a sudden, from finding a lady to whom he had been much attached, dead of the small pox. ‡ when he went into her room, without having any previous knowledge of her illness.§

Another order of great eminence, which arose in this period, was that of the *Fathers of the Oratory of the Holy Jesus*, instituted by cardinal Berulle in A. D. 1613. The priests who entered into it did not renounce their property, but they refused all ecclesiastical offices to which any fixed revenues or honours were annexed, and they were at liberty to retire whenever they thought proper. While they continued in it they were bound to perform with the greatest punctuality all the priestly functions, and apply themselves with zeal to prepare themselves and others for the most perfect discharge of them. Originally, therefore, their convents were schools for divinity. But afterwards these fathers applied to the study of polite literature as well as theology, and

* *Mosheim*, Cent. xvii. Sect. ii. Pt. i. Ch. i. Par. xxvi.

† He was born at Paris in 1626, founded the order in 1661, and died in 1700, "couché sur la cendre et sur la paille." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* V. p. 120.

‡ "On lit, dans *St. Erremond*, qu'il trouva sa tête dans un plat. On l'avoit séparée du corps, parce que le cercueil de plomb, qu'on avoit fait faire étoit trop petit. D'autres prétendent que son aversion pour le monde fut causée par la mort ou par les disgrâces de quelques-uns de ses amis, ou bien par le bonheur d'être sorti sans aucun mal de plusieurs grands périls." *Ibid.*

§ *Mosheim*, IV. pp. 338—340. (P.) Cent. xvii. Sect. ii. Pt. i. Ch. i. Par. xxvii.

taught them with reputation, to the great offence of the Jesuits.*

Similar to this commendable institution was that of the *Priests of the Missions*, founded by Vincent de Paul, and formed into a regular congregation by Urban VIII. in A. D. 1632. By their rules, they were to employ eight months in the year, in the villages, instructing the common people in the principles of religion; and they were also to inspect the seminaries in which persons designed for holy orders were educated.†

The Christian and learned world is much indebted to those Jansenists, who are generally known by the title of *Messrs. de Port Royal*, from their passing their time in literary pursuits in the retreat of Port Royal, a mansion at a little distance from Paris.‡

The most striking example of severity in this period was exhibited in a convent, called *Port Royal in the Fields*, the government of which was given by Henry IV. to Jaqueline, a daughter of Anthony Arnauld; who, after her conversion, as it was called, in A. D. 1609, assumed the name of Marie Angelique de la St. Madelaine, and consecrated her days to spiritual exercises, in which she was encouraged by François de Sales, and the abbot of St. Cyran, after whose example she modelled her convent.

The virgins of this society observed with the utmost rigour the ancient discipline of the Cistercians, which had been almost every where deserted; and such was the fame of this institution, that multitudes of pious persons were desirous of living in its neighbourhood, and many Jansenist penitents, or self-tormentors, of both sexes, built huts within its precincts, where they adopted the manners of the most gloomy fanatics. Their object was the same with that of the original monks, viz. by silence, hunger, thirst, bodily labour, watching and every kind of self-denial, joined with prayer, and intense meditation, to remove the pollution of the soul, derived either from natural corruption, or evil habits.

Some of them, however, benefited the world by composing laborious writings, on various subjects of erudition; and among them was the justly famous Tillemont. But the far greater part of them exhausted both their bodies and minds by the severity of their exercises, and pined away by

* *Moshelm*, IV. pp. 340, 341. (*P.*) Cent. xvii. Sect. ii. Pt. i. Ch. i. Par. xxviii. *Berulle* died in 1629, aged 55. *Nouv. Diet. Hist.* I. p. 460.

† *Ibid.* pp. 341, 342. *P.* Par. xxviii. *Paul* died in 1630, aged 85. See *Nouv. Diet. Hist.* V. p. 728, art. *Vincent de Paul*.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 350. (*P.*) Par. xxxii.

a slow kind of death; though many of them were persons of illustrious birth, and some who had distinguished themselves in civil and military employments.*

But the nuns of this convent obstinately refusing to subscribe to the declaration of Alexander VII., and the society being considered as dishonourable to some of the principal families in France, Lewis XIV., at the instigation of the Jesuits, in A. D. 1709, ordered it to be demolished, and the nuns to be removed to Paris; and even those who had been buried there to be dug up, and buried elsewhere.†

The Jesuits were in great credit in France in the reign of Lewis XIV., but they did not stand high in the opinion of all the popes. Sixtus V. was their great enemy. He was even resolved to compel them to change their appellation, as too arrogant, and call themselves *Ignatians*, from their founder, but he did not live to execute his threat.‡ In A. D. 1694, the Jesuits had increased so much, in fifty-three years, in France, that they possessed two hundred and twenty-eight houses, and two millions of livres yearly rent.§

SECTION V.

Of the Miracles ascribed to St. Anthony.

As my object in this work is to give a just view of the transactions and spirit of the times to which it relates, I have occasionally recited instances of the gross imposition of some, and the excessive credulity of others, with respect to *miracles* ascribed to persons canonized by the popes, during the prevalence of the Papal power. That such impositions should be attempted, and at all succeed, after the Reformation, when so many of those artifices had been exposed, and sensible Catholics themselves had become

* *Mosheim*, IV. pp. 382—385. (P.) Cent. xvii. Sect. ii. Pt. i. Ch. i. Par. xlvii.

† *Ibid.* p. 386. (P.) “Le roi demanda une bulle au Pape, pour la suppression de leur monastère; le cardinal de Nouilles les priva des sacrements; leur avocat fut mis à la Bastille; toutes les religieuses furent enlevées et mises chacune dans un convent moins désobéissant; le lieutenant de police fit démolir, en 1709, leur maison de fond en comble; et enfin, en 1711, on déterra les corps qui étoient dans l’église et dans le cimetière, pour les transporter ailleurs.” *Voltaire*, III. Ch. xxxvii. p. 169.

“This violence, executed with the last barbarity, against a house respectable for the celebrated persons who had inhabited it, and against poor nuns, more worthy of compassion than of hatred, excited clamours throughout the whole kingdom: these clamours have reached down even to our times; and the Jesuits themselves confessed, on seeing the spectacle of their destruction, that the stones of Port Royal were falling on their own heads to crush them.” On “The Destruction of the Jesuits in France.” By M. D’Alembert, 1706, p. 63.

‡ *Histoires des Papes*, IV. p. 85. (P.)

§ *Laval*, V. p. 161. (P.)

ashamed of them, is not a little extraordinary, and yet the history of the Catholic church long after this æra, is not destitute of facts of this kind; and I think it may not be uninstrucive if I give one example of it in *the Life of St. Anthony of Padua*, which appears to have been written after the year A. D. 1617, this being the date of the last of the miracles ascribed to him in this book.

This Life is said to have been translated into English from Italian, and it was printed at Paris in A. D. 1660. It was, no doubt, read with pious credulity by the Catholics of that day, though it will be treated with just ridicule by most persons at present. But it will excite more serious reflections in others, on the wickedness of such inventions, for less than this it cannot be. I am far from thinking that any Catholic at this day is capable of such an imposition. They will join me in lamenting the vices and follies of the times that are passed, and will not disapprove of such accounts not being wholly consigned to oblivion, but preserved for the instruction of posterity. For, though most of my readers will have heard of *popish legends*, it is probable that few of them have the clear idea that this narrative will give of them.

The name of Anthony was originally Ferrand, and he was born of honourable, as well as pious parents, at Lisbon, in A. D. 1195. After going through his studies with reputation, he, much against the wishes of his parents, entered into a monastery of canons regular of the order of St. Austin, and there he continued two years; when, for the sake of greater solitude, he retired with the leave of his superior, to Coimbra, where he distinguished himself by his exposition of the Scriptures.

At this time St. Francis was living, and some of his order having suffered martyrdom in consequence of undertaking to preach to the Mahometans in Africa, they were so much celebrated on that account, that it excited in Ferrand, as well as many others, an ardent desire to follow their example, though they should share the same fate. With the leave of his superiors, he therefore joined this new society; and entering one of their monasteries, called that of *St. Anthony*, he took their habit, and assumed their name.

Presently after this, his zeal actually carried him to Africa, but he was obliged to return in consequence of a disease with which he was seized upon the coast, but was driven by a tempest to Sicily, where, hearing of a general chapter of his order being to be held in Assisi in Italy, he

repaired to it. Though he was then little known, the provincial of his order was so much pleased with his appearance, that he took him with him, and placed him in a convent called *the mount of St. Paul*, in a situation little less than a desert, and there he submitted to the lowest drudgery. After some months, however, his superiors, pleased with his conduct, procured him holy orders, and sent him, together with some other priests, to Forli, where he distinguished himself by his preaching.

Being greatly concerned at the progress of heresy at this time in the northern parts of Italy, in order the better to prepare himself for encountering the heretics, he went through a course of theology at Vercelli, under a famous doctor there; but he soon surpassed him in knowledge, and was thought equal to any undertaking.

Being sent by his superiors to undertake the office of guardian, to Limoges in France, in order to the conversion of the heretics in that place, it happened at one time that his business as a preacher required him to be in one place, and his office of guardian in another; and this was the occasion of the first of the many miracles that his historian ascribes to him, and it was of a very singular kind; for it is asserted, that he was actually in both the places at the same time. After an earnest prayer for this purpose, he, without leaving the pulpit in which he was preaching on a Good Friday, appeared in the choir, and sung the lesson which was his part of the service there. At Montpellier also he once preached in the dome at the same time that he was singing the hallelujah in the choir of the church. After this his whole life seems to have consisted of little more than a series of miracles, and many of them of quite an original and extraordinary kind, so that it must have required much ingenuity to devise them. I shall give a brief account of all the principal of them, but without the amplification of the writer.

A novice in a monastery at Montpellier, being weary of the confinement, had determined to make his escape; but Anthony, knowing by inspiration the state of his mind, breathed into his throat, when falling into a swoon, and coming to himself, he said he had been in paradise, and proceeding to relate what he had seen there he was checked by the saint. But he was from this time freed from the temptation to leave the monastery. Another monk being much disturbed by lascivious thoughts, was immediately relieved by putting on Anthony's tunic.

A husband having become jealous of his wife in consequence of her frequent attendance on Anthony's preaching, abused her very much, and among other outrages he tore off a great part of her hair. But the saint, having engaged other friars to join with him in prayer for her, took the hair, and applying it to her head, it grew to it again, as if it had never been severed from it. The husband it is said, was so much struck with this miracle, that he was no longer jealous, but behaved to his wife ever after in the kindest manner.

When Anthony was at one time preaching in a temporary building constructed of wood, he apprized his audience that the devil was about to terrify and hurt them, but that no harm would eventually happen to any of them. Accordingly, while he was preaching, the devil untied the ropes, by which the boards were held together, so that the whole erection came down. But when it might have been expected that many of the persons assembled would have been crushed to death, or at least maimed, not one of them was found to have received the smallest hurt.

A pious woman much attached to Anthony, had a son of a reprobate character; and when she was attending one of his sermons the devil came in the form of a courier, and delivering a letter, informed her that her son was dead. This news threw her, and the audience in general, into such disorder, that the congregation was breaking up; when Anthony cried out that the news was not true, that it was the devil that had brought it, and that the young man was alive, as they would soon be convinced, and accordingly while he was speaking he entered the place, and the devil absconded.

A woman passionately fond of her young child, going to hear Anthony preach, put her child, by some strange illusion, of which no account is given, into a caldron of water that was on the fire, instead of laying it in the cradle, and she heaped a great quantity of wood on the fire before she went out. Recollecting what she had done, she returned with the greatest anxiety and dread, expecting to find her child dead, especially as she found the fire burning in the fiercest manner. But instead of that, the child was playing in the water as if it had been warm milk. Another child was found actually dead in the cradle after the return of the mother from hearing Anthony preach, but at her intreaty he restored him to life.

A young man who had led a very disorderly life, being

touched with compunction at one of Anthony's sermons, and coming to make his confession to him, was desired to write an account of all his sins and bring the paper to him. This the young man did; but when the paper was opened, in order to its being read, it was found quite blank, every word in it having been miraculously effaced.

Something more extraordinary than any of the preceding miracles was exhibited at Rome; for, being required by the Pope to preach to a congregation consisting of people of very different countries, assembled for a crusade, they all heard him speak in their different languages, though he spoke in Italian only.

A notorious usurer of Florence, dying when Anthony was in that city, was brought into the church in which he was preaching, in order to his being interred in it. But Anthony exclaimed, "Shall the body whose soul is in hell lie in this sacred place? Open the breast, and you will find it has no heart; but go with me to his house, and I will shew you where it is." On this the body was opened, and found to be actually without any heart; and going to the house they found it all bloody, as if recently plucked out of the body, in one of his money chests. On this the people buried him in unconsecrated ground.

A jealous husband in that city having determined to kill his wife, and also a new-born child of hers which he did not believe to be his, Anthony being applied to, took the child in his arms; and, in the presence of the husband and several other gentlemen, commanded him to say which of them was his father; when he said distinctly, as if he had been ten years old, pointing to the husband, "This is my proper, natural, and legitimate father. This is he whose true, natural, and legitimate son I am." On this the husband was cured of his jealousy, and ever after behaved with the greatest affection to his wife.

The astonishing miracle exhibited at Rimini contributed more to the fame of Anthony than all his other miracles. Preaching in that city, which abounded with heretics, and the people refusing to hear him, he went to the sea side, followed by a great crowd; when, the sea being remarkably calm, he addressed himself to the fishes, saying, "Since men will not hear me, come you and hearken to what God will tell you by me." Immediately on this the sea was covered with the heads of fishes, which, with open mouths, fixed their eyes on him; and notwithstanding their hostility to each other, they mildly and humbly, the historian says,

without moving their fins, or making the least motion in the water, attended to him. After a discourse of some length, he exhorted them to praise God; and since they could not do it in words, to shew some visible sign of reverence. On this they all bowed their heads, moving them very gently, and, with gestures expressive of humility and devotion, acknowledged their obligation to God, and signified their approbation of what had been addressed to them. The spectators greatly amazed, looked sometimes on the fishes and sometimes on the preacher; and being reprov'd by him for their infidelity, thus upbraided by the mute fishes, they fell on their knees, asking his pardon, and promising to live and die in the Catholic faith. He then pronounced a blessing both on the men and the fishes, and they departed with great joy.

All the inhabitants of Rimini were not, it appears, convinced by this miracle; and one of the infidels having a mule, said, that unless Anthony could make his mule, after fasting three days, kneel to the sacrament, rather than eat of the provender he would bring to him, he would not be convinced. This did not discourage our preacher, and a day was fixed for the experiment. On that day a great multitude being assembled to see the issue, though a sieve of oats was brought to the mule, yet, on being addressed by Anthony, and commanded by him to adore the true body and blood of Christ, without regarding the oats he kneeled on the ground before the host, and continued in that posture till he was commanded to rise and eat his oats. The owner of the ass seeing this, asked pardon for his heresy, and was reconciled to the church.

Some other heretics of Rimini having laid a scheme to poison Anthony, he discovered it before he had tasted any of the victuals they brought him; when, freely acknowledging their design, they challenged him to eat of the poisoned food, as a proof of the truth of his doctrine; and after making them promise that if it did him no harm they would conform to the church, he ate as much as they pleased, and receiving no hurt, they besought his intercession, and engaged to live and die in the faith which he preached.

A young man repenting of having kicked his mother with his foot, cut it off with his own hands, in consequence of Anthony's saying to him in confession, that the foot which kicked his mother deserved to be cut off. But the saint hearing of the case, went to him, and making the sign of

the cross, fastened the foot to the leg so completely, that not so much as a scar was to be seen at the juncture.

Anthony was no less favoured when he was alone, than when he was in public. A gentleman, who entertained him at his house near Padua, having the curiosity to look through the key-hole of his chamber after he was retired to go to bed, saw the room shine in the most extraordinary manner. Christ was descended to him in the form of a beautiful child, and while he stood upright on the bed, Anthony was kissing his feet, and folding him in his arms.

Hardly any of the miracles of Anthony were attended with so many extraordinary circumstances as the following: A young gentleman at Lisbon being in love with a young lady whose family was at variance with his, was way-laid and murdered by her brothers, who then threw the body into the garden of Anthony's father. In consequence of this he was apprehended, and being convicted of the murder, was sentenced to die. At that time Anthony was preaching at Padua, but stopping in the midst of his discourse, as perceiving the danger his father was in, he prayed, and God sent an angel who carried him to Lisbon, where appearing in the street through which the executioner was then conducting his father, he ordered all the company to stop, and calling for the judges, he desired that the body might be brought before them. This being done, though it had been buried and was found in a putrid state, he was required by Anthony to declare whether his father was the cause of his death; when he opened his eyes, and stood up as in perfect health, and said he was not killed by him or by his order. He then addressed the saint, and requested his absolution; and this being granted, he returned to a state of death. After this Anthony disappearing at Lisbon, returned to his pulpit in Padua, and informed his audience where he had been, and what he had done.

Being near his end, he was apprized of it by the appearance of an angel, whose splendour surpassed that of the stars, and was informed by him both of the honour that was reserved for him in heaven, and the great fame that he would have on earth; and when the angel vanished, the room was perfumed with the breath of paradise. Looking stedfastly upwards, he was asked by a friar who attended him what he saw, when he said, "I see my dear Christ, who mercifully expects me;" and after he expired, his flesh, which by abstinence and various austerities, was become swarthy and dry, was resplendent and clear, a manifest sign, says

the historian, that it was part of a glorified body. He died in A. D. 1231, in the thirty-sixth year of his age.

His miracles by no means ceased at his death. At the very instant of it he appeared in the chamber of the abbot of Vercelli, and touching his throat, cured him of a disease that he had there, and then vanished like lightning. At his funeral, God discovered to his attendants a new sepulchre in the church at Padua, and in that the body was deposited. Many lame persons crowding to the funeral were permitted to touch the body, and they were all instantly cured; and many who were not able to get to the sepulchre, were cured by only invoking his name.

At the request of the principal citizens of Padua, he was soon canonized; but one of the cardinals opposing it he had a revelation, which induced him to join his brethren in the act, which expressed that it was to be done in consequence of an attestation of miracles wrought by him both while he lived, and after he was dead; particularly nineteen lame persons restored to the use of their limbs, five paralytic persons cured, and five crooked-backed persons made straight, six blind men made to see, three deaf men and three mutes restored to their hearing and use of speech, two persons freed from the gout, and two raised from the dead, and many others cured of various disorders.

Some heretics, however, it seemed, ridiculed these miracles; and in order to expose them, one of them pretended to be blind, and applied at the shrine of the saint to be cured. But when he removed the cloth with which his eyes had been covered, they stuck to it, and were completely drawn all bloody out of their sockets. On this he confessed the scheme, but praying to the saint his eyes were loosened from the cloth, and returned to their places. All the company were of course converted.

A simple fellow, having applied to a conjuror near Padua, was led by him into a desert place, and a circle was drawn about him. But being frightened at what he saw and heard, so as not to be able to keep within it, the devil seized him and deprived him of his eyes and tongue. In this deplorable situation he invoked St. Anthony, and being conducted to his sepulchre, he recovered his eyes; but whether, the historian says, they were the same that he had lost, or others that came in their place, cannot be known.

A luxurious infidel laughing at the account of these miracles, said he would believe them if a glass which he threw into the street from a lofty room in which he and his com-

panions were dining, should not be broken; when not only was the glass unbroken, but the stone on which it fell was broken to pieces.*

Two other unbelievers ridiculing this miracle, took some dry stalks of a vine, and one of them said, "If it was Anthony that preserved the glass from being broken, let him cause these dry branches to bring forth leaves and ripe grapes, enow to fill this cup (which he held in his hand) with wine." This, however, immediately took place, and converted them all.

An insolent soldier meeting a poor leprous man going for a cure to the sepulchre of St. Anthony, laughed at him, and bid him rather apply to a physician; but he persisted in his resolution to go to the saint. There falling into a trance he was ordered to go to the soldier, being assured that his loathsome disease would leave him, and be transferred to him that had laughed at him. This he did, and the promised effect followed. The soldier, however, applying to the saint was also cured, and ever after proclaimed the miracle.

The daughter of a pious woman, much devoted to St. Anthony, was drowned in the river Brenta; but the body being brought to his sepulchre came to life again. Also a fine boy, which had been conceived in consequence of the prayers of Anthony, was drowned in a ditch that was suddenly filled with water when he was playing in it together with other boys; but the corpse being carried to the sepulchre of the saint, was restored to life; and at the same time all the children that had been drowned along with him, were found alive and well; nor could it be known how they came to the place where they were found.

The son of Anthony's sister was drowned in the sea; but though the body was found in a state of putrefaction, yet by prayers to the saint he was restored to life, and in consequence of the mother's vow he took the habit of St. Francis, and continued all his life in that order.

The infant of Portugal being at the point of death, her mother praying to St. Anthony he appeared to her, and gave her the choice of going with him to heaven at that time, or to continue alive for the consolation of the kingdom. She

* This *miracle* is probably borrowed from the Protestants. It is told, I believe, by *Foa*, who has some *laundary* *bars*, that Mrs. Honeywood, of Marks Hall, near Coggeshall, Essex, expressing her fears that she should not preserve her constancy like the martyrs who suffered there, declared that she should apostatize, as surely as a drinking glass in her hand, which she threw on a marble floor, was broken; and that the glass was taken up entire. I have been in the room where this is said to have happened.

choosing to live for the comfort of her mother, he gave her a cord as a token of her recovering her health.

To a woman who had been guilty of adultery but had repented, the devil appeared in the form of a crucifix personating Christ, and required her to drown herself in the Tagus; but going to the church of St. Anthony on the day of his festival, and praying very devoutly she fell into a trance, and heard the saint speak to her, and bid her look into her lap for a writing which would free her from all diabolical vexation. This writing she accordingly found, and it contained these words, "Behold the wood of the cross. Fly ye adverse parties. The lion of the tribe of Judah has overcome; hallelujah, hallelujah." The possession of this writing freed her from the satanical illusion. The king hearing of it, and getting the writing from her husband, she relapsed, but recovered on obtaining a copy of it, the king being unwilling to part with the original.

Lastly, two boys being killed by an explosion of gunpowder at Padua, and carried to the sepulchre of the saint, were restored to life. Of this the historian says an authentic process was made. This happened on the 24th of May, A. D. 1617.

M. Fleury speaks of this Anthony as a celebrated preacher and expounder of the Scriptures, though he says that his sermons, some of which are now extant, do not make him appear to much advantage. He says that he was canonized on account of the miracles that he wrought after his death, but he says nothing of any that were performed by him while he was alive, and mentions no particulars of the others. From this it is sufficiently evident that the historian, who in some respects was credulous enough, had no faith in the miracles that I have recited.

I should conclude with observing, that this account implies no reflection on Anthony himself. It does not appear from any proper evidence that he ever pretended to work miracles. His attempt to go to preach to the Mahometans, when he could expect nothing but martyrdom, is a proof that he had the spirit of a martyr. Like many other persons in times of ignorance, he abounded in zeal, devoting himself wholly to what he thought to be the service of God and Christ; and though he had no objection to being persecuted himself, it does not appear that he ever promoted the persecution of others, as many of his order at that day did. Though his great object was the conversion of heretics, he had no recourse to any measures besides those of argument and persuasion.

SECTION VI.

Of the Eastern Churches.

THE ancient Greek church continued in this period in nearly the same state as in the preceding ones, Christianity being almost extinguished through the poverty of the people, the oppression of the Turks, and a want of any considerable schools or seminaries of learning. The Greeks are, however, as much attached to their peculiar rites, in which their religion seems chiefly to consist, as ever. They adhere to the seven general councils; but the interpretation of their decrees, and the decision of all controversies, is lodged with the patriarch of Constantinople; so that, in this respect, this church is nearly in the same state with respect to its head, as the Catholics are with respect to theirs.

The external authority of the patriarch of Constantinople, who depends for his confirmation on the grand seignior, (which is generally purchased,) though consisting as formerly of four provinces, viz. those of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, besides that of Constantinople, is greatly abridged by the prevalence of Monophysite doctrines in the two former provinces, and the almost total depopulation of the last, together with societies of other denominations of Christians, established at Jerusalem. The patriarch of Russia also became independent of that of Constantinople in A. D. 1589: when Jeremy, the patriarch of Constantinople, who was soliciting aid against a rival, created him a separate and independent patriarch, on condition, however, of his obtaining the consent of the patriarch of Constantinople, and paying a sum of money, an obligation from which the Russian patriarch was afterwards released.

The Georgians and Mingrelians are also independent of the patriarch of Constantinople. But since the Mahometan conquests, they, and especially the last-mentioned, have lost almost every thing of Christianity except the name. They have at their head a person called *a Catholic*; but the ignorance and avarice of their priests are a disgrace to the Christian name. According to Chardin, and other travellers, they would not be known to be Christians but by certain rites performed in the most indecent manner, as they have no regular public worship.

Many attempts have been made by the Roman Catholics to gain the Greeks to their communion, and several churches

on the plan of the Roman have been founded in the Greek islands, but they make no figure; and the antipathy of the Greeks to the Latin church, is not less than it was in any former period.

Urban VIII. had much at heart the union of the Greeks under the jurisdiction of the Pope; and in order to promote it, a conduct very different from that which had been formerly used was adopted. Many treatises were written to shew that not only the Greeks, but the other Eastern churches, were not heretics, as they differed from the church of Rome only in matters of form. But they were strenuously opposed by Cyrillus Lucar, the patriarch of Constantinople, a man of great learning and piety, and who indeed was much inclined to embrace the doctrine of the Protestants. All the endeavours to gain that prelate failing, the Jesuits and the French ambassador, got him to be accused of treason, and by that means procured his death, in A. D. 1638. His successor, Cyrillus of Berea, was just such a man as the court of Rome wanted; but he also suffered a violent death, and was succeeded by Parthenius, an enemy of Rome, and from this time no more attempts have been made by the Catholics upon this church.* Melancthon, and some other Protestants, endeavoured to recommend their religion to the Greeks, but they gained little attention.

The Russian church, which was derived from the Greek, is not without sectaries. They are commonly called *Roskolniki*,† and neither persuasion nor force has been able to bring them into communion with the established church. They complain of many corruptions having been introduced into the church, but of what kind they are, we have no certain information, and it is acknowledged that their lives are exemplary. Since the accession of Peter the Great, they have been treated with more lenity than in former times. The origin of this sect is not known, but some suppose them to be the remains of the *Bogomilians*.‡

The wish expressed by John Basilides, grand duke of Russia, in A. D. 1580, to join the Romish church, and the solemn embassy which he sent to Gregory XIII., exhorting him to renew the negotiations for the union of their churches, proceeded from a temporal motive, and had no effect.

* *Mosheim*, IV. p. 402. (P.) Cent. xvii. Sect. ii. Pt. i. Ch. ii. Par. ii.

† "Or the seditious faction, by their adversaries;" but they "assumed the name of *Isbraniki*, i. e. the multitude of the elect." This sect arose "about the year 1666." *Mosheim*, Cent. xvii. Sect. ii. Pt. i. Ch. ii. Par. iv.

‡ *Ibid.* IV. p. 406. (P.)

The Monophysites, commonly called Jacobites, from Jacob Abardia, who revived the sect when it was almost expiring, in the sixth century, have a patriarch of Antioch, who generally resides in the monastery of St. Ananias, or some city in Syria. His jurisdiction being very extensive, he is assisted by a colleague, who lives in the neighbourhood of Mosul. All these patriarchs have the name of Ignatius.

The African Monophysites are under the patriarch of Alexandria, and they are either Copts, living in Egypt, or Abyssinians, who have all their patriarchs from Egypt. But they are so exceedingly ignorant, that they are not able to give any tolerable account of the principles they received from their ancestors. They pretend, however, that though they do not receive the council of Chalcedon, they are not Eutychians; since though, in opposition to the doctrine of Nestorius, they say "there is but one nature in Christ, they also say this one nature is two-fold, or compound."

The Armenians though Monophysites, differ from the others in several articles of discipline and worship. They have three patriarchs, the chief of whom has forty-two archbishops under him. He resides in a monastery at Eichmazin. The second, called the Catholic, who acknowledges the supremacy of the former, resides at Cis, in Cilicia, and has twelve archbishops under him. The third resides in the island of Aghtaman, in the lake of Varaspuracan, and has eight or nine bishops under him.

The Nestorians reside chiefly in Mesopotamia. They carefully avoid a multitude of superstitious opinions and practices, which abound in the Greek and Latin churches. Formerly they had only one head, a Catholic, who resided first at Bagdad, and then at Mosul. But in A. D. 1552, they were divided by choosing two patriarchs, one of whom, in order to strengthen his interest, went to Rome, and acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope. This party, however, is inconsiderable, and at present they seem to have withdrawn themselves from any connexion with the Latin church. Their chief resides at Ormus in Persia. The other chief resides at Mosul, and his jurisdiction is very extensive, comprehending the Arabian Nestorians, and those who are called the Christians of St. Thomas, in Malabar.

There are others who are called Christians of St. John, living in Persia and Arabia, chiefly at Bassora. Their religion consists very much in bathing, attended with pecu-

liar ceremonies, and they are supposed by many to be the remains of the ancient *Hemerobaptists*, mentioned by Epiphanius and other early writers. They are sometimes called *Sabians*, but they call themselves disciples of John.

There are in the East some other sects that have something of Christianity in their doctrines and institutions, but they are very imperfectly known, and are thought to be the remains of Manichæans and other heretics.*

The Catholics have made many attempts to introduce their religion into every part of the East, but they have nothing to boast of in their success. The Maronites, indeed, who inhabit mount Libanus, acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope, but this is all the Catholicism they have, and being very poor, they are a considerable expense to the court of Rome. Nor does it appear that any of these Eastern Christians have expressed a wish to subject themselves to the Pope, but from some interested motive.

SECTION VII.

Of the Protestants in the Valteline, the Waldenses, and the Bohemian Brethren.

In A. D. 1620, there was a general rising of the Catholics against the Protestants in the Valteline, who were taken by surprise, and murdered in the most cruel manner, and especially persons of the greatest wealth and consequence in that country, whose goods were every where plundered. In general, they were killed by fire-arms or other weapons, but many were burned in houses and churches, and some cruelly tortured. For this conspiracy and sudden rising no particular reason appears to have been assigned; but it was thought that it would not have been done without encouragement from the Spaniards, especially as a similar attempt had before been made by them.

Those murdering Catholics having surrounded the town of Tirano, on the 9th of July, the Protestants came out of their houses to inquire into the cause of it, when they were set upon and murdered in the streets, and in various ways and places, to the number of sixty, and only three persons escaped by flying to the Alps.

Those murderers then proceeded to Teglio, where they surprised a congregation at public worship, when they fired

* *Mosheim.* (P.) Cent. xvii. Sect. ii. Pt. 1. *ad fin.*

upon them; and afterwards, as some of them fled into the belfry, they set fire to the place, and by this and other means they massacred more than sixty persons.

Going thence to Sondrio they killed more than one hundred and forty persons, and some of those they tortured in a cruel manner, when they refused to go to mass. Many of this place hid themselves in holes and caves in the woods, where they perished miserably, their bodies being found afterwards. Some to whom the persecutors had promised their lives, they nevertheless put to death, openly alleging that no faith was to be kept with heretics.

At Caspano and Trahona about eleven were murdered, and twenty-seven at Bruse, some of them by their particular friends and relations; and this in the most wanton and cruel manner, not only shooting them, but throwing them down from precipices, stoning them, hacking them with swords, and burning them. Many of the cases, especially those of the women, are exceedingly affecting; but for particulars I shall content myself with referring to Mr. Fox.*

Notwithstanding the edict of the duke of Savoy, in A. D. 1561, in favour of the Waldenses, the popish party did not cease their importunity till, in A. D. 1565, they procured another, by which all his subjects who did not conform to the Catholic religion were ordered to leave the country, a year being allowed them to dispose of their effects. The Protestant princes in Germany, and especially the elector Palatine, interceded for them, but in vain; and in A. D. 1571, they were more particularly oppressed on the pretence that, in the former wars of France, they had assisted the Protestant party. Charles IX., willing at that time to gain the good opinion of his own Protestant subjects, interceded for them. But after the massacre of Paris, the severities were renewed by the governors of provinces, though repressed by the duke, so long as the duchess, who was their friend, lived. Still, however, they were subjected to much ill usage in particular places, and on particular occasions.

The marquisate of Saluces being restored to the duke of Savoy, in A. D. 1588, he allowed those people for some time the profession of their religion. But the popish party, and especially the missionaries established by Clement VIII., were indefatigable in their endeavours to injure them; and they spared no artifice in order to gain their purpose, while

* *Martyrs*, III. p. 952. (P.) Clarke's *Persecutions*, pp. 327—331.

little regard was paid to the remonstrances which they did not fail to make, in answer to the accusations that were brought against them. It was made death for those oppressed people to use any endeavours to prevent the conversion of any of their body; and any person informing of such an offence (and one evidence was sufficient) was promised secrecy, and a reward of one hundred crowns.*

They were frequently distressed by soldiers quartered upon them, and in various other ways; while encouragements of various kinds were perpetually held out to those who would conform to the religion of the prince. In fine, nothing that could act upon their hopes or their fears was neglected, short of an absolute and unconditional proscription. In A. D. 1601, they were all ordered either to go to mass, or leave the country. This order was repeated in A. D. 1602, with leave to stay only fifteen days; and in some places not more than five days were allowed. In the same year they were excluded from all public offices, and forbidden to have any schools, public or private, or to receive among them any strangers who were ministers or school-masters; and in A. D. 1622, they were forbidden to send their youth to any foreign school suspected of heresy.

The prince was generally surprised into these orders, and they were frequently revoked on better information, especially those which required them to leave the country. But when the missionaries could not gain their point with the princes, they had recourse to the inquisitors; and by means of false accusations often deprived them of their liberty, their goods, and sometimes of their lives. In A. D. 1622, they apprehended one Sebastian Basan, and, after cruelly tormenting him, procured him to be burned alive in the palace-yard at Turin, November 23, A. D. 1623, when he died singing praises to God, as the historian says, in the midst of the flames.† The stealing of the children of these poor people for the sake of educating them in the Catholic religion, was a common practice.

The reason that was principally alleged for distressing these people was, the wish of the dukes of Savoy to get possession of Pignerol, which was situated in their valleys;

* *Morland's* "History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piedmont, with a geographical description." Fol. 1658, p. 271. (P.) Sir Samuel Morland, who was made a baronet by Charles I, became secretary under Thurlow, and was employed by Cromwell in several embassies.

† *Morland*, p. 277. (P.)

and as many of them were of French extraction, it was suspected that they would not heartily concur in such an undertaking, though they so far cleared themselves of the charge of disloyalty, that their liberties were frequently confirmed to them by royal edicts, as they were in A. D. 1603, and A. D. 1620.

The plague breaking out in A. D. 1630, destroyed a great part of them, and especially of the ministers, owing, no doubt, to their assiduity in attending the sick. In consequence of this they applied to the French churches for succours, and those who were sent introduced several changes in their discipline and doctrine, making them conformable to those of the Protestant churches in France.*

Notwithstanding the privileges granted the Vaudois by their sovereigns, and which were repeated in A. D. 1649, A. D. 1653, and again in A. D. 1654, yet in the year following, Andrew Gastaldo, having procured authority to act according to his discretion with respect to them, ordered all of them who lived in the valley of Lucern, and nine other valleys, to remove without delay to others, as Bobbio, &c., under pain of death and confiscation of goods. This order being given the 25th of January, the distress occasioned by it (as no women, children, or sick persons, were allowed to remain, and the places to which they were to remove were unable to receive them) may easily be conceived; but nothing they could do, by the most earnest petitions and remonstrances, could retard, or even mitigate, the execution of this cruel order. The goods they were obliged to leave behind them were plundered, and they had no redress, because they could not bring evidence against the persons who took them.

After these distressed people had made repeated endeavours to get access to the duke, that they might lay their complaints before him, or even before a council consisting wholly of their enemies, and had received some small encouragement, which led them to presume that they might have liberty to stay beyond the short time fixed for their removal, they were on the 17th of April, while they were wholly off their guard, attacked by a number of troops, who fell upon them and butchered them without mercy. The next day, being more on their guard, they made some resistance, and beat off a party of the enemy; but on the

* *Mosheim*, IV. p. 104. (P.) Cent. xvi. Sect. iii. Pt. ii. Ch. ii. Par. xxv.

21st of the same month, while they were deceived by a parley with the marquis of Pianessa, in which they were promised protection on terms which they thought to be tolerable, they were set upon again and slaughtered as before, even in those places in which they had been assured they should not be molested; and there was no species of cruelty that was not exercised on such as fell into their power, even on women and infirm persons. The particulars as related by *Morland*, from the most undoubted evidence, are most shocking.*

One village, Rorai, escaped this dreadful massacre, and to surprise it, three hundred soldiers were afterwards sent.

* Of these cruelties *Whitlocke* has left the following record: "1655, May, Letters of the Duke of Savoy's cruel persecuting the Protestants in Piedmont, by taking away their goods and estates, and putting them in prison, and carrying away of their children; using all means with violence to make them forsake their religion, and the purity of the gospel; which when they could not do, the priests persuaded the duke to send an army against them to force them to conformity, who sent eight thousand men against these poor quiet people and loyal subjects; the army fell upon them, slew many of them with small loss, and took many prisoners, whom they used with all cruelty, and then put them to death. Others of them with their wives and children, fled unto the mountains, whilst the soldiers plundered their houses, and then fired them and their churches." *Memorials*, 1682, p. 607.

Milton, in his character of Latin Secretary, was immediately instructed to write letters in the Protector's name, to the duke of Savoy, the prince of Transylvania, the king of Sweden, the States General, the Protestant Swiss Cantons, and the king of Denmark. They are dated *Albâ Aulâ*, May, 1655. See "Literæ Pseudo-Senatus Anglicani, Cromwellii, Reliquorumque Perduellium nomine ac jussu conscriptæ à Joanne Milono. Impressæ Anno, 1676," pp. 85—97, 103, 104.

The letter to the duke of Savoy commences with the following relation: "Redditæ sunt nobis Geneva, nec non ex Delphinatu aliisque multis ex locis ditione vestræ finitimis literæ, quibus certiores facti sumus, Regalis vestræ Celsitudinis subditis Reformatam Religionem profitentibus, vestro edicto atque autoritate imperatum nuper esse, uti triduo quàm hoc edictum promulgatum erit suis sedibus atque agris excedant pœnâ capitis, et fortunarum omnium amissione proposita, nisi fidem fecerint delictâ religione suâ, intra dies viginti Catholicam Religionem amplexuros: Cumque se supplices ad Celsitudinem vestram Regalem consulissent, petentes uti edictum illud revocetur, utque ipsi pristinam in gratiam recepti, concessæ à Serenissimis Majoribus vestris libertati restituantur, partem tamen exercitûs vestri in eos impetum fecisse multos crudelissimè trucidasse, alios vinculis mandasse, reliquos in deserta loca montesque nivibus coopertos expulisse, ubi familiarum aliquot centuriæ, eo loci rediguntur ut fit mutuendum ne frigore et fame, brevi sicut miserè omnes perituræ." *Ibid.* pp. 85, 86.

In the letter to the *States General*, the sufferings of the Protestants are thus described: "Occisis permultis ab exercitûs parte contra eos missâ, direptis reliquis atque domo expulsis, unde illi cum conjugibus ac liberis fama et frigore conflictari inter asperrimos montes, nivesque perpetuas jamdiu coacti sunt." *Ibid.* p. 97.

The Editor of these letters, in the advertisement *ad Lectorem*, to proclaim his *royalism*, or rather to cover his real design, affects to have doubted whether he should print or burn the MS. *Dubitavi diu utrum illas prælo potius aut flammis committerem.*

Bishop Newton, who does justice to the Protector's humane interference, conjectures, very probably, that about this time *Milton* wrote the following Sonnet, first printed in 1673:

But being now apprized of their danger, a few men placed in ambuscade repulsed them with loss.* The next day five hundred more were beat off in the same manner; but afterwards seven hundred who were sent against them succeeded so far as to burn and destroy every thing in that village. However, the same party headed as at first, by one Gianavel, and joined by a few more, fell upon them and recovered the booty they had got. These small detachments not succeeding, eight thousand men, besides the militia, were sent to subdue them; and these, abandoning themselves to every species of cruelty, destroyed about one hundred and twenty of these people. But, headed still by the same courageous Gianavel, they surprised a great part of this army on the 28th of May, and with the loss of a very few of their own number, killed not less than four hundred and fifty of the enemy. Presently after this we find these people mustered near five hundred men; and on the 11th of July they killed three hundred of the enemy, nor did it appear to be in the power of the great force that was sent against them to exterminate them.

Soon after the commencement of these troubles, the Protestant cantons of Switzerland wrote to the duke of Savoy in favour of his reformed subjects. They also applied to the States General of the united provinces to join them in their intercession. But no person took their part in a more active manner than Oliver Cromwell, then Protector of England. He wrote to the kings of France, of Sweden, and of Denmark, to the States General, and to the Swiss cantons, and sent Mr. Morland as his ambassador to the duke of Savoy. Oliver himself contributed two thousand pounds

On the Late Massacre in Piedmont :

Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughter'd saints, whose bones
Lie scatter'd on the Alpine mountains cold;
E'en them who kept thy truth so pure of old,
When all our fathers worshipt stocks and stones,
Forget not: in thy book record their groans
Who were thy sheep, and in their ancient fold
Slain by the bloody Piedmontese that roll'd
Mother with infant down the rocks. Their moans
The vales redoubled to the hills, and they
To Heav'n. Their martyr'd blood and ashes sow
O'er all th' Italian fields, where still doth sway
The triple Tyrant; that from these may grow
A hundred fold, who having learn'd thy way
Early may fly the Babylonian woe.

Newton's *Par. Reg.* &c. 1766, pp. 240—242.

* *Morland*, p. 500. (P.)

towards the relief of these distressed people,* and on his recommendation the sum of thirty-eight thousand pounds was raised in the kingdom.†

In July the people of Zurich sent a second embassy to Turin, requesting a cessation of arms, in order to an amicable termination of the war. With some difficulty they obtained leave to confer with the Vaudois on the subject, and at length by their mediation, a kind of treaty was entered into at Pignerol, August 18, A. D. 1655, by which they had liberty to return to their ancient habitations, with all the privileges that had been granted to them before. Such, at least, was concluded from the terms of the treaty. But it was drawn with much art, and notwithstanding the most earnest remonstrances it was settled before the arrival of ambassadors from Cromwell and the united Provinces, and gave the Protestants in general very little satisfaction; especially as it was in the form of a grant, or indulgence, which the court of Savoy might think itself at liberty to retract. In fact, the Vaudois after this treaty were subject to many hardships; being still in many places, expelled from their habitations, and plundered without obtaining any redress.‡

* This appears by a letter to the magistrates of Geneva, dated *Junii 8, 1655*. The design is thus expressed: "Dum pecuniæ collectio maturatur, quod sine spatio temporis fieri nequit, et miserorum istorum egestas atque inopia pati moram non potest, necessarium duximus duo millia librarum Anglicarum quanta fieri potuit celeritate præmittere inter eos distribuenda qui præsentissimâ ope atque solatio indigere maximè videbuntur." *Litera*, pp. 103, 104.

† *Whitlocke* records, "*Sept. 1655*, The Protector appointed a solemn day of humiliation to be kept, and a large contribution to be gathered throughout the nation for their relief, which was very well resented by the Protestants beyond the seas. *October*. The Protestant Cantons of Switzerland acknowledge the Protector's zeal and care for Piedmont. *November*. Letters of the miserable condition of the poor Protestants in Dauphine, oppressed by the Duke of Savoy, and left sick, and without covert, food, or clothing, and many of them dead with cruelty." *Mem.* p. 617. On this subject Milton's pen was again employed, during 1655 and 1656, in letters to the king of France, his minister, Cardinal Mazarine, the Protestant Swiss Cantons, and the States General. *Litera*, pp. 97—100, 108—110, 130—133.

‡ These excesses gave occasion to the Protector's last interference. in *May 1658*, a few months before his decease. Milton now wrote letters to the king of France, the Swiss Protestant Cantons, and Mazarine. *Ibid.* pp. 190—197.

In the letter to Louis, the effect of this insidious treaty is thus described: "Post cruentissimam utriusque sexûs omnis ætatis trucidationem, pax tandem data est, vel potius inducta pacis nomine hostilitas quædam tectior: conditiones pacis vestro in oppido *Pinarolii* sunt latæ; duræ quidem illæ, sed quibus miseri atque in opus dira omnia atque immania perpassi facillè acquiescerent, modo iis, duræ et iniquæ ut sint, staretur; non statur; sed enim earum quoque singularum falsâ interpretatione variisque diverticulis fides eluditur ac violatur; antiquis sedibus multi dejiuntur, religio patria multis interdicitur, tributa nova exiguntur, arx nova cervicibus imponitur, unde milites crebro erumpentes obvios quosque vel diripiunt vel trucidant." *Ibid.* p. 191.

I have enlarged on this honourable employment of Milton's pen, to second the Protector's exertions in favour of these sufferers, because both *republicans* and

And all their attempts to get better terms by their application to the court of France, were without effect.

Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, following the example of the king of France, on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, formed the resolution of banishing all the Reformed out of his states; and in November, A. D. 1685, he, in the first place, ordered all strangers to leave the Valleys in fifteen days. This was with a view to drive out all those who had fled to his country from France. But this not answering his purpose, he forbade on pain of death the exercise of the Reformed religion, or the teaching of schools by any of the professors of it; allowing them, as he had done the strangers, fifteen days to withdraw themselves. Intreaty having no effect to procure the recall of these cruel edicts, those who were exposed to suffer by them defended themselves by force of arms; but the French and the Piedmontese troops acting in concert, destroyed more than three thousand of them, and made more than ten thousand prisoners.

At the intercession of the Reformed cantons of Switzerland, the duke permitted these prisoners to go out of the country, and some of them went to Geneva, but not very many, a great number of them having perished by the distress to which they were exposed; and from Geneva those who remained of them went into different parts of Switzerland.

At length this prince forming an alliance with king William, and thinking there would be no more determined enemies of the French than his Reformed subjects, allowed them to return to their country, and granted them their former privileges; so natural is it, says a popish historian, for men to sacrifice their religion to every profane view, and to interests purely human.*

The fate of the *Hussites*, or *Moravian Brethren*, in this period, was similar to that of the *Vaudois*. The different societies that had separated from the Romish communion in Poland, viz. the Lutherans, the Reformed, and the Bohemian Brethren, wanting the aid of each other, formed a kind of union at Sendomir, in A. D. 1570, when they agreed on a common confession of faith, each party, however, retaining

royalists have treated the subject with equal neglect. Yet it cannot be unimproving to distinguish between the useful public acts even of a *great wicked man*, if Cromwell must be so regarded, and the mere selfishness of a royal sensualist, such an one as England, after having misimproved the opportunity of establishing a popular government, acquired by the *Restoration*, and such as the unfavourable education of princes bestows on every age.

* *Memoirs Chronologiques*, III. p. 287. (P.)

their own separate confessions and forms of discipline. They acknowledged each other to be orthodox, and consented to hold communion as such, and to send deputies to their separate general synods. But in the general confession the points in debate were expressed in ambiguous terms, so that it did not put an end to controversy, and this union was afterwards dissolved.*

Before the Reformation, the Bohemian Brethren had educated their youth for the ministry by giving to each minister a few to attend upon him as Acolyths. After this they sent many to the German universities; but this proving to be a source of dissension among them, they, in A. D. 1584, founded seminaries of their own at Przerow, and three other places in Moravia.†

The Brethren had been favoured by Maximilian II., the great friend of universal toleration, and the privileges which they obtained under him were ratified by Rodolf II. in A. D. 1609, who granted them at the same time liberty to erect new churches, and to choose out of their nobility, advocates to maintain the rights of their church. They were also admitted into the Consistory, together with the Lutherans and Calixtins, each sending three members. Moreover, the Bethlehem church at Prague, in which Huss began to preach, was given to them; and this not being large enough, they were allowed to erect another for the Germans and Bohemians.‡

In this state of rest from persecution, many of the Brethren relaxed from the rigour of their discipline, so as to be ill prepared for the state of suffering which followed: for, on the death of Rodolf in A. D. 1612, Ferdinand II. being determined to enforce the decrees of the Council of Trent, began with the Bohemians; and they being unfortunately driven into open rebellion, and defeated in the battle of Prague, in A. D. 1620, many of their leaders suffered death, and most of the rest were banished. In A. D. 1624, all the ministers were sent out of the country; and though the baron Charles Schrotin, vice margrave of Moravia, who had twenty-four ministers of the Brethren on his estates, represented that they had preserved their loyalty, it availed nothing.

Among the ministers who were driven out of Moravia at

* *Mosheim*, IV. p. 102. [Cent. xvii. Sect. iii. Pt. ii. Ch. ii. Par. xxviii.]
Crantz, [*La Trobe*], pp. 57, 58. (P.)

† *Crantz*, [*La Trobe*] p. 63. (P.) ‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 64, 65. (P.)

this time, was John Amos, or Comenius,* born in A. D. 1592, head master of the seminary at Przerow, and afterwards minister of Fulnek, in Moravia. When in A. D. 1627, all the Protestant nobility were ordered to leave the country, he at first concealed himself, but afterwards with part of his congregation he emigrated to Poland, and at Lissa, in A. D. 1631, he published his *Janua Linguarum rascrata*, a book which has been translated into almost all known languages.† In A. D. 1656, losing “almost all his books at the fire of Lissa,” he went to Frankfort on the Oder, thence to Hamburg, and thence to Amsterdam. But when he was at Lissa in A. D. 1632, he was made bishop of the dispersed Brethren from Bohemia and Moravia.‡ and was president of their synod from A. D. 1648, to A. D. 1671, when, being in the eightieth year of his age, he died.§

Comenius was indefatigable in his labours for the good of his church, and he published many things for their use. But he gave too much credit to a number of prophecies which were in circulation during the thirty years’ war, about the fall of the Austrian family, and the restoration of Frederick, which exposed him and his brethren to much inconvenience.|| Before his death, almost despairing of the church over which he had presided, he concurred in A. D. 1657, in the appointment of two bishops, one of whom was Peter Jablonski, his son-in-law; but he dying before him, was succeeded by his son, in A. D. 1699. Daniel Ernest Jablonski, who at the same time obtained the superintendency of the Bohemian Brethren out of Poland.¶ He was chaplain in ordinary at the court of Berlin, and wrote several very learned works.

On the dispersion of all the Protestants after the peace of Westphalia, the Brethren fled in various directions, in some places forming congregations, but in most they were lost among the other inhabitants.**

* “From Komensky, or *Komna*, the place of his nativity.” *Lu Tribe*, p. 68.

† “Twelve European, and even into some of the Asiatic languages.” He was also employed “upon his grand pensophic work, being an encyclopaedia of all sciences.” *Ibid.* p. 69.

‡ “In 1641 he had been invited into England for the improvement of the schools. His abilities and labour in the schools in England are well known to the learned.” *Ibid.* p. 70.

§ *Ibid.* pp. 69, 70. (P.) || *Ibid.* pp. 70, 71. ¶ *Ibid.* p. 76.

** “Yet some of them formed particular congregations, and even founded new villages. About the year 1725, considerable colonies of Bohemians were formed at *Gross Homersdorf* and *Gerlachshorn*, in Upper Lusatia. But they, in 1732 and 1737, withdrew again and settled at Berlin.” *Ibid.* pp. 82—84.

SECTION VIII.

Of the Lutherans and the Reformed.

THE genuine doctrines of the Lutherans of this period are to be found in the Confession of Augsburgh, the Articles of Smalcald, which were drawn up by Luther, to shew how far he was willing to go to prevent a final rupture with the Catholics, and in his larger and shorter catechisms. In these he maintained the omnipresence of the body of Christ, together with its peculiar presence in the eucharist, a doctrine as remote from common sense as that of Transubstantiation; though Melancthon is said to have leaned to, if he did not profess, the doctrine of the Swiss divines on this subject. The Lutherans, however, very wisely did not lay much stress on mere rites and forms; and some of their churches retain more of those which they received from their Catholic ancestors, and others fewer, without any breach of their union. Their liturgies also, and the modes of conducting public worship, differ much in different places. In general, however, they retain several things which the Reformed condemn as superstitious, as, the use of images in churches, the distinguishing vestments of the clergy, the private confession of sins, the use of wafers in the administration of the Lord's supper, the form of exorcism in baptism, and some others.*

Though the Lutherans have no *bishops*, properly so called, they have *superintendants*, who have a higher rank, and greater privileges, than the common clergy, and these vary in different places. In Sweden and Denmark they retain more of the power of the ancient bishops.

The Lutheran church, like every other in this period, was agitated with controversies, especially in the early part of it. While Luther lived, his authority preserved union among his followers; but on his death, Melancthon was not able, by his meekness and moderation, to maintain the same tranquillity. In the debates concerning the *Interim*, he maintained the lawfulness of obeying the sovereign in all matters of indifference, in which he was violently opposed by many, and especially by Flacius, who differed from him both with respect to the articles that were said to be indifferent, and the lawfulness of yielding to their imposition.

* *Mosheim*, IV. p. 109. (P.) Cent. xvi. Sect. iii. Pt. ii. Ch. ii. Par. xxix.

Luther's doctrine of salvation by grace alone led many of his followers to deny the necessity of good works, and this occasioned another warm controversy, Melancthon asserting their necessity. In the course of this controversy, some went so far as to assert that good works were even an impediment to salvation. Melancthon, however, followed by the great lords of the Lutherans, denied the absolute servitude of the human will in the business of salvation, and the total inability of man to do any good action; asserting that the will of man concurs with the operation of divine grace, which was called *Semi-Pelagianism*.*

Nothing excited the indignation of the moderate party so much as Flacius obstinately maintaining that original sin was of the very substance of human nature, which he was led to do by his antagonist asking him, whether original sin was to be ranked among substances or accidents. The violence with which this controversy was conducted, greatly impeded the progress of the Reformation.

On the death of Melancthon, who was most active in this controversy as in others which arose among the Lutherans, the elector of Saxony, and other princes, procured a conference between the heads of the contending parties at Altenburg in A. D. 1568; but the warmth of the disputants prevented any good effects from it. They there endeavoured to procure a *form of concord*, drawn up by the most moderate on both sides, to be approved in the different consistories of the Lutherans; and James Andreæ, professor at Tubingen, was employed on this work from A. D. 1569, by order of the dukes of Wurtemberg and Brunswick, and he was indefatigable in his endeavours to recommend the form that he had prepared.

Those who adopted the opinions of Zuinglius in Germany must have been numerous. In A. D. 1570, Peucer, a man of learning, and of an excellent character, professor of natural philosophy at Wittenberg, and son-in-law of Melancthon, made a public profession, along with others of his disciples, of the doctrine of Calvin; and in the year following he published a work in the German language entitled *Stereoma*, in which they declared their dissent from the doctrine of Luther concerning the eucharist. This alarming Augustus, the elector of Saxony, he called a solemn convocation of the Saxon divines at Dresden, in A. D. 1571, when they drew up a form of agreement, in which the omnipresence of the

* *Mosheim, (P.)* Cent. xvi. Sect. iii. Pt. ii. Ch. i. Par. xxx.

body of Christ was denied. Afterwards, however, the elector being made to believe that a great pillar of the doctrine of Luther was endangered by it, he called another convention at Torgaw, in A. D. 1574, and though fifteen persons only attended, and complied with the wishes of the elector, he committed some who opposed the doctrine of Luther to prison, others he banished, and Peucer was subjected to the most rigorous confinement till A. D. 1585, when he obtained his liberty by means of the prince of Anhalt.

By the order of the elector, the form of concord drawn up by Andreaæ, but revised by many other persons in A. D. 1576, when the assembly of divines met at Torgaw, was adopted. This was a new confession of faith for the Lutheran church, in which the omnipresence of the body of Christ, and the real manducation of it in the eucharist, were asserted; and it censured all who did not adopt these opinions as heretics, and encouraged the civil magistrate to suppress them.* Indeed, the Lutherans in general retained the persecuting maxims of the age, till towards the close of the seventeenth century, when it was generally allowed among them, that the civil magistrate has nothing to do with the religious opinions of those who do not disturb the peace of society.†

Though this measure was designed to heal the divisions of the Lutheran church, and to preserve it from the doctrines of the Reformed, yet, like other violent measures, it failed of answering its end. It gave the greatest possible offence to all the friends of peace, it entirely alienated the Reformed, and occasioned a violent and long-continued controversy among themselves. It was rejected with the greatest indignation by the Lutheran churches of Hesse, of Pomerania, and many other places. Julius, duke of Brunswick, the original patron of this form of concord, himself changed his opinion concerning it, and excluded it from the number of those creeds that were to be subscribed by his subjects.

Under Christian I. who succeeded Augustus, the enemies of this form of concord were encouraged to attempt the rejection of it; but on his death, in A. D. 1591, they suffered for it, some of them being banished, and others imprisoned; and Crellius, the first minister of Christian, even suffered death in A. D. 1601, in consequence of some tumult that had been occasioned by this controversy.

* *Mosheim*, Cent. xvi. Sect. iii. Pt. ii. Ch. i. Par. xxxix.

† *Ibid.* IV. p. 440. (P.) Cent. xvii. Sect. ii. Pt. ii. Ch. i. Par. xvi.

Many Lutheran churches, offended at these proceedings, and disapproving the form of concord, joined the Reformed. Among them were the churches of Nassau, Hanau, Isenburg and others.* In A. D. 1595 the prince of Anhalt renounced the profession of Lutheranism, and embraced the system of Geneva; but his subjects were left at liberty to follow which they pleased.

The Lutheran church sustained a great loss in the defection of Maurice, landgrave of Hesse, who adopted the system of the Reformed. In A. D. 1604 he removed the professors from the university of Wittenberg, and in A. D. 1619 he sent divines to the synod at Dort, with orders to conform to the decrees of that assembly. This example was followed in part by John Sigismund, elector of Brandenburg, in A. D. 1614; but though he adopted the discipline of the church of Geneva, he did not adopt all their doctrines, and he allowed his subjects liberty of conscience.†

There was some danger of the system of the Reformed supplanting that of Luther, in Denmark, the disciples of Melancthon having much influence in that country; but these appearances vanished when, in A. D. 1614, Canut, bishop of Gottenberg, who had embraced the doctrine of Calvin, was deprived of his episcopal jurisdiction.‡

Many attempts were made by the friends of peace in this period to unite the Lutherans and the Reformed, at least to bring them to tolerate one another, and lessen the acrimony which prevailed on both sides. But, though the Reformed were at all times well-disposed to this, and were ready to allow that the Lutherans held no fundamental errors, the Lutherans would never acknowledge the same with respect to them. A synod of the French Protestants, held at Charonton, in A. D. 1631, passed an act in which it was declared that the Lutheran system was conformable to the spirit of true piety, and free from pernicious and fundamental errors. But this candour, thus publicly expressed, had no effect on the other party.§

Uladislaus IV., king of Poland, had much at heart the union of all the churches which were opposed to that of Rome; and for this purpose he ordered a conference to be held at Thorn, in A. D. 1645. But the persons who met, separated with increased animosity against each other. Se-

* *Mosheim*, IV. p. 195. (P.) Cent. xvi. Sect. iii. Pt. ii. Ch. ii. Par. xxvi.

† *Ibid.* pp. 416, 417. (P.) Cent. xvii. Sect. ii. Pt. ii. Ch. i. Par. i. ii.

‡ *Ibid.* pp. 483, 484. (P.) Ch. ii. Par. i.

§ *Ibid.* pp. 421. (P.) Ch. i. Par. iv.

veral other attempts were made, both by princes and private persons, to bring the Lutherans and the Reformed to a nearer union, but they all failed of success.

George Calixtus, of Sleswick, a person of distinguished genius and learning, exerted himself greatly to promote an union, at least of affection, among all Christians, even including the Catholics; by maintaining that all the fundamental doctrines of Christianity were contained in the Apostles' Creed, which is received by them all. But this noble attempt only engaged him and all Germany in a controversy which continued after his death in A. D. 1656; and, according to *Mosheim*, gave occasion to such an exhibition of an unchristian spirit in his antagonists, as we have but few examples of in the history of the church.*

About A. D. 1616, a controversy arose among the Lutherans concerning the nature and degree of the humiliation of Christ, whether his divine attributes were suspended, or only concealed, during his mediatorial office. The latter was maintained by the doctors of Tübingen, and the former by those of Grossen. This controversy, like the rest, was conducted with much warmth; and though the Saxon divines were commanded by their sovereign, in A. D. 1624, to interpose their good offices, their decision gave no satisfaction to the contending parties.†

Among the Lutheran theologians of this period, we must mention Jacob Behmen, a tailor, in Górlitz, called by his admirers the *German Theosophist*. Having got some knowledge of the doctrine of Robert Fludd, and the Rosicrucians, he struck out a scheme of theology more obscure than any that had been broached before. It is not possible, in intelligible language, to give any idea of it.

The church usually called *Reformed* received great lustre from the labours of Calvin, who reduced the discipline of it to a system, and endeavoured to get it introduced into other churches; making Geneva, as it were, the centre and fountain-head of that division of the separatists from the Roman communion. To this, the establishment of an university, in which he was professor, and in which he was seconded by Beza, greatly contributed. Their reputation drew pupils from all quarters, and these dispersed themselves into every part of Europe.

The system of Calvin differed from that of Zuinglius in the following particulars: He took from the civil magistrate

* *Mosheim*, IV. pp. 446—448. (P.) Cent. xvii. Sect. ii. Pt. ii. Ch. i. Par. xxi.

† *Ibid.* pp. 469, 470. (P.) *Ibid.* Par. xxxvi.

that unbounded power which Zuinglius had allowed to him in ecclesiastical matters; he acknowledged no superiority of one Christian minister over another, but provided for the government of the church by synods of presbyters, and ruling elders; and he restored to its vigour the practice of excommunication, and recommended it to be enforced by the civil magistrate; whereas Zuinglius denied this power to the clergy. In this respect the system of Calvin did not differ from that of the Catholics, and he was sometimes called the Pope of Geneva. He made himself many enemies at Geneva by his rigorous measures to exclude unworthy members from church communion; but his perseverance carried him through every opposition.*

Calvin differed in sentiment from Zuinglius in maintaining that the eucharist is something more than a pious remembrance of Christ. He held that Christ is spiritually present in it, and that a divine virtue is thereby communicated to the worthy receiver. He also held the doctrine of Predestination in the most rigid sense, which Zuinglius never did.

Among the victims of Calvin's resentment for a difference of opinion on this subject, was Sebastian Castalio, master of the public school at Geneva, an excellent scholar, and a man of great probity. In consequence of his differing from Calvin on the subject of the divine decrees, he was deposed from his office in A. D. 1544, and banished the city. But he was received by the magistrates of Basil, who gave him the Greek professorship in that city.†

Calvin's system of church government was adopted by the Reformed in France, Holland and Scotland, and also in the Palatinate, Bremen and other places in Germany, but not in Switzerland, where an attachment to the system of Zuinglius prevented it. But his doctrines respecting the eucharist, and especially Predestination, prevailed by his means, and those of his followers, not only through Switzerland, but in most of the Reformed churches.

SECTION IX.

Of the Anabaptists and Unitarians.

THE enormities of the Anabaptists. who appeared in the time of Luther, were so shocking to every body, that long

* *Mosheim*, IV. pp. 115, 116. (P.) *Cent.* xvi. *Sect.* iii. *Pt.* ii. *Ch.* ii. *Par.* xxxii.

† *Ibid.* pp. 124, 125. (P.) *Ibid.* *Par.* xl. Calvin differed with Castalio on another point. While the Reformer of Geneva was urging the Protector *Somerset*

after the whole sect were effectually recovered from them, they were regarded with a jealous eye, and considered as unworthy of toleration in most places; especially as they still retained their objection to oaths, those to any government, as well as others. They held all penal laws, and even magistracy, to be unsuitable to the kingdom of Christ. They held war to be universally unlawful, and in any case to repel force with force. At length, however, their conduct being found by experience to be peaceable, and even entirely passive, they began to be received without distrust; but during the whole of this period they were exposed to great hardships.

Menno, who was considered as their chief, after a life of great labour, constantly removing from place to place, and exposed to great danger,* was at length received into the protection of a nobleman in the duchy of Holstein, where he died in A. D. 1561.

Though the ancient Anabaptists, many of whom had endeavoured to overturn the government in several places in Holland, as well as at Munster, were on that account held in great abhorrence; yet under William, the prince of Orange, the founder of the Belgic liberties, and who had been assisted by them with a considerable sum of money, when his funds were almost exhausted, they obtained a legal establishment in the United Provinces, notwithstanding the opposition of many of the clergy; but their liberty and tranquillity were not fully established till the year A. D. 1626, when, by a public confession of their faith, they cleared themselves of the things that were laid to their charge.

After many internal divisions, which exposed the Anabaptists to great inconvenience, and made them appear less

to cut off heretics in England by the sword with which he was intrusted, Castalio thus endeavoured to inculcate the folly and wickedness of persecution, when dedicating his *Biblia Sacra* to King Edward:

“Expectemus justi judicis sententiam: et operam demus, non ut ipsi alios damnemus, sed ut nihil committamus, quamobrem nobis metuenda sit damnatio. Obediamus justo judici, et zizania usque ad messem sinamus, ne forte frumentum (dum supra magistrum sapere volumus) extirpemus. Neque enim adhuc ultimus mundi finis est: neque nos angeli sumus, quibus hæc sit mandata provincia. Adde, quod absurdum est, spirituale bellum, terrestribus armis geri. Christianorum hostes sunt vitia, contra quæ virtutibus certandum est, et contrariis remediis contraria mala curanda: ut doctrina ignorantiam pellat, injuriam vincat patientia, superbia modestia resistat, pigritiæ opponatur diligentia, contra crudelitatem pugnet clementia, simulationem prosternat sincera, et se Deo proba is religiosa mens, animusque purus, et qui uni Deo placere studeat. Hæc sunt vera Christianæ religionis, et verè victorici arma.” *Bib. Sac.* Londini, 1726, I. pp. xi. xii. *Præfatio.*

* In 1539, a person had been “put to death at Leuwarden for harbouring Menno,” and in 1543 “a reward of 100 florins was offered to any one who should apprehend him.” *Brandt*, p. 239. *De la Roche*, I. pp. 67, 69.

respectable than they otherwise would have done, the greater part of them held an amicable conference at Amsterdam, in A. D. 1630, when they entered into a bond of fraternal communion, with allowance for some differences of opinion; and this was renewed and confirmed by those of Flanders and Germany in A. D. 1649, when they mitigated and corrected, in various respects, the rigorous rules of Menno and his successors. Some of them, however, still retained their original doctrines and practices: as that concerning the human nature of Christ, which they said was not derived from the Virgin Mary; the obligation to wash the feet of strangers; the necessity of excommunicating and avoiding all those who departed from the simplicity of their ancestors; their contempt of human learning, and other peculiarities of less moment. But in later times many of these relaxed with respect to them.

The Anabaptists have three orders in their clergy: 1st, bishops or presbyters, who preside in their consistories, and who alone administer baptism and the Lord's supper; 2dly, teachers for public instruction; and, 3dly, deacons. Among the various sects into which they are divided abroad, there are some who are called *Galenists*, from Galen Abraham Haan, a physician, and pastor of a Mennonite congregation at Amsterdam, a person of great ability and eloquence.* These deny the divinity of Christ, and agree in many things with the Socinians. They admit to their communion all who call themselves Christians.†

The Unitarians who took refuge in Poland and Transylvania at first joined other societies, who, like themselves, had separated from the church of Rome; but differing so widely from the Lutherans, and all the others, disputes necessarily arose among them; and in a diet held at Pestikow, in A. D. 1565, the Unitarians were desired to separate

* On account of which, says *Mosheim*, he "has received the applause even of his enemies." In William Penn's journal, which he sent to "Anna Maria de Hornes, styled Countess of Hornes, at Herwerten, in Germany," is the following entry, under *Amsterdam*, 1677:

"8th month, 9. We had a meeting with *Galens Abrahams*, the great father of the *Socinian Mennonists* in these parts, accompanied with several preachers and others of his congregation, divers of our friends were also present. It continued about five hours. he affirmed, in opposition to us, That *there was no Christian church, ministry, or commission amongst us, nor in the world*: but the Lord assisted us with his wisdom and strength to confound his assertions. *W. Penn's Travels*, 1694, pp. 243, 244.

† *Mosheim*, V. p. 506. P. 507. "Of those who acknowledged the divine origin of the books of the Old and New Testaments, and the holy and virtuous lives, in *Galen's* judgment, were true Christians, and had an undoubted right to all the privileges that belong to that character." *Mosheim*, Cent. xvii. Sect. ii. Pt. ii. Ch. vi. Par. vii.

themselves, and form societies of their own. They were at that time commonly called *Pinczovians*, from the town in which the most eminent of them resided; and they were generally Arians, maintaining that Christ was created before the formation of the world.* But there were some among them who even denied the miraculous conception of Jesus, and that any kind of worship ought to be paid to him. These were called *Budneians*, from Simon Budncius, a minister of great acuteness and sagacity.†

Notwithstanding these divisions among themselves, and their being exposed to the ill offices of all the other Reformers, the Unitarians soon formed several respectable societies, as at Cracow, Lublin, Pinczow, Luck, Smilin, and other places in Poland and Lithuania; and John Sienienius, Palatin of Podolia, gave them, in A. D. 1569, a settlement in the city of Racow, in the district of Sandomir, which they made the centre of all their societies. Here they published, in A. D. 1572, a translation of the Bible into the Polish language; and at Cracow, in A. D. 1574, a catechism of their principles.‡ This was composed by George Schoman, and was remarkable for its simplicity. From the preface to this catechism it appears that they were then generally called Anabaptists, and with respect to baptism they were agreed with them. This catechism was, however, not Arian; for in it Christ is considered as no more than a prophet, though he is said to be entitled to adoration next to God: the Holy Spirit is said to be a divine energy, and justification is said to proceed from the free mercy of God to the penitent. It forbids the taking of oaths, or repelling of injuries; and the account of the eucharist agrees with the doctrine of Zuinglius.§

It was when things were in this state, viz. in A. D. 1579, that Faustus Socinus arrived in Poland. He was born of honourable parents, at Sienna, in Italy, in A. D. 1539,|| and

* *Mosheim*, IV. p. 179. (P.) Cent. xvi. Sect. iii. Pt. ii. Ch. iv. Par. viii.

† See Vol. V. pp. 85, 86, and *Sandius*, quoted *Note* *. "Some of the body were afterwards called *Farnovians*, from Stanislaus Farnovius, who held the Arian doctrine concerning the person of Christ." Dr. T. Rees's *Hist. Introd.* p. xxviii.

‡ "Catechesis et Confessio Fidei Cætus per Poloniam congregati in Nomine Jesu Christi, Domini nostri, crucifixi et resuscitati. *Deut. vi.* Audi, Israel, Dominus Deus noster Deus unus est. *Johann. viii.* dicit Jesus: Quem vos dicitis vestrum esse Deum, est Pater meus. Typis Alexandri Turubini, anno nati Jesu Christi, filii Dei, 1574." *Mosheim*, Cent. xvi. Sect. iii. Pt. ii. Ch. iv. Par. x. Dr. T. Rees's *Hist. Introd.* pp. lxxii.—lxxvii.

§ See the original passages in *Mosheim* and *Hist. Introd.*

|| It may be suspected, from the following minute information, that the parents of Socinus had calculated his *nativity*: "Natus est duabus horis, et tribus fere quadrantibus ante solem Nonis Decembris oriturum." *Vita*, pp. 13, 14.

losing both his father and mother while he was very young, he had not in early life the advantage of a learned education, so that he was never taught the logic or philosophy of the times, nor any thing of scholastic divinity.* Till he was twenty he applied himself chiefly to the study of jurisprudence. But by the assistance of his uncle Lælius (which, however, appears to have been given him very sparingly) he acquired some principles of religious knowledge, though it is said that the uncle always expressed great confidence in the spirit and abilities of the nephew. Three years of his life Faustus spent in Switzerland; and the remainder of his life, which was thirty years, in voluntary exile.

He spent some time with his uncle, in France, and having formed an acquaintance with the grand duke of Tuscany, he lived twelve years in his court, distinguished by the favour of that prince. But then, entering into serious consideration on the value of the different objects of men's pursuit, he devoted himself to the propagation of religious truth; and despising the honours of this world, he retired into a country where he had a prospect of meeting with less obstruction to his views than in his native place.†

In A. D. 1574, he went to Basil, where he spent three years in the study of theology, assisted by the writings and notes of his uncle.‡ Here he engaged in several disputa-

* *Vita*, p. 14, where his biographer adds the following reflections:

“Superbientis hæc fuit seculi contumelia, quòd tam insigni documento comper-
tum est, etiam sine istis (quæ meritò quidem, sed tamen sæpe intemperantiùs
suspiciùs) præsidii esse.

Magnos posse viros, et magna exempla duros.

“Forsitan et expediebat, natum ut de dogmatibus orbis cognosceret ingenium,
nullis delibari præjudiciis; ne quam errorum fibram admitteret, quibus extirpandis
adolescebat.” See also *Toulmin*, pp. 2, 3.

† *Toulmin's Life of Socinus*, pp. 3—5. (P.)

‡ See *supra*, pp. 274, 275. At the beginning of Socinus's correspondence there is a letter addressed to him by his friend *Marcellus Squarzialupus*, who, according to *Sandius*, (p. 81,) was a native of Italy and a Doctor of Medicine. The letter is dated September 15, 1581, from Hermanstadt, (*ex urbe Transilvanorum*,) and amidst numerous expressions of regard, and anxiety for his health both as a friend and a physician, was evidently intended to detach Socinus from theological controversy, especially referring to his dispute with Paleologus. Such is the tendency of the following passage, from which it appears that both Socinus and his friend were but scantily supplied with the goods of fortune:

“Peregrini sumus, necessaria vix habemus ad vitam tuendam, et nisi aliena succurrat benignitas ne irascere, de me quoque loquor) quo nos vertamus, nos fugit. An non in iis redactos angustis decet pacatam vitam agere, nemini infensos esse, certamina graviora declinare. Demum, nil tentare, quod nostris amicis atque patronis non valde probetur.” *Fausti Socini Senensis ad amicos Epistolæ. Racovæ*, 1618, p. 5.

The reply of Socinus, which extends to a considerable length, is dated *Cracow*, Nov. 20, 1581. He thus refers to his friend's advice, in a passage which serves, at the same time, to shew what assistance Socinus had received from his uncle *Lælius*:

tions, both in conversation, and in writing, and here he wrote his book *De Servatore*.* At this time there being much controversy in the Unitarian churches of Transylvania about the office and power of Christ, George Blandrata sent for Socinus, with a view to withdraw Francis David from his peculiar sentiments; and for this purpose he procured him a lodging in the house of David, where he continued three quarters of a year, but without the wished-for success. Socinus found the Unitarians in general much divided among themselves, but by his address and perseverance, and recommending himself to the nobility, he gradually engaged them all to form one community, which was so much under his own direction, that from him they were generally denominated *Socinians*.†

From this time the number of Unitarians was much increased by proselytes from all ranks. They then pub-

“Neminem enim ego in iis rebus, de quibus in responsione illa mea disseritur, ex iis qui hodie vivunt, ulla ex parte magistrum agnosco; sed Deum tantummodo præceptorem habui, sacrasque litteras. Quinetiam in universa ipsa divinarum rerum scientia, quæcumque tandem illa in me sit, præter unum Lælium patrum meum, qui jam diu mortuus est, vel potius præter quædam paucula ab ipso conscripta, et multa annotata, nullum prorsus magistrum me habere contigit.” *Fausti Socini Senensis ad amicos Epistola. Racovæ. p. 17.*

It is worthy of remark, that this passage, though it so clearly asserts the sufficiency and paramount authority of the Scriptures, was perverted by a zealous Trinitarian polemic, so as to give occasion to a severe censure of Socinus as vain and self-sufficient. I refer to Dr. Waterland, who quoted the Latin exactly as above, in a note, on which he had grounded the following accusation:

“We know, how Faustus Socinus, under colour of extolling the perfection of Scripture, studied nothing so much as to blazon the perfection of his own parts and abilities, deserting the ancients, and trusting only to himself and his uncle Lælius. He presumed to set up his own fond conceits as the measure of all truth; which in effect, was advancing a new rule of faith, and forcing Scripture to a compliance with it; preferring the rovings of his own imagination before the wisdom of heaven.” *The Importance of the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity*, pp. 396, 397.

* “De Christo Servatore, contra Covetum.” *Toulmin*, pp. 68—71, 346. See the personal insults and injuries suffered by Socinus at *Racovæ* on account of this publication, *ibid.* pp. 10, 11.

† Faustus Socinus died in 1604, as his earliest biographer thus records: “Mortuus est anno 1604. Paulò ante ineuntis veris initium, annum ingressus quintam ultra sexagesimum.” *Vita*, p. 14. Dr. Toulmin, whom I have mentioned in a former volume as having proved by his pen, and by the stronger argument of his life, the practical efficacy of the Unitarian Doctrine, thus relates the end of Socinus:

“Having seen the success of his labours, as if his life had been protracted only to accomplish this purpose, at the latter end of winter, in his 65th year, he died, anno 1604. A death not so immature to himself, as it was lamented by his friends. His last words were, ‘That not less satiated with life than with the cunity and calamities he had felt, he was expecting, with joyful and undoubted hopes, that last moment, which would bring with it a release from his trials and the recompence of his labours.’

“This epitaph was inscribed on his tomb:

Tota licet *Babylon* destruxit tecta *Lutherus*,
Muros *Calvinus*, sed fundamenta *Socinus*.

That is, Luther destroyed the houses of *Babylon*, Calvin the walls, but Socinus subverted the foundations.” *Mem. of Socinus*, pp. 11, 12. See *Vita*, pp. 37, 38.

lished a new catechism, called that of Racow, chiefly composed by Socinus.* And what contributed to give the sect greater celebrity, Jacob of Sienna, to whom Racow belonged, separated from the Romish church, and openly embracing their communion, he made that city a public school for the education of their ministers. At Racow they published many excellent writings, which were dispersed in all parts of Europe, and not without making an impression, though they no where procured them any firm establishment. Many of these treatises were republished in one body after A. D. 1656, and called *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum*. They contained the works of Socinus, Crellius, Slichtingius, and Wolzogenius.†

Notwithstanding a degree of union among the Unitarians, produced by the endeavours of Socinus, there remained considerable differences of opinion among them; some of them embracing the tenets of Budneius above-mentioned; and others those of Stanislaus Farnovius, who, with Gonesius, preferred the Arian system. Budneius had many disciples in Lithuania and Russian Poland, but his opinions giving great offence to the great body of Unitarians, he was deposed from his ministry in A. D. 1584, and publicly excommunicated together with his disciples.‡ His doctrine was adopted by Francis David, a Hungarian, and superintendant of the Unitarian churches in Transylvania, who very strenuously opposed the paying of worship to Jesus Christ. Blandrata used his utmost endeavours to engage him to change his opinion. But not yielding to any of his arguments, he was thrown into prison by Christopher Bathori, prince of Transylvania, where he died in an advanced age, in A. D. 1579.§

His disciples were not, however, intimidated by this event, but continued firm in their opposition, which gave great uneasiness to Socinus and his adherents. But notwithstanding the warm opposition that Socinus gave to the opinions of David, it appears from his writings, that he did

* *Sandius*, pp. 44, 78. *Toulmin*, pp. 258—270. Dr. T. Rees's *Hist. Introd.* pp. lxxvii. *ad fin.* Dr. R. fortunately discovered, and has printed after his *AdVERTISEMENT*, a very curious document dated 1652, and containing "Votes of the Parliament touching the Book commonly called the Racovian Catechism."

† *Sandius*, pp. 78, 79. *Toulmin*, pp. 405—407.

‡ See Vol. V. p. 86, and *supra*, p. 353.

§ *Sandius*, pp. 28, 29, 56, 57. *Vita*, pp. 19, 20. *Four Treatises*, 1712, (the two first by *H. Reland*.) No. IV. "Reflections on Mahometanism and Socinianism, translated from the French," pp. 233, 234. *Toulmin*, pp. 82—95, 453—463. Dr. T. Rees has given an interesting narrative of these transactions, so dishonourable to *Blandrata's* memory, *Hist. Introd.* pp. xli.—lxiii.

not think them any way dangerous, and on one occasion he speaks in the highest terms of the faith of those who always address themselves immediately to God, without making use of any intercessor whatever. It is too evident, however, that, like many other reformers, Socinus was unwilling to give any unnecessary offence to the general body of Christians. On this principle, the Farnovians were never publicly censured by the Unitarians, but only advised not to publish their sentiments from the pulpit. They separated, however, from the body of Unitarians, in A. D. 1568, but many of them returned to their communion; and on the death of their leader in A. D. 1615, they ceased to be a separate body.*

The Unitarians had no great success in their endeavours to propagate their doctrine beyond the bounds of Poland and Transylvania. But in the academy at Altorf, Ernest Sohner, professor of medicine and natural philosophy, a man of great ability and address, and a zealous Unitarian, made, though in a private manner, many disciples in that place.† He dying in A. D. 1612, no farther progress was made; and in A. D. 1616, the Unitarians were discovered, and persecuted by the magistrates of Nuremberg, on which, many saved themselves by flight, and the rest conformed to the prevailing worship.‡

The tranquillity of the Unitarians in Poland was not of long continuance; for some students at Racow having, in A. D. 1638, imprudently thrown stones at a crucifix, and demolished it, the Catholics were so much provoked, that they procured an edict, by which it was decreed that their academy should be suppressed, their printing-house destroyed, and their churches shut up; and nothing was able to prevent the execution of it in the utmost rigour.§ And because they submitted to the king of Sweden when he invaded Poland, [1655] and accepted of his protection, they were exposed to

* *Mosheim*, IV. p. 202. (P.) Cent. xvi. Sect. iii. Pt. ii. *ad fin.*

† There was, at this period, a martyr to the Unitarian doctrine, who ought not to be forgotten. This was an opulent merchant, named John *Tyscoricius*, of the town of Biesk in Padolia. "He was sentenced to have his tongue pierced, for his alleged blasphemy; to have his hands and feet cut off, for having thrown down and trodden upon the crucifix; to be beheaded, for his rebellious contumacy, in appealing from the first tribunal that had given decision against him; and finally to be burnt at the stake for his heretical opinions. This sentence, horrible as it may appear, was, at the instigation of the Jesuits, executed in all its circumstances at Warsaw, on the 16th of November, 1611." See *Sandius*, *Brenis Relatio*, pp. 205, 206, and the account abridged from *Sandius* by Dr. Thomas Rees, *Hist. Introd.* pp. xxxii. xxxiii.

‡ *Mosheim*, V. p. 53. (P.) Cent. xvii. Sect. ii. Pt. ii. Ch. vi. Par. ii.

§ *Toulmin*, pp. 272, 273. Dr. T. Rees's *Hist. Introd.* pp. xxxiv. xxxv.

great ravages from the Polish peasants, and king Casimir recovering his losses, published an edict in A. D. 1658, by which all the Unitarians were banished for ever from the territory of Poland, and it was made a capital offence openly to profess their opinion, or to harbour their persons; and though at first they were allowed three years to dispose of their effects, this term was afterwards reduced to two.

In A. D. 1661, this severe edict was renewed, and all the Unitarians who had remained in Poland were driven out of the country, and neither sickness, nor any other plea, was allowed to retard the execution of it. Had a single deputy, it is said, of the other Protestants at the diet protested against this cruel order, it could not have taken place; and about twenty years after, they were themselves so reduced as to stand in need of the charitable assistance of foreigners.*

On this calamitous event the Unitarians were dispersed into all the countries of Europe, but except in Transylvania they were no where publicly received, their toleration being opposed by every other denomination of Christians. Some, however, remained in England, Prussia, and Brandenburg; but they could not openly profess their opinions, or form congregations.†

There were Unitarians in England in this period as well as in other places, though but few of them were so conspicuous as to be noticed by historians.

In A. D. 1575, twenty-seven foreign Anabaptists were apprehended in a private house on Easter day, where they were assembled for worship. Of these, four recanted, but the others, who were all Dutchmen, were sentenced to be burned. Of those, nine were banished, but two were actually burned in Smithfield, notwithstanding an excellent Latin letter which Mr. Fox addressed to the queen in their favour.‡

In A. D. 1583, John Lewis was burned at Norwich for denying the divinity of Christ.§

* *Toulmin*, pp. 274, 275. (*P.*) Dr. T. Rees's *Hist. Introd.* p. xxxvi.—xl.

† *Ibid.* It required another century for Prussia and Brandenburg as well as England to be taught, as they were, even by a king, that "Le faux zèle et un Tyran qui dépouille les Provinces; la Tolérance est une tendre Mère qui les rend florissantes." *Mem. by Fred.* II. 1751, Pt. ii. p. 143.

‡ *Neal*, I. p. 298. *P.* Lindsey's *Apologet.* 1782, pp. 50—57, 12mo. 1818, pp. 42—47. *Christian Reformer*, IV. pp. 324, 325.

§ *Neal*, I. p. 355. (*P.*) These were not the only Protestants, all probably Unitarians, who were sacrificed to Protestant persecution in the reign of Elizabeth. Camden mentions, 1579, "the execrable impiety of William Hamont, extinct," as he hoped, "with his burning alive at Norwich." This Hamont was a ploughwright of Hetherset, near Norwich. To Hamont and Lewis, Parkin and Blomfield

In A. D. 1611, Bartholomew Legatt, called an Arian, said to have been well versed in the Scriptures, and a man of unblameable conversation, being apprehended, king James himself conferred with him, in order to convince him of his error. This not succeeding, he was committed to Newgate, and after being examined before bishop King at his consistory at St. Paul's, was declared to be a contumacious and obstinate heretic, and as such he was burned at Smithfield on the 18th of March, amidst a vast concourse of people. A pardon was offered him when he was at the stake if he would recant, but he refused it.*

The next month Edward Wightman of Burton upon Trent, was convicted of heresy, as an Arian and Anabaptist, before Dr. Neile, bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, and he was burned at Litchfield, April 11.† Another was condemned to the fire for the same heresy, but the constancy of these sufferers moved the compassion of the spectators so much, that it was thought more advisable to keep him lingering out a miserable life in Newgate.‡ But these cruelties did not suppress their opinions. In A. D. 1644, one Thomas Webb was imprisoned by order of the House of Lords; and though he was released on signing a recantation, he propagated his opinions afterwards, asserting that we ought not to say, "God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost; for that was making three Gods.§

in their Histories of Norwich add, 1587, Peter Cole, of Ipswich, Tanner, and 1588, Francis Knight, alias Kett, of Wymondham, A. M., all burnt at Norwich, for *blasphemy*. See *Holingshead, Chron.* III. pp. 1299, 1354. Correspondence between *Locke and Limborch in the Familiar Letters*, 1699, June 28, Oct. 7.

* *Neal*, II. p. 92. (P.) See "A true and faithful Relation of the Commissions and Warrants [in Latin and English] for the condemnation and burning of Bartholomew Legatt and Edward Wightman," annexed to "the History of the first 14 years of King James I., first published in 1651, 1692," pp. 1—7. The Warrant, in *English*, for burning Legatt, is quoted at length in "An Appeal and Address to the Yearly Meeting of Friends, 1814. By Thomas Foster," 1815, pp. 59, 60. See also *Locke and Limborch*, 1699, Oct. 7, Nov. 6, 1700, Jan. 6. Fuller's *Church History*, in *Lindsey's Apology*, 1782, pp. 57—62. 12mo. 1818, pp. 48—50. *Lindsey's Historical View*, pp. 289—294.

† *True and faithful Relation*, pp. 8—15. *Locke and Limborch, ubi supra*. *Lindsey's Apology*, pp. 62, 68, 12mo. pp. 51, 52. *Hist. View*, pp. 292—294. *Clarke* speaks of this injured, and probably grossly mis-represented sufferer, as "One Edward Wightman, a damnable heretic afterwards burnt at Litchfield for blasphemy and heresy dwelling in Burton upon Trent." He goes on to charge him with maintaining the "soul's sleeping," and holding debates with the *Parvities* in his neighbourhood, on that subject. *Lives of sundry modern English Divines*, (art. *Hildersam*) annexed to the *Persecutions*, 1651, pp. 377, 378.

‡ *Neal*, II. p. 93. (P.) He was a Spanish Cutthroat. See Fuller, in *Lindsey's Apol.* pp. 64, 65. 12mo. p. 53, also *Hist. View*, p. 289.

§ *Neal*, III. p. 511. *Supplement by Dr. Toulmin*. (P.) "There is one Thomas Webb in and about London, a young man between twenty and twenty-one years of age, who about September 27, 1644, in a house in Queen street, in Covent Garden,

In A. D. 1645. Paul Best was charged with saying that the doctrine of the Trinity was the mystery of iniquity, a three-headed monster, a tradition of Rome, &c., and John Fry was charged before the House of Commons in A. D. 1648. with saying that he did not believe Christ to be God, and Mr. Nye declared that to his knowledge, the denial of the divinity of Christ was a growing opinion.*

For a short time, in the interval between the death of Charles I. and the Restoration, Mr. Biddle, a man of great learning and piety, who, without having read any of the writings of the Unitarians, but from the study of the Scriptures, embraced their sentiments, formed a small society in London, and published some excellent tracts in support of his opinions, being greatly favoured by Thomas Firmin, an opulent merchant in London, one of the most intelligent, benevolent, and active of men.† But in A. D. 1648, the

exercising upon that Scripture, *I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last*, delivered many wicked and blasphemous opinions and speeches. This Webb was complained of to the Assembly, the Assembly sent up the articles to the House of Lords; he was by that honourable house committed, and stood so some time; but upon a recantation of all those errors, he was freed from imprisonment: but since the time of his release, he hath both in city and country vented many of his strange opinions, and hath preached in London publicly in a church somewhere near Blackfriars; and last summer was about in Suffolk, Essex, and of late in Kent. This Webb also speaking with a judicious godly Christian, of Colchester, said, We might not use these expressions, God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, for that was to make three Gods." *Gangræna*, 1646, Pt. i. *Divis* ii. p. 21.

Edwards wrote his *Gangræna*, for the express purpose of shewing "the monstrousness of the much-affected Toleration." Such an *intolerant* would easily charge it as a heinous crime that "this *Webb*, before many witnesses maintained, that it was more lawful to sit drinking in an alehouse, than to force men away out of the alehouse, to go to church against their consciences." *Ibid.* pp. 21, 22.

The charge against *Webb* was made by Dr. Burgess, Nov. 30, 1644. Immediately after he had presented the *Directory* as settled by the Assembly and the Commons, he presented a paper, entitled "Certain Blasphemies delivered in a private house, in a Sermon by Thomas Webb." These are 9 in number. In the 4th he is made to speak of "a *Christ* formed in us, in the Deity, united to our humanity." In the 9th, he is said to have asserted "that the soul died with the body." See *Parl. Hist.* IX. pp. 342, 343.

Whitelocke records in 1645, "April 1, Debate about not admitting some persons to the Sacrament; and ordered that the Assembly set down in particular what measure of understanding persons ought to have of the *Trinity*, and other points debated, before they be admitted to the Sacrament." *Mem.* p. 134.

"April 15, Debate touching persons not to be admitted to the Sacrament. 16, Debate about the doctrine of the church. 19, A Committee made to examine the blasphemies of James Strettam." *Ibid.* pp. 137, 138.

* *Ibid.* p. 515. (P.) See Vol. V. pp. 83, 84, *Note* †.

† See Vol. V. p. 84. Thomas Firmin was born at Ipswich, in 1632. He died in London in 1697, and "was buried, according to his own desire, in the cloisters of Christ Church Hospital, the care of which had been so much upon his heart while living." There is "placed in the wall adjoining, a marble to his memory." See "The Life of Mr. Thomas Firmin, late Citizen of London. Written by one of his most intimate Acquaintance; with a Sermon on Luke x. 36, 37; preached on the

Assembly of Presbyterian divines then sitting at Westminster, procured an ordinance inflicting death on all who should hold opinions contrary to the doctrine of the Trinity.* Biddle for some time escaped in the dissensions of the times, but was afterwards thrown into prison, and thereby reduced to great poverty. Being released by the act of oblivion in A. D. 1650, he published other tracts in support of his opinions, which giving great offence, he was, on complaint made against him in the House of Commons, committed a close prisoner, but after six months' confinement he obtained his liberty in due course of law. His life was after this in danger from an accusation on the statute of blasphemy; but Cromwell, not liking such proceedings, banished him to the Isle of Scilly, in A. D. 1655; but he was released by habeas corpus in A. D. 1658. After the Restoration, Biddle, in A. D. 1662, was again apprehended, and suffered so much by close confinement, that he contracted a disease of

occasion of his Death; together with an Account of his Religion, and of the present state of the Unitarian Controversy," 1698, pp. 5, 82, 89. The *Life and Sermon* were reprinted in 1791, by the Unitarian Society. See also Mr. Cornish's *Life of Firmin Brit. Bing.* VI. pp. 376—387. Birch's *Life of Tillotson*, Ed. 2, 1753, pp. 292—295. Burnet's *Own Times*, An. 1698, where he says that Mr. Firmin's death put a stop to the spreading of *Socinian* books. Burnet had before said incorrectly, that Mr. Firmin "was called a *Socinian*, but was really an *Arian*," O. T. Fol. II. pp. 211, 214.

The bishop was probably misled by the following scholastic rather than Scriptural account of the Unitarian doctrine in answer to an objector:

"But we say the Lord Christ is only a *Man*.—No, we say, our Lord Christ is *God and Man*. He is *Man*, in respect of his reasonable soul, and human body; *God*, in respect of *God in him*. Or more scholastically, in respect of the *hypostatical* (or personal) union of the humanity of Christ with the Divinity." *Account of Mr. Firmin's Religion*, 1698, p. 18.

* This "inquisitorial ordinance" appears to have been passed in consequence of a communication to the Parliament, entitled "Desires of the Parliament of Scotland," dated "Edinburgh, April 26, 1648." The Scottish parliament *desires* "that Presbyterian Church Government be fully established in England and Ireland; and that effectual course be taken for suppressing and extirpating all heresies and schisms, particularly *Socinianism*, *Arminianism*, *Arianism*, *Anabaptism*, *Antinomianism*, *Erastianism*, *Familism*, *Brownism* and *Independency*; and for perfecting of what is yet further to be done, for extirpating Popery and Prelacy and suppressing the practice of the Service Book commonly called the Book of English Common Prayer." *Parl. Hist.* XVII. pp. 125, 126.

On this the *Commons* passed, May 1, "The Ordinance against Blasphemy and Heresy." In this they did not venture to mark out for capital punishment, the now growing *heresy* or *schism* of *Independency*. But among various opinions deemed worthy of death, any one who should "maintain and publish by *preaching, teaching, printing, or writing* that the Father is not God, the Son is not God, or that the Holy Ghost is not God," or "that Christ is not God equal with the Father, or that the Godhead and Manhood of Christ are several natures;" if "the party, upon his trial, shall not abjure his said error, he shall suffer the pains of death, as in case of felony, without benefit of clergy." See this *Ordinance* copied entire from "Scobell's Collection of Acts and Ordinances," *ibid.* pp. 127—130.

Whitelocke says the "*Ordinance* passed both Houses, not without much opposition." *Mem.* p. 302.

which he died in A. D. 1662, in the forty-seventh year of his age.*

To oppose the errors of Socinianism as well as those of Popery and Infidelity, a weekly lecture was set up at Pinners' Hall every Tuesday morning.†

* *Life of Biddle.* (P.) See Vol. V. pp. 84, 86, and A. Wood's *Life of Biddle*, reprinted, with notes, in *Mon. Repos.* XIII. pp. 345, 413. In the following passage, a contemporary annalist has given *Biddle* the first place in a catalogue which he names *Colluvies Hæreticorum hujusce temporis*.

"Præter *Arianismum contra Divinitatem Christi Salvatoris*, aliosque horrendos errores, quos ore prophano coram Parlamento impunè defensabat *Biddle* quidam; *Coppii* quoque virulentiam in ipsius *Dei* nomen publicè eructatam; *Fryum* etiam, qui olim *Comitis* venenum suum interspersit; præter *Erburium*." Presently after, he introduces the newly risen sect of the *Friends* as "nova et atehac inaudita *Tremulorum* progenies." *Elenchus Motuum Nuperorum in Anglia*, ab authore Georgio Bateo, M. D. (An. 1663) 1676, pp. 315, 316.

Abiezer Coppe, according to *Wood*, (A. O. II. p. 367,) must have been either an atheist or a lunatic. *Fry* has been just mentioned. *William Erbury* was a native of Wales where he was beneficed. He adhered to the Parliament, and in 1616 was chaplain to a regiment at Oxford. "Being desired to depart thence," says *Wood*, "where he had maintained several *Socinian* opinions, he went to London, venting his blasphemies in several places, against the glorious divinity and blood of Jesus Christ." The Oxford biographer calls him "a mere canter," but allows that he was "characterized by those of his own persuasion as a holy, harmless man." He published in 1640 "The great Mystic of Godliness: Jesus Christ our Lord, God and Man, and Man with God one in Jesus Christ our Lord." This seems to have been in the manner of *Firmin's Religion*. *Erbury* died in 1654. *Athen. Oxon.* II. pp. 103, 104.

Edwards describes this "one Mr. Erbury," as fallen into many gross errors; that no man was punished for Adam's sin; that Christ died for all. He said also that within a while God would raise up apostolical men who should be extraordinary to preach the gospel." *Gangræna*, Pt. i. Div. ii. p. 24.

Dr. George Bate, who thus ventured to profane the name of *Biddle*, was even in the judgment of his royalist biographer, an eminent *time-server*. He had been chief physician to Charles I., then "closed with the times for interest' sake," and became chief physician to Cromwell "while he was General, and afterwards when Protector; and did not stick to flatter him in a high degree." On the *Restoration*, "by his friends' report that he by a dose given to Oliver, hastened him to his end," he "was made chief physician to Charles II." He died in 1669. *Athen. Oxon.* II. pp. 303—305.

† *Neal*, IV. p. 530. (P.) This was in consequence of Charles's *Indulgence* in 1672. Baxter, in his "Sacriligious Desertion of the Holy Ministry rebuked," published that year, excepts from a right to Toleration as intolerable, "Infidels, Papists and Quakers." (P. 66.) Among *Infidels* he, no doubt, included *Socinians*, whom he elsewhere calls *scarce Christians*. He also, in his *Life*, (p. 79,) speaking of "one Mr. Biddle," adds, with ignorance, bigotry, or management, all unworthy of Baxter, that his followers were "inclined much to meer Deism and Infidelity." This language, which is implicitly copied by Calamy in his *Abridgment*, (Ed. 1718, p. 101,) is amusing, especially as it appears from the accusations brought against the *Socinians* of that day, that they maintained more firmly than any other Christians, the absolute necessity of *Revelation*. Thus *Old Ephraim Polett*, as that zealous Presbyterian was called, charges as the first error of the *Socinians*, the opinion "that there is no natural knowledge of God." *Heresiography*, 1645, p. 128.

Dr. Henry More also, in 1677, says "that the *Socinians*, are a dry, strait-laced people, and for want of philosophy, mere *legulous* [pettifogging] interpreters of the Scriptures." He adds, "that the *Father* of them was of so mean and sunk a genius, that he denied the existence of God could be proved or discovered by the light of natural reason." *Letter XII.* annexed to More's *Life*, 1710, p. 358.

On "Pinners'-Hall Lecture," and "the quarrelsome-ness of the *Independents*

SECTION X.

Of the Protestants in France.

THE preceding period of our history left the kingdom of France in a state of great distraction, through the alternate prevalence of the Catholic and Protestant parties in it, but it led to a scene of such treachery and cruelty as is unparalleled in all history, ecclesiastical or civil.

The court of France, not having been able to subdue the Protestants by force, contrived to lull their suspicions asleep by a dissembled reconciliation; and with this view nothing was spared to flatter and encourage them. But what seemed to put the sincerity of the court out of all doubt, was, the proposal of marriage of the king's daughter to the young king of Navarre, which took place on the 17th of August, A. D. 1572, and was attended with every mark of festivity.*

there," Baxter, not without some *Presbyterian* asperity, has left the following accounts:

"1672 November. Some Merchants set up a Tuesday's lecture in London, to be kept by six ministers at Pinners' Hall, allowing them 20s. a piece each sermon; of whom they chose me to be one. But when I had preached there but four sermons, I found the Independents so quarrelsome with what I said, that all the city did ring of their back-bitings and false accusations: so that had I but preached for unity and against division, or unnecessary withdrawing from each other, or against unwarrantable narrowing of Christ's Church, it was cryed abroad, that I preached against the *Independents*; especially, if I did but say, That man's will had a *natural* liberty, though a *moral* thraldom to vice, and that men might have Christ and life, if they were truly willing, though grace must make them willing: and that men have power to do better than they do, it was cryed abroad among all the party, that I preached up *Arminianism*. and free-will, and man's power, and O! what an odious crime was this." *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, Pt. iii. p. 103. See this passage moderated by Calamy in his *Abridgment*, p. 335.

"1674 July. Not long before this, having preached at Pinners' Hall for love and peace, divers false reports went current among the Separatists, and from them to other Nonconformists, that I preached against the imputation of Christ's righteousness, and for justification by our own righteousness, and that the Papists and Protestants differ but in words, &c. So that I was constrained to publish the truth of the case in a sheet of paper, called, An Appeal to the Light. Which, though it evinced the falsehood of their reports, and no man did ever after justify them, that ever I could hear of, yet did they persevere in their general accusation." *Reliq.* p. 154. *Calamy*, p. 342.

For an account of the disputes among the *Pinners'-Hall* lecturers in 1692, "On the publication of Dr. Williams's *Gospel Truth*," and the "establishment of the *Salter's-Hall* lecture in 1694," see Dr. Toulmin's "Historical View of the State of the Protestant Dissenters in England, from the Revolution to the Accession of Queen Anne." 1814, pp. 205—211.

* "The two parties being espoused by the Cardinal of Bourbon, on a scaffold erected for that purpose before the Church of *Notre-Dame*." See "History of Henry IV. surnamed *the Great*," written in 1662, by *Perefixe*, Archbishop of Paris; "made English by J. D." 1692, p. 24.

After the marriage "the bridegroom retired to meeting, to hear a sermon, and the bride went into the church to hear mass, according to the treaty of marriage." *Le Grain*, in *Memoirs of Sully*, Ed. 4, 1763, l. p. 27, Note.

Though many persons could not help suspecting some treachery, the heads of the Protestant party were so desirous of peace, and so void of bad intentions themselves, that they gave no credit to those who forewarned them of their danger.

The first measure that was taken by the court was to procure the assassination of Coligni: but though he was dangerously wounded by a man employed to shoot him, he escaped with life. The king affected so much concern on the occasion, and expressed himself with so much kindness and confidence when he visited him, that even this circumstance was far from opening his eyes to his real situation, though it did those of many of his friends. Then, having, on the pretence of greater security to them, got him and his principal friends to lodge in the same part of the city and assigned them a guard, a resolution was taken to massacre all the Protestants in Paris in one night, the eve of St. Bartholomew, August 24th, which was a Sunday. They only excepted the king of Navarre and the duke of Condé, on account of their youth and rank.

Every kind of preparation being made, the signal for the massacre was given by the ringing of the bells of St. Germain, when the duke of Guise, and other heads of the Catholic party, conducted the troops to the house of Coligni. The first notice he had of any murderous intention, was the death of his porter; and while the rest of his servants were making what defence they could, he went to prayers with his chaplain, and then addressed those of his friends who were with him like a Christian not unwilling to die, but advised them, as they could not save him, to save themselves. When the door of his chamber was broken open, and one of them that rushed in asked if he was Coligni, he said that he was, adding, "young man, you ought to spare my grey hairs, but do what you will, you cannot shorten my life much;" on which, without making any reply, the assassin thrust his sword through his body. It was then thrown out of the window, and treated with every kind of indignity.*

* "Coligny fell and expired at the feet of Guise; the young man trampled upon him, not that he was drunk with the furious Catholic zeal of persecution, which at that time intoxicated half France, but he was prompted by the spirit of revenge, which, though not generally so unmerciful as the fury of religion, yet leads often to more base actions." *Essay upon the Civil Wars of France*, "extracted from curious manuscripts," written by Voltaire, in English, and published by him during his residence in London. Ed. 2, "corrected by himself," 1728, p. 13. See Vol. V. p. 338, Note †.

† The parliament was ordered to proceed against the memory of Coligny, his

This first object being accomplished, it was followed by the murder of as many of the leaders of the Protestants as the Catholics could lay hold of; and as many of the common people as could be known to be of the same persuasion were also slain, the king himself firing from his window on such of them as endeavoured to escape by crossing the river.* It was computed that not less than two thousand men were massacred the first day. The same scene was acted on several days following, and the king, by a public edict, avowed himself the author of it.†

This example set by Paris was soon followed in other cities, as Orleans, Lyons, Toulouse, Rheims, and others; but the governors of Provence and Dauphiné prevented these violences in that part of the country.‡ Even small

dead body was hanged in chains at the gallows of Montfaucon. The king himself went to see that loathsome spectacle, and as one of his courtiers advised him to retire, and complained of the stench of the corpses, the king answered, 'A dead enemy smells sweet.' *Voltaire*, p. 17.

* "Some were swimming over to the *Fauxbourg St. Germain*. The king saw them from his window, which looked upon the river, and (what is almost incredible, but too true) he fired upon them with a carbine. *Catherine de Medicis*, undisturbed and serene in the midst of the slaughter, looked down from a balcony situated towards the city, encouraged the assassins, and laughed at the dying groans of the murdered." *Ibid.* p. 16. "Tavannes, marshal of France, an ignorant and superstitious soldier, who joined the fury of religion to the rage of party, rid a horseback through Paris, crying to his soldiers, 'Let blood, let blood, bleeding is wholesome in the month of August, as well as in May.'" *Ibid.* p. 14. See Sully's Account of the Massacre, in which he narrowly escaped, *Memoirs*, An. 1572, B. i. l. pp. 31—35.

La Henriade, *Chant* ii. is entirely occupied with this theme. At the close the poet sings with too much *historical* correctness:

"Quand un Roi veut le crime, il est trop obéi;
Par cent mille assassins son courroux fut servi."
Let but a king resolve some mighty wrong;
Prompt to obey, what murd'rous legions throng!

† It is not a little extraordinary that *Ambrose Paré*, the most celebrated surgeon in the sixteenth century, and who, in that capacity, had served king *Henry II.*, gained the confidence of *Charles IX.* to such a degree, that he was the only person for whose safety he was interested in this massacre, and in consequence of this he was spared. [The king shut him up in a room of the palace, saying, "qu'il n'étoit pas raisonnable qu'un, qui pouvoit servir à tout un petit monde fut ainsi massieré." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* IV. p. 863.] To express his gratitude, he gave the most solicitous attention to the king's health. *An Historical View of Surgery in the Medical and Physical Journal*, II. p. 365. (P.) See *Sully*, I. p. 38.

Ramus, a celebrated geometrician, and who had become peculiarly obnoxious to the votaries of *Aristotle*, perished in this massacre. Dr. *Elms*, speaking of *Aristotle*, says, "Ramus, for his animadversions on that philosopher, was assassinated in Paris, his corpse dragged through the streets and whipped with cords." *Knowledge of Divine Things*, Ed. 2, 1771, p. 12.

Voltaire says, "Ramus vécut assez pour être une des victimes de la *St. Barthélemi*. Ses ennemis attendirent ce grand jour pour se vanger de sa réputation et du bien qu'il avait fait à la ville de Paris, en fondant une chaire de géométrie. Ils traînerent son corps sanglant à la porte de tous les collèges, pour faire amende honorable à la philosophie d'*Aristote*." *Prix de la Justice*, p. 54.

‡ "Two or three governors only, refused to comply with the king's orders; one

villages did not escape this general massacre, so that it was supposed, that in all, not less than thirty thousand perished in one way or other, though Thuanus thinks that account something exaggerated.* During this massacre at Paris, the king sent for the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, and threatened them with death if they would not renounce their religion. But though they were very young, they had the firmness at that time not to comply, and the threat was not executed. At length, however, they yielded to the times, and pretended to be converted.†

This massacre, it is not doubted, was in consequence of a plan laid at the meeting of Bayonne, and the principal promoters of it were the Guises, and the queen mother, Catharine of Medicis.‡ The king, though young, too readily entered into it. The impression that a measure so unprecedented in history made on all the states of Europe, was, as may be imagined, very great. The Protestants were every where struck with detestation and horror, but not with despair. On the contrary, they were inflamed with a greater degree of aversion to the religion and policy of the court of Rome than ever, and were inspired with a more determined resolution to live and die in their principles. The more moderate Catholics condemned this violence; §

among others, called Montmorin, governor of Auvergne, wrote to the king the following letter, which deserves to be transmitted to posterity:

“ Sir, I have received an order under your majesty’s seal to put to death all the Protestants in my province. I have too much respect for your majesty, not to believe the letter is counterfeited; but, if (what God forbid) the order is truly yours, I have too much respect for your majesty to obey it.” *Voltaire*, p. 18.

* The historian of *Henry IV.* much enlarges it. He reckons with “the admiral and twenty other lords of remark, twelve hundred gentlemen, three or four thousand soldiers and burgesses; and through all the cities of the kingdom, after the example of Paris, near a hundred thousand men.” He adds, “Execrable action! which never had, nor ever shall again, if it please God, find its parallel.” *Prefixe*, p. 24. *Voltaire* gives the same number, *Essay*, p. 18.

† “*Charles IX.* caused them to be brought to his presence, and having shewed them a mountain of dead bodies, with horrible threats, not hearkning to their reasons, told them, *either death or the mass.* They elected rather the last than the first, and abjured Calvinism: but because it was known they did it not heartily, they were so straitly observed, that they could not escape the court during those two years that *Charles IX.* lived, nor a long time after his death.” *Prefixe*, p. 25.

‡ 1565. She “persuaded the king to make that goodly progress to Bayonne, in which he was at an infinite expense, pretending to shew her son all the parts of his kingdom; but she was influenced by designs far wide of this, to consult of means with the duke of Alva of putting things in confusion. Let every one judge with what excellent counsel that everlasting enemy of France assisted her.” *History of Katharine de Medicis*, said to be translated from the Latin, 1693, pp. 58, 59. See *Sully*, p. 19.

§ “*Factum execrantes,*” says Thuanus, “*sic judicabant, nullum similis sævitie exemplum in tota antiquitate, evolutis gentium annalibus, reperiri. Ita plerique disputabant, sicque existimabant, facti hujus ratione nomen Gallicum olim invidia atque adeo infamia laboraturum, tantæque indignitatis posteritatem non imme-*

but the majority rejoiced in it. They had been long used to the shedding of blood, and the use of torture, to promote their religion, and had been accustomed to the most dreadful spectacles of this kind. And though the most undisguised treachery, as well as cruelty, was employed on this occasion, they would too naturally think that so good an end would sanctify any means. The Pope, they believed, had the power to absolve from oaths, and every other moral obligation, and faith was not to be kept with heretics.

When the news of this massacre arrived at Rome, it occasioned the most excessive joy.* The letter of the Pope's nuncio at the court of France, on the subject, was read in an assembly of cardinals on the 6th of September, informing them that the scheme was projected by the king; and it was immediately resolved that the Pope, accompanied by the cardinals, should go to the church of St. Mary to give God thanks in the most solemn manner for the singular favour he had shewn to the holy see and all Christendom; and, that on the Monday following, a solemn mass should be performed on the occasion, when the Pope and the cardinals should attend, and that an universal jubilee should be published. In the evening the guns of St. Angelo were fired, and bonfires were made in all the streets. In short, nothing was omitted that was usual on occasions of the greatest victories, and the most signal advantages to the holy see. †

The cardinal of Lorraine, who was then at Rome, was so transported with joy, that he gave a thousand crowns of gold to the person who brought him the news; and on his proposal two days after, a procession was made to the church of

morem futuram. Tunc etiam, ne quid ad summam insaniam deesset, æmulatione veterum imperatorum laus in tam detestando facinore quaesita: nam eusi nummi argentei et aurei, regique tertio non. Septembris oblatis; in quorum antica parte regis in throno sedentis effigies depicta erat, cum inscriptione, *Virtus in rebelles*; in postica duæ columnæ, quod erat regis insigne, cum inscriptione, *Pietas excitavit justitiam.*" See *Thuanus* quoted in *Letters on Hume's History*, 1756, pp. 146, 147.

* See Vol. V. p. 338. *Voltaire*, p. 17. Sully's French editor says, "Pope Pius V. [who died in 1572] was so much afflicted at it that he shed tears; but Gregory XIII., who succeeded him, ordered a public thanksgiving to God for this massacre, to be offered at Rome, and sent a legate to congratulate *Charles IX.*" *Memoirs*, pp. 31, 32, Note.

† That the court of Rome countenanced this persecution of the Protestants, and even scrupled no means whatever to promote it, was sufficiently evident before this catastrophe. In February A. D. 1564, *Charles IX.* of France received an embassy from the Pope, the king of Spain, and the duke of Savoy, requesting, among other things, that he would repeal the act of grace granted to the Reformed by the edict of peace, and punish those who should be found guilty of high treason against God; because such crimes being committed not against princes, but against God, to him alone it belonged to forgive them. *Laval*, III. p. 44. (P.)

St. Louis, when there was a great concourse of nobility and common people. The bishops and cardinals walked at the head, after them the ambassadors of crowned heads, then the Pope under a canopy, attended by the cardinal-deacons, among whom Innocent Del Monte held the first place, instead of the cardinal Louis d'Est, who was then in France. The emperor's ambassador carried the Pope's train; this being the most honourable function, and always belonging to the emperor, as the first of Christian princes. The light horse closed the cavalcade. When they were arrived at the church, the cardinal of Lorraine performed mass with the greatest pomp, and the church was ornamented with more magnificence than usual. On the door there was an inscription, signifying that the cardinal of Lorraine, in the name of the most Christian king, gave God thanks, and congratulated the holy father pope Gregory XIII., the sacred college of cardinals, the senate, and people of Rome, "for the astonishing and incredible success of the councils of the holy see, the succours that he had sent, and the prayers which his holiness had ordered for twelve years." After these rejoicings the Pope sent a legate to France, and gave him the cross in a solemn manner, as a mark of distinguished honour.

Grateful as this event was to the zealous Catholics, it was necessary for the king of France to make an apology for it to several of the sovereign powers of Europe; * but with this I shall not trouble my readers.

The Catholics were far from gaining any thing by this horrible act even in France. The massacre at Paris was a torment to the king even to his last breath. His countenance was quite altered, and he became much more morose than before. His mother and his bloody counsellors were the objects of his utmost hatred: and what added to his sorrow was, to find himself deceived in his expectations, the Reformed being much increased, instead of being reduced, by the measure.†

* Camden says, there was "by *Edicts*, a specious cloak sought to cover that impious fraud." *Annals*, 1572, p. 188.

† *Laval*, III. p. 450. (P.) "The physicians suspected his distemper had its rise from poison, or something which they termed sauce for a pike, and told his mother, he would die before *April* expired: and the fortune-tellers, to whom the queen gave great credit, confirmed the same. *Charles* died May 30, 1574." *Life of Katharine*, pp. 88, 90.

"The king was taken with a strange sickness, which carried him off in two years. His blood was daily stealing out, and gushing through the pores of his skin: such an unaccountable distemper, which was so much above the knowledge

After a short time, numbers of the Protestants appeared in arms, and the civil wars revived with as much obstinacy as ever, and terminated in the accession of Henry IV., then a Protestant, to the throne of France.

Henry III. being joined by the king of Navarre,* afterwards Henry IV., was an object of detestation to all the more zealous Catholics, and when he was murdered by an enthusiastic friar,† nothing was seen in the streets of Paris but feasting, dancing, and other demonstrations of joy. Clement, the assassin, was sainted, prayers were put up for him, his images and statues at full length were adored; his mother and other relations, who came to Paris at that time, were enriched by the free gifts they received from the people of all ranks.‡

Sixtus V. approved of the murder of Henry III., and in a speech on the occasion in the conclave of cardinals, applied to it these words of Habakkuk, i. 5; “I have wrought a work in your days, which you will not believe, though it be told you.”§

and the skill of physicians, was looked upon as a divine vengeance.” *Voltaire*, p. 19. In the following lines of *La Henriade*, the poet has described the source of *Charles's* criminal conduct, in an ill education; his remorse, and the salutary example of his deplorable death:

Bientôt Charles lui-même en fut saisi d'horreur,
Le remords dévorant s'éleva dans son cœur.
Des premiers ans du Roi la funeste culture,
N'avoit que trop en lui corrompu la nature;
Mais elle n'avoit point étouffé cette voix,
Qui jusques sur le Trône épouvante les Rois.
Par sa mère élevé, nourri dans ses maximes,
Il n'étoit point comme elle enduret dans les crimes.
Le chagrin vint flétrir la fleur de ses beaux jours,
Une langueur mortelle en abrégé le cours.
Dieu déployant sur lui sa vengeance sévère,
Marqua ce Roi mourant du sceau de sa colère,
Et par son châtimement voulut épouvanter,
Quiconque à l'avenir oseroit l'imiter.

Chant iii. L. 9—22.

* In April, 1589. See *Maimburg's* “History of the League,” 1684, pp. 476, 477. This is a translation by Dryden, dedicated to Charles II., in a strain of adulation worthy of a pen which was too often employed to lavish flattery,

On titled rhymers and inglorious kings.

See also *Sully*, B. iii. l. p. 164. *Voltaire*, p. 27.

† “Jaques Clement, a young *Jacobite*, of the order of *Dominic*, a man of mean capacity, superstitious and fanatically devout.” He was immediately dispatched by some of the attendants, who were probably accomplices in his treason. *Henry* survived a few hours, dying August 2, 1589, in his 39th year. *Maimburg*, pp. 509, 517. *Voltaire*, pp. 28, 29. *Sully*, B. iii. l. pp. 171, 172.

‡ *Laval*, V. p. 15. (*P.*) *Maimburg*, pp. 519—523.

§ *Ibid.* IV. p. 574. *P.* *Voltaire*, p. 30. The Pope's approbation of this murder is unnoticed by his biographer *Gregorio Leti*, at least in the French and English translations of the Italian original, and by *Maimburg*. Another biographer of *Sixtus V.* mentions, “L'approbation solennelle qu'il donna au crime detestable de Jaques Clement.” *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* V. p. 406.

After his accession, Henry IV. pretended at least, to be converted,* and reigning in peace, he granted to his Protestant subjects the full enjoyment of their liberties in the famous *Edict of Nantes*. By this edict not only was liberty of conscience granted to the Protestants, but free admission to places of honour and emolument, and also to the public universities. They were allowed likewise to retain several fortified places, especially La Rochelle.†

These terms were granted when the Protestants were very numerous and formidable; but it could not be expected that two independent powers should continue long in the same country. As the court and Catholic party became stronger, they laid hold of every pretence for oppressing their opponents; and for this some handle was given by the Protestants courting the alliance and friendship of foreign states, as England and Holland. This gave great umbrage to the crown, and instigated Richelieu, prime minister to Lewis XIII., to make it a principal object of his policy to reduce them; and in A. D. 1628, Rochelle, after a long and memorable siege, was taken and annexed to the crown of France.‡

* July 22, 1593. See an *edifying* account how the king "caused himself to be instructed," *Mainburg*, pp. 918—921. It seems that this Protestant "had always an opinion that the body of our Lord is in the holy sacrament," and "when they would have proceeded to the point of the *real presence*, he stopped the bishops by telling them that he had always believed it." *Ibid.* pp. 906, 920, 921.

Voltaire says, "Henry, tired with the cruel necessity of waging an eternal war against his subjects, knowing besides they hated his religion, not him, resolved to turn Roman Catholic; for the priests were the only enemies he was afraid of. Few weeks after, Paris opened its gates to him, and what his valour and his magnanimity could never bring about, was easily obtained by going to mass, and by receiving absolution from the Pope." *Essay*, p. 35. See also *Sally*, B. v. *ad fin.* l. pp. 330, 331.

† "The original edict was vested in the hands of the Rochellers, who preserved it in their town till its destruction [1628], as a sacred deposit." *Macaulay's Hist. of England*, Ed. 3, 8vo. 1769, l. p. 12, Note.

"L'édit fut signé le dernier Avril 1598. Non seulement on leur accordoit cette liberté de conscience qui semble être de droit naturel; mais on leur laissait pour huit années les places du surlé que Henri III. leur avait données au-delà de la Loire, et surtout dans le Languedoc. Ils pouvaient posséder toutes les charges comme les Catholiques. On établissait dans les Parliemens des Chambres composées de Catholiques et de Protestans." *Hist. du Parl.* Pt. ii. p. 25.

‡ The following account of the miseries endured during this siege is from an eye-witness:

"You may be pleased to know what I have observed and learned there myself, eight days after the king's entrance, whither curiosity and some other causes drew me. The misery of the siege almost incredible, but to such only as have seen it, or some part thereof: corn was worth after the rate of eight hundred franks the bushel; an ox or cow sold after the rate of two thousand franks. The host (where I lay) and his wife made a collation the day before the town was rendered, which cost him about six or seven pound sterling; their cheer was a pound of bread, made of straw, sugar and other spices; half a pound of horse-flesh, three or four ounces of comfits, and a pint of wine, which they imagined was the last good cheer

From this time the power of the Protestants rapidly declined, and they were by degrees deprived of both their civil and religious privileges, especially in the succeeding reign of Lewis XIV.* The last of their national synods was held in A. D. 1659. Another was fixed to meet three years after this, but it was not permitted, those in different provinces being forbidden to have any correspondence with one another.

They should make together. There were eaten between three thousand and four thousand cow-hides, all the dogs, cats, mice and rats they could get; not a horse left alive, which was food for the better sort; only madon Rohan, after having eaten her coach-horse, and her servants the leather of her coach, removed, though full sore against her will, her lodging from Rochel to the castle of Niocud, where she is under guard, and since (it is said) to the Bastile in Paris: God send her and hers to heaven.

"There died, for want of food, in Rochel fifteen thousand, and rested living, when the king entered, between three and four thousand, of which there are since very many dead; they daily discover new miseries, which, when I was there, were not spoken of. Many languishing and finding themselves draw near their ends, caused their coffins to be carried into the churches, laid them down in them and so died; these were of the better sort. The common sort laid themselves down in coffins in the churchyards, and there died; others in the streets, others not able to go out of their houses, died and remained there; their friends being not able to remove them thence. So that when the first forces of the king entered, there were in the town of corpses unburied, some in the churchyards, others in the streets, some in their houses, some on the floor, others in their beds, besides them that died without the gates under hedges, and in ditches round about the town, which I saw myself when I was there; half devoured with ravens and other beasts, and fowls of the air: in fine, the like misery hath not been seen nor heard of." Letter *Ab Ignoto*, "concerning the estate of Rochel after the surrender." *Cabala*, 1663, p. 272. See also "Pope *Urban* to *Lewis XIII.*" on his triumph over those "that have cast the very saints themselves out of their temples, and done as much as in them lay, to put them out of the number of the blessed, yea, out of Paradise itself; that with impious temerity condemn the institutions of our fathers, the custom of kings, the decrees of popes, and the ceremonies of the church." *Ibid.* p. 386.

On *Rochelle* and king Charles's conduct towards the *Rochellers*, see Ludlow's *Memoirs*, 1698, I. pp. 3—5. *Macanlay*, I. pp. 11—13.

* In 1655, the Protector Cromwell afforded his powerful support to the Protestants in France; and it was the last support they received from the power of England, which was soon intrusted to an Englishman of another description, an *idle gentleman* who cared for none of these things: but presently became a pensioner of France.

There is in the "General Collection of Treaties," 1732, III. p. 149, a Treaty of Peace, between "France and the Republic," executed at Westminster, Nov. 3, 1655, by "the commissioners of his most serene highness, the Protector." A political writer, in 1701, had occasion to quote, and has given at length in his *Appendix*, the secret treaty of the same date, entitled, "Articles du *Traité* d'entre La France et L' Angleterre, fait par Le Cardinal Mazarin et Cromwell." The following, which are the concluding articles, sufficiently shew how Cromwell applied his power, at this time, to shelter the Protestants of France:

"Art. VI. Qu' en toutes les villes et bourgs de ce royaume, ou il y aura des havres, et des ports, la nation Angloise y aura commerce, et y pourra faire bastir des temples pour l'exercice de la religion, et sera permis aux François de la religion, qui y seront aux environs, d'y faire prescher en François.

"Art. VII. Que les édits de Janvier et de *Nantes* seront executez selon leurs formes et teneurs et tout la nation Angloise demeurera caution pour l'exécution des dits édits." *Essays upon the Balance of Power*, &c. 1701, pp. 13, 125.

other.* And, after a series of measures, all of which were violations of the most solemn engagements, the Edict of Nantes, which the king had sworn to preserve inviolate, was repealed in A. D. 1685. This was done at the instigation of the Jesuits, who had been uncommonly irritated at the execution of five of their order in England.† The principal actor in this business was La Chaise, the king's confessor, who made him believe it was an act of the greatest merit, and by which he would acquire the greatest glory.

From A. D. 1656, the king had undertaken to weaken the Protestant interest by reducing them to the precise terms of the Edict of Nantes; and for this purpose, a declaration, in A. D. 1661, directed commissioners to go into all the provinces, to take an account of all innovations, and reduce every thing to its former situation. Eighteen or twenty different arrêts were issued with this view, the parliament always seconding the views of the king; and whatever the clergy thought to be necessary to prepare the way for the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, was always done.‡

In A. D. 1665, there was issued a declaration, containing forty-nine articles, the principal of which were the following: "The Protestant ministers were forbidden to preach in any place which had not been appropriated to that use, to say any thing contrary to the Catholic religion, to take the title of *pastors*, instead of *ministers of the pretended reformed religion*, to appear in the habit of clergymen, except in a place of worship, to marry any Catholic, to have any correspondence with their brethren in other provinces, to hold any assembly except the national synod, and that only with the king's permission, and in the presence of his commissary, or to bury in Catholic burying ground. When there was any procession before their churches they were ordered to cease from singing hymns; and if they met the host, they were either to withdraw, or put themselves into a posture of respect. Children, whose parents either were, or had been, Catholic, were to be brought up in that religion, though the mothers were of the Reformed; and they were also ordered

* *Laval*, VI. p. 1676. P.

† In 1679. See *State Trials*, fol. 1776, II. pp. 539—578, 900—915. So much Protestant rancour was excited, that no sooner was the barbarous sentence—*you shall be cut down alive—your bowels taken out and burnt in your view*, &c., pronounced, than "there was a very great acclamation." *Ibid.* p. 911. See also *Burnet*, O. T. I. pp. 461—467.

‡ *Mémoires Chronologiques et Dogmatiques, pour servir à l'Histoire Ecclesiastique depuis 1600 jusques en 1716*, 12mo. 1739, III. p. 56. P.

to observe all the festivals of the Catholics, by not selling, or working in open shops on those days.*

In A. D. 1680, the Calvinists were forbidden to take any *farms* or *subfarms*,† and by another arrêt the same year, all Catholics were forbidden to embrace Calvinism under the penalty of perpetual banishment; and Protestant ministers were ordered not to receive any converts under the penalty of discontinuing their functions. This declaration was followed by several others, in consequence of which a great number of churches, said to have been built contrary to the Edict of Nantes, were pulled down. This sufficiently alarming the Protestants, and shewing them what they had to expect, so that great numbers of them prepared to leave the kingdom, a declaration was issued May 18, A. D. 1682, by which all seamen and artisans were forbidden to go to any other country, under the penalty of being sent to the galleys for life, and a fine of not less than three thousand livres to those who should favour their escape. The retreat of some persons of better condition occasioned the issuing of another arrêt the 14th of July, which made the prohibition to leave the kingdom general. At the same time it annulled all contracts of the sales they might make of their property, and confiscated their effects.‡

In aid of those measures of the court to extinguish the Protestant party, the prelates of the kingdom, in A. D. 1682, addressed a pastoral letter to them, expostulating with them on the subject of the schism they made in the church. This was required to be signed by all the consistories in the kingdom, and the clergy had pointed out to them sixteen arguments by which they might effectually promote the conversion of the Protestants, extracted from the works of their most celebrated controversial writers. This was accompanied by two letters from the king, in which they were exhorted to do every thing in their power to promote the design, but only in the use of argument and persuasion.

Some Calvinists in Dauphiné, and other places in the south of France, holding their assemblies where they had been forbidden, and defending themselves, this historian says, with arms, they were soon reduced, and some of their ministers were executed. Others were punished by having

* *Mem. Chron.* III. p. 94. (P.)

† To have any employ in the *farm* of the revenue. They were also excluded from "any employ in the custom-houses, guards, treasury, or post-office, or even to be messengers, stage-coachmen, or waggons." *Complaints of the Protestants in France*, (1686) 1707, p. 57.

‡ *Mem. Chron.* III. p. 169. (P.)

soldiers quartered in their houses, by which they were greatly distressed. This measure being found best to answer the views of the court, it was afterwards carried to a greater extent.

The Calvinist ministers, roused by these measures, the object of which was, the extermination of their religion, exerted themselves to the utmost to prevent the desertion of their flocks, by publishing answers to the arguments of their opponents, and going from house to house to dissuade persons from apostatizing; but notwithstanding this, many were gained by the court.

The writings of the Calvinists giving great offence to the Catholics, complaint was made of it, and an edict was issued August 23, forbidding them not only to preach, but also to publish, any thing against the Catholic religion; and before they had time to express what they felt on this occasion, it was followed two months after by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes; by which, this writer says, Lewis the Great acquired with true Catholics as much honour as the great Constantine did by the extirpation of Paganism;* though it is now considered in France, as well as elsewhere, an act of the most egregious folly, for its impolicy, as well as its bigotry and cruelty.

Before this act, the writer says, by a number of other edicts closely following one another, nothing but the shadow of the Edict of Nantes remained. The Protestants had been excluded from all offices of judicature, and the exercise of many professions; the greater part of their churches were demolished; their ministers did not appear in public; every child that shewed the least wish to become a Catholic, was taken from its parents; and the hope of reward, and the dread of impending evils, had brought over a great number of adults. There were few, he says, who did not yield to the obligation of lodging soldiers. This military expedient was begun in Bearn, but was soon extended through all the kingdom.† the truce that was made with Spain favouring the measure. When things were in this prosperous train, he says, the chancellor urged the king to strike the final blow, and cut off the head of the hydra. His age and infirmities made him ardently wish for an act which would restore the Catholic religion to all its rights; and when he had set his seal to it, he cried out in the language of Simeon, “Now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for my

* *Mém. Chron.* III. pp. 247, 362. (P.)

† *Complaints*, p. 94

eyes have seen thy salvation," justly, says this historian, regarding this last act as the happiest and most brilliant in his life.*

By this act, all that remained of the Protestant churches were demolished. They were forbidden to assemble for the exercise of their religion even in private houses, and the ministers who would not conform to the established religion were required to leave the kingdom in fifteen days after the publication of the edict. At the same time considerable advantages were promised to those who would conform, as an exemption from the *taille*, from the lodging of soldiers; and during their life they were allowed one third more than their former salaries. All who were not ministers were forbidden to leave the country, or to remove any of their effects out of it, under the penalty of the galleys for the men, and the confiscation of body and goods for the women.

Though all the ministers who would not conform to the established religion, were now ordered to leave the country, the time allowed for this was so short, that great numbers were apprehended in their attempts to escape, and for this were sentenced to the most cruel punishments. Many were sent to the galleys along with the most abandoned criminals, and some to solitary dungeons for life; so that, directly and indirectly, this proved to be as severe a persecution as the Protestants ever experienced from the Catholics, or the Christians from the Heathens.

The king was led to believe, that besides gaining immortal honour by an action highly pleasing to God, and to all good Christians, he would essentially promote the interest of his country: but by the emigration of such a number of his most useful subjects, and the loss of the wealth which they contrived to carry with them, it proved to be the heaviest calamity that ever befel that country; especially as many of the emigrants were manufacturers, and carried their arts into other countries, as England, Holland and Prussia, where they were most hospitably received. The approbation with which this measure was received at Rome, and by the Catholics in general, is a most striking proof of the persecuting spirit of that church in this period.

On this Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, a paucyric was pronounced on the king by father Quartier, a Jesuit, in the college of Lewis the Great. The room was ornamented with

* "The revocative *Edict* was sealed and published the 18th of October, the court being then at Fontainebleau." *Complaints*, p. 109. See also R. Robinson's *Life of Claude*, prefixed to his *Essay*, 1779, p. xlvii.

devices and inscriptions prepared for the occasion, and an account of them, with explanations of them in Latin and French verse, was given by another Jesuit, Le Jay, in a work published at Paris in A. D. 1687, dedicated to the king. From this we learn, that the entrance into the room in which the harangue was pronounced, represented a triumphal arch of the Tuscan order. Religion holding in her right hand a cup on which was a luminous host, and having the Holy Spirit over her head, appeared in the most elevated situation, on a car drawn by two white horses. On the pedestal was the king with a sceptre in his hand, to shew, they say, that the justice and authority of his edicts were the only arms he made use of to destroy heresy, which was represented at his feet in the form of a hydra. On the table of the pedestal was the inscription, *Religione sub Ludovico Magno triumphante*. The whole of this picture, of which these are but a few particulars, is curious. The emblems that adorned the room, of which this work contains an engraved sketch, were twenty-two, with a motto adapted to each, and the complimentary inscriptions were thirteen. One of them is, *Ludovico Magno quod obstinatum hæresim solo militum strepitu religioni docilem fecit*. It does not seem possible to carry adulation higher than in this exhibition, had he rendered the most signal service to religion and to his country; though it is now sufficiently evident that by this edict he had done an essential injury to both.

On the 25th of October there appeared two other edicts, the one to forbid the exercise of the Reformed religion on board of ships, and to prevent seamen from favouring the emigration of Protestants, and the other to grant to those who gave information of their escape one half of their property. But even these precautions, our historian says, did not prevent the emigration of many thousands, men and women, especially into England, Holland, Denmark and Prussia. More than six hundred ministers had fled before.

These refugees promised themselves that something would be stipulated in their favour at the peace of Ryswick in A. D. 1697. But whatever might pass in the negociation, they were not so much as mentioned in the treaty. A number of them took it for granted that they might have liberty to settle in the principality of Orange, which was ceded to king William; but Lewis forbade any Protestant, under pain of death, to settle there, and ordered all that had gone thither to remove in six months. And in the year following, in order to undeceive any who had formed expect-

tations of favour, he issued another decree, by which he again forbade all exercise of the Protestant religion, all correspondence with Protestant ministers, and all their assemblies under any pretext whatever.* He ordered the strictest conformity to the rules of the church with respect to public worship, marriages, and baptisms; and directed that every child should be baptized in the parish church within twenty-four hours of the birth, without an express order of the bishop to defer it.

The cruelties exercised on the Reformed in France, even prior to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, will hardly be believed of a nation so far advanced as the French nation then was in civilization: for humanity is always expected to accompany politeness. But when a peace was concluded with Spain, soldiers, chiefly dragoons, were dispersed through the country, authorized to live at free quarter on all who would not conform to the established religion; and to succeed in this, they, at the instigation of a bigotted clergy, were guilty of the most shocking cruelties.

Besides plundering their houses, they exercised the most inhuman torments. To some they sent drummers, who beat night and day to prevent their getting any rest. Others, and even persons of quality, they compelled to turn spits till they were almost roasted. Sometimes they heated bars of iron, and made them put their naked feet upon them, till they promised to go to mass. Others they put into deep wells till they were almost killed with cold; and tormented them in other ways too tedious to relate. Great numbers were put to death secretly, others perished in cold and noisome dungeons, and some they transported to Canada, but it is thought that they were generally drowned when they were out at sea.†

In the borough of Hypolite only, the dragoons compelled the inhabitants to pay two hundred and forty-four thousand livres. No less than seven thousand persons, men, women and children, perished in the southern provinces in the space of a year and a half, most of them murdered by the soldiers in cold blood. A great number were executed by

* Voltaire says, "On a porté des loix, bien terribles, contre les hérétiques en France. On publia en 1699, un édit par lequel tout hérétique nouvellement converti, étoit condamné aux galères perpétuelles, s'il étoit surpris sortant du royaume; et ceux qui avoient favorisé sa sortie livrés à la mort.—Cette loi barbare et absurde n'est point abolie; [1778] mais il faut avouer qu'elle est fort mitigée par les mœurs." *Prix de la Justice*, pp. 31, 32.

† "Memoirs of the Wars of the *Cevennes*. By Colonel Cavalier." *Dublin*, 1726, pp. 3, 4. (P.) *Complaints*, pp. 96—100.

the hangman, some broken alive upon the wheel, some beheaded, and others hanged; besides several thousand sent either to the galleys, or into dungeons, numeries and other places. Except one hundred and twenty, who chose to sell their lives as dearly as they could at Bourdeaux in Dauphiné, in August, A. D. 1683, all the rest made no resistance.*

Though it is impossible not to be sensible of the shocking injustice of the court of France to its Protestant subjects, it must be acknowledged that various disorders had crept in among them, and that they themselves were not free from the spirit of persecution. At the synod of Arles, in A. D. 1621, eight ministers were deposed, six of them for adultery, and other crimes no less heinous. †

The king of Navarre declared to the archbishop of Vienne, that he would endeavour to the utmost of his power to banish not only out of his kingdom, but out of the world, if it was possible, all false religion. These words being blotted out of his memorial by some ministers, he caused them to be restored between the lines. ‡

The ministers of the Reformed in France in A. D. 1563, requested that, in order to prevent the propagation of heresy, and monstrous opinions, the king would be pleased to receive into his royal protection the confession of faith tendered to him in A. D. 1561, and the professors of it: and to provide that atheists, libertines, Anabaptists, and *Secretists*, should be severely punished. §

The count of Ventadour requested of the king of France, in A. D. 1576, that, in order to avoid atheism and irreligion, every Frenchman should be obliged to choose one of the two religions, the Catholic, or the Reformed, and make a public profession of it. ||

At Beaugency, near Orleans, one John Bonneau, and three others, maintained that it was not lawful for the civil magistrate to punish heretics. To remedy this, the historian, supposed to be Beza, says, a consistory was called, and these men being heard, the contrary, he says, was proved to them by such strong reasons, grounded on the word of God, that Bonneau renounced his opinion immediately, and subscribed with his own hand the reverse of what he had maintained; and soon after was sent to Bretagne to exercise his ministry there. The others, after being discoursed with privately by the ministers, yielded at last. With what little

* *Laval*, VI. p. 1080. (P.)

† *Ibid.* p. 786. (P.)

‡ *Ibid.* IV. p. 164. (P.)

§ *Ibid.* II. p. 253. (P.)

|| *Ibid.* IV. p. 107. (P.)

reason could these men complain of the persecution which fell upon themselves ?*

At a synod of the Reformed in France, in A. D. 1571, the tenets of Socinus were condemned and detested; and the bishops of England were desired to suppress the books of the said heretics, which began to be in vogue in that country. † John du Bard, a Socinian minister, who had published and defended his tenets at Poitiers, retracted, and abjured his errors in a full synod of the Reformed, in A. D. 1565.

According to the great scheme of Henry IV., only three religions were to be tolerated in Europe, the Catholic, the Protestant, and that of the Reformed. ‡

The Reformed in France were friends to the arbitrary powers of the crown, while the Jesuits maintained the rights of the people. Du Plessis, in a letter to the king, dated January the 16th, A. D. 1616, said, it was always his opinion that between God and the king there was no other power that could order to the prejudice of the king's authority; that they had lost two kings in the space of twenty years through maxims contrary to that article, and therefore wanted better precautions to preserve the third.§

SECTION XI.

Of the State of the Reformed in the Netherlands and the United Provinces.

THE Catholics in this period had the better pretence for persecuting the Protestants, as the great body of them held the same persecuting principles; thinking it to be the duty of the magistrate to take cognizance of heresy; not considering that if he take cognizance of it, and punish it, he must act according to his own judgment, and punish whatever he, and not any other, shall think to be heresy. There were not wanting, however, some, in this as well as every other period, who pleaded the just rights of conscience

* *De la Roche*, I. p. 98. See his reflections on Beza's conduct, p. 99.

† *Laval*, III. p. 355. (P.)

‡ See Sully's interview with queen Elizabeth, at Dover, in 1601. He then disclosed to her, Henry's plan, "to divide all Christendom into a certain number of powers, as equal as may be." And "to reduce all the various religions in it, under those three which would appear to be most numerous and considerable in Europe." *Mem. B. xii. III. pp. 88—95.*

§ *Laval*, VI. p. 644. (P.)

against the usurpation of the civil magistrate, but they were of the minority who were exposed to persecution.

In A. D. 1563, the Protestants, or as they were then called, the *Reformed*, or the *Calvinists*, in the Low Countries, published a confession of their faith in thirty-seven articles, accompanied with a remonstrance to the magistrates, in which, after stating that “most of the ancient doctors have taught that conscience ought not to be molested, and much less forced by any power upon earth; for the sword was given to the magistrate only to punish robbers, murderers, and other disturbers of civil government;” and that “the same doctors teach that in matters of religion, or in things that concern only our souls, no other means ought to be used but the spiritual sword, or the word of God,” they say, “We do not go so far as those good fathers. We acknowledge that the magistrates may *take cognizance of heretics*. They occasion disorders among the people.” They add, however, “that the judges ought to be sure, and perfectly convinced by the word of God, that a doctrine is impious and heretical, before they stretch out their hands to punish the accused person.”*

To this our author subjoins a case that occurred among the Reformed in France, which shews that the same sentiments prevailed there. † The first prince of Orange, who appears to have had just ideas on this subject, had much trouble with the Calvinist ministers, who were ever ready to persecute their opponents, Lutherans, Anabaptists, or Catholics. It was with great difficulty, and not without incurring much odium, that he was able to prevent it.

In Holland, the Reformed, having the power of government in their own hands, had, in this period, an opportunity of shewing their persecuting principles, which they did not neglect. Though they bordered on Germany, they adopted the system of Calvin, in preference to that of Luther. This was decided, after much debating on the subject, in A. D. 1571. ‡

The occasion which called forth the spirit of persecution in Holland, was the Arminian controversy, with which that country was much agitated in this period. It was so called from James Arminius, a professor of divinity at Leyden, a man universally allowed to have been possessed of great

* *Brandt*, [De la Roche's Abridgment,] l. pp. 96, 97. (P.)

† See *supra*, pp. 378, 379.

‡ *Mosheim*, IV. p. 109. (P.) Cent. xvi. Sect. iii. Pt. ii. Ch. ii. Par. xxii.

piety and candour.* Though educated at Geneva, Arminius conceived a dislike of the doctrine of predestination, and others connected with it, consisting of *five articles*, generally called the *five points*; and there not being at that time any law enforcing the belief of them, he openly taught the contrary, though to the great offence of his colleague, Francis Gomar.

All that the Arminians pleaded for was a free toleration; and for some time Maurice, prince of Orange, and his mother, favoured their plea, and endeavoured to promote peace by conferences and other methods; and some of the most distinguished characters in the country, as Barneveldt, Grotius, and Hoogerbeets, took their part. But these and other Arminians, called also *Remonstrants* (from a remonstrance which they presented to the States of Holland in A. D. 1610), opposing Maurice in his political views, he became their open enemy. Barneveldt was executed as a state

* To these qualities, and the learning of Arminius, the following testimony was borne by Sir Henry Wotton. His friend and biographer, *Isaac Walton*, having mentioned *Wotton's* reproofs to one who railed at *Papists*, and another who doubted the possibility of their salvation, adds,

“To another that spake indiscreet and bitter words against Arminius, I heard him reply to this purpose:

“In my travel towards Venice, [1604,] as I past through Germany, I rested almost a year at Leyden, where I entered into an acquaintance with Arminius (then the professor of divinity in that university), a man much talked of in this age, which is made up of opposition and controversy. And indeed, if I mistake not Arminius, in his expressions, (as so weak a brain as mine is may easily do,) then I know I differ from him in some points; yet I profess my judgment of him to be, that he was a man of most rare learning, and I knew him to be of a most strict life, and of a most meek spirit. And that he was so mild, appears by his proposals to our Master Perkins, of Cambridge, from whose book, of the *Order and Causes of Salvation* (which was first written in Latin), Arminius took the occasion of writing some queries to him concerning the consequences of his doctrine; intending them ‘tis said to come privately to Mr. Perkins’ own hands, and to receive from him a like private and a like loving answer. But Mr. Perkins died before those queries came to him; and ‘tis thought Arminius meant them to die with him; for though he lived long after, I have heard he forbore to publish them, (but since his death, his sons did not. . . . And ‘tis pity, if God had been so pleased, that Mr. Perkins did not live to see, consider, and answer those proposals himself; for he was also of a most meek spirit, and of great and sanctified learning. And though since their deaths many of high parts and piety have undertaken to clear the controversy, yet for the most part, they have rather satisfied themselves, than convinced the dissenting party. . . . And doubtless many middle-witted men which yet may mean well, many scholars that are not in the highest form for learning which yet may preach well, and that are but preachers, and shall never know, till they come to heaven, where the questions stick betwixt Arminius and the Church of England, if there be any, will yet in this world be tampering with, and thereby perplexing the controversy, and do therefore justly fall under the reproof of St. Jude, for being busy bodies, and for meddling with things they understand not.” *Life* (1651), prefixed to *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, Ed. 4, 1685. *Walton's Lives*, Oxford, 1805, l. pp. 188—190.

criminal,* and Grotius and Hoogerbeets were sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. †

In order to settle the controversy on the subject of the five points, a synod, by the direction of Maurice, had been convened at Dört in A. D. 1618, ‡ and it was attended by deputies from the United Provinces, and also by divines from England, Swisserland, and several states of Germany. Before this assembly the cause of the Arminians was ably supported by Simon Episcopius, a professor of divinity at Leyden, a man of great learning and eloquence. But not being allowed, as persons accused of heresy, to oppugn the system of their adversaries, with which they proposed to begin the business, and as they had been promised, in their summons to attend the synod, the liberty of “explaining and defending their opinions, as far as they thought proper and necessary to their justification,” they refused to take any other course, and were thereon excluded from the assembly, in which Bogerman, their professed enemy, presided, as moderator; and in their absence their doctrines were voted to be pestilential errors. After this the Arminians were deprived of all employments, civil and ecclesiastical, their ministers were silenced, and their congregations suppressed. Refusing to comply with the orders that were given for this purpose, they were treated with great rigour, and punished by fines, imprisonment, and other ways. To avoid this, many of them fled to Antwerp, and some to France, where also Grotius, escaping from prison, took refuge. Many, on the invitation of Frederic, duke of Holstein, formed a colony in his states, where they built a handsome town, and called it Fredericstadt. In this colony was Vorstius, whose religious sentiments were supposed not to differ from those of the Unitarians.

* May 13, 1619. “The scaffold for his execution was erected in the court of the castle, at the Hague, facing the prince of Orange’s apartments.—It is affirmed, that the prince, to feast himself with the cruel pleasure of seeing his enemy perish, beheld the execution with a glass. The people looked on it with other eyes, for many came to gather the sand wet with his blood.” *Burigny*, “Life of Grotius,” 1754, p. 65.

“Diodati, a divine of Geneva, said, one day, that ‘the *canons* of the synod of Dört had taken off the head of the advocate of Holland.’ This is a *pun* very injurious to that synod. It intimates that the church loves blood.” *De La Roche*, II. p. 541.

† *Burigny*, pp. 72, 73. *De la Roche*, II. p. 542.

‡ See Vol. V. p. 176. *Burigny*, pp. 60, 61. See the transactions of the *Synod*, abridged from *Brandt*, B. xxxiii.—xlv. *De la Roche*, II. pp. 393—557. See also John Hales’s and Dr. Balcanqual’s Letters from the *Synod*, in *Golden Remains*, 1688, pp. 368—527.

Arminius died before these troubles, in A. D. 1609,* and they ceased in a great measure on the death of Maurice, in A. D. 1625, when his brother and successor Frederic Henry procured the recall of the Arminians, and their toleration in Holland. On this they not only opened their congregations, but established a college at Amsterdam, where Episcopius was the first professor of divinity. His chair was afterwards filled by other persons eminent for their learning and ability, as Curellæus, Limborch, Le Clerc, and Wetstein.

Notwithstanding this solemn condemnation of the Arminian doctrines at the synod of Dort, and the decline of their congregations, it is acknowledged that from that time they gained ground both in Holland and other countries. And what is of most consequence, from this time the universal toleration of all opinions consistent with the peace of society, for which the Arminians pleaded, became generally approved of. †

* "October 19, in his 49th year, of a disease he had contracted by his great labours. His death was very edifying. His motto was *Bona conscientia Paradisus*. Grotius made his eulogium in verse." *Burigny*, p. 41. *De la Roche*, l. p. 298.

† The following is an account "of the different Religions in Holland" at this time:

"The chief model and reformation was made according to the churches of Geneva, and the high Palatinate; and to this day they that pretend to any charge or office, must be of this religion, if they desire to be admitted. They that follow the doctrine of *Martin Luther*, have all freedom in Holland, and liberty to build churches among the houses, to distinguish them from the other Reformed. The Anabaptists have likewise theirs, and are divided into divers sects. They that have the great assembly, are called *Dree Wagens*. And I will say this to their praise, that in their meetings they expound Scripture, without making any invectives, or railing upon any body else." *Present State of the United Provinces*, "Collected by W. A., Fellow of the Royal Society." Ed. 2, 1671, pp. 336, 337.

"The *Arminians* have never been at quiet, till they have obtained a free exercise through most towns of Holland, as Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and the Hague itself; but not at Harlem, nor Leyden; in the last of which places, they have often met in the open streets, sung their psalms, and preached, but have still been disturbed by the magistrate. At last, seeing they could not gain a church in the town, they have been glad to obtain leave to meet at Warmout, a village hard by it, which the lord of the place has willingly granted, for the benefit that arises to his village by it.

"The *Jews* are publicly tolerated, and have their synagogues in Amsterdam. The *Catholics* are the only excluded from this liberty, though they be in great numbers, and most of them natural Hollanders, whose ancestors have contributed both their bloods and money to the driving out of the Spaniards; but all that is forgotten, and they enjoy nothing but a liberty of conscience, in which they rest quietly." *Ibid.* pp. 339, 340.

Francis Osborn, in his "Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth," says of the Puritans, that "meeting from the most in power only blame and contempt, they sought out new habitations for themselves, and vents for their opinions in Amsterdam, where the Dutch allowed a general mart for all religions (the Papacy excepted) without any nicer limitation than obedience to the magistrate in things purely civil. And by this they did not only draw much of our coin thither, but our

In A. D. 1675. Henry Heydegger, professor of divinity at Zurich, was employed by an assembly of Helvetic divines, to draw up a form of doctrine agreeable to the decrees of the synod; but much dissension being occasioned by the measure, and many declaring they could not subscribe to it, the cantons of Basil and the Genevans, on the interposition of Frederic William, elector of Brandenburg, in A. D. 1686, generally desisted from requiring the subscription, though in other cantons it was retained much longer. In England the clergy in general, encouraged by the archbishop Laud, openly professed themselves Arminians; and so they continue to this day, though the articles of their church, which they all subscribe, remain Calvinistical.

During the height of the Arminian controversy in A. D. 1619, a religious society was formed at Rheinsberg, in the neighbourhood of Leyden, called Collegiants, from their calling their places of worship colleges, by three brothers of the name of Vander Kodde, men of eminent piety, and well acquainted with sacred literature, but averse to all controversy. They admitted into their society, without scruple, all Christians, whatever were their opinions. Their meetings for public worship were held twice a week, on Sundays and Thursdays, when every person had a right to give his sentiments in explanation of a certain portion of scripture which had been given out before hand. They held a general assembly twice a year at Rheinsberg, where they have convenient houses for the education of orphans, and the reception of strangers. Here they continue four days, which are employed in discourses, chiefly such as tend to inculcate the principles of brotherly love. On these occasions, the Lord's supper is administered, and also baptism, by immersion. Their number is very considerable in Holland, Utrecht, and Friesland. Those who reside in Friesland have an annual meeting at Leewarden, being at too great a distance from Rheinsberg.*

manufactures of weaving, dying, fulling, spinning and dressing of cloth." *Osborn's Works*, Ed. 7, 1673, p. 452.

Sir William Petty, whose descendants have happily retained his liberal principles, speaking of "the first policy of the Dutch, liberty of conscience," says, "They cannot but know, that no man can believe what himself pleases, and to force men to say they believe what they do not, is vain, absurd, and without honour to God. Knowing themselves not to be an infallible church, and that others had the same scripture for guides as themselves, and withal the same interest to save their souls, they did not think fit to make this matter their business; nor more than to take bonds of the seamen they employ, not to cast away their own ships and lives." *Political Arithmetic*. Glasgow, 1751, pp. 28, 29.

* *Mosheim*, V. pp. 59, 60. (P.) Cent. xvii. Sect. ii. Pt. ii. Ch. vii. Par. i. They are thus described in 1671: "There is a certain assembly held at *Rinsbourg*,

Among the enthusiasts who appeared in this period, and in this part of Europe, we must mention a small society formed by John Labbadie, and called after his name. He was a native of France, and had been a Jesuit; but leaving that society, he became a member of the Reformed church, and preached with reputation in France, Swisserland, and Holland; and at length he formed a new society at Middleburg, then at Amsterdam, then at Westphalia, and lastly, in A. D. 1674, at Altena, where he died two years after.

Among other peculiarities, he held that "the contemplative life is a state of grace and union with God, and the height of perfection; that the Christian whose mind is contented and calm, sees all things in God, enjoys the Deity, and is perfectly indifferent about every thing that passes in the world; and that he arrives at this state by self-denial and mental prayer." The Quakers made several attempts to get Labbadie to join their society, but without effect. The principal ornament of this small sect was Anne Maria Schurman, of Utrecht, a woman of considerable note in the republic of letters.*

Another woman who distinguished herself in the same way was Antoinette de Bourignon, a native of Flanders, who pretended to divine inspiration, and whose writings were much admired by many learned and ingenious persons. She held that "Christianity consists neither in knowledge nor practice, but in a certain internal feeling, and divine impulse, which arises immediately from communion with the Deity." Her principal admirer was Peter Poiret, a man of genius, and an eminent Cartesian.†

Holland was much agitated during this period by the advocates for the Cartesian philosophy, which they applied to matters of theology, and their opponents, headed by Gilbert Voet, a professor of divinity in the university of Utrecht. The Cartesian system was maintained by the disciples of Cocceius, who distinguished himself by many singular opinions, especially concerning the typical signification of many things in the Old Testament, which spread not only through Holland, but even into Germany.

ten or twelve times a year, where every one that will has the liberty of making an exhortation; it is called the assembly of the *free-minded*." The author adds, "There are many others that sit at home reading the Scripture, and never come to any church, except it be out of curiosity. The *Arianisme* has those that profess it. In a word, any body may follow his own opinion, but not profess it with a public worship." *Present State of the United Provinces*, pp. 348, 344.

* *Mosheim*, V. pp. 62—64. (P.) Par. iii. See Penn's *Travails*, pp. 32, 174.

† *Ibid.* pp. 64—66. (P.) Par. iv. Voltaire's *Siècles*, V. p. 185.

That there were some and probably a considerable number of Unitarians in the early part of this period, in this part of Europe, is evident from the account that Brandt gives of the behaviour of Herman Van Fleckwick, of Dort, who, before his execution, in A. D. 1569, appeared by his answers to the Inquisitor to be of that persuasion. The whole of this examination deserves attention, though I shall recite only a few particulars of it.

Inquisitor. Do you not believe that Christ is the second person in the Holy Trinity?

Fleckwick. We never call things but as they are called in the Holy Scriptures.

Inq. Do not the Scriptures mention God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost?

Fl. The Scriptures speak only of one God, the Son of God, and the Holy Spirit.

Inq. Christ says, "I and my Father are one."

Fl. Christ says also, "that they all may be one, as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us."

Inq. I repeat it again, Christ the second person of the Deity, or of the Holy Trinity, was made man. You refuse to call him God.

Fl. I call him the "Son of the living God," as Peter does, and "the Lord," as the other apostles call him. He is called, in the Acts of the Apostles, "Jesus of Nazareth whom God raised from the dead," and Paul calls him the "man by whom God shall judge the world."

It appears, however, that Fleckwick, as well as many other Anabaptists of this period, held that the body of Christ was not derived from his mother: for he says, "We believe that the body of Christ was not earthly, like that of Adam, but that he is a heavenly man, as Paul says." Fleckwick having argued that if the three persons be but one God, and the Virgin Mary be the mother of God, she must be the mother of the Father, and of the Holy Ghost, as well as of the Son, the Inquisitor concluded with saying, "May you be roasted in hell, you wicked and abominable Unitarian! You would make a hundred thousand doctors of divinity mad."*

* *Brandt*, abridged by *De la Roche*, I. pp. 123—131. The *Inquisitor*, Cornelius Adrians, a Franciscan monk, having quoted the heavenly witnesses, the prisoner replied, "I have often heard that *Erasmus*, in his Annotations, shews that this text is not in the original." Upon this, "Brother *Cornelius*, turning to the secretary and clerk of the Inquisition, told them, 'Gentlemen, what do you think of all this? Am I to blame because I attack so frequently, in my sermons, *Erasmus*, that wicked, that accursed Antitrinitarian? 'Tis certain he says so.'" *Ibid.*, pp. 127, 128.

SECTION XII.

Of the Puritans and other Sects in England.

OF those who fled from the persecution in the reign of queen Mary, some adhered to the liturgy which had been used in the time of king Edward, and preferred the system of discipline by bishops, which had been then established. But others of them preferred that of Geneva; and during their exile, and especially at Frankfort, where a great number of them resided, they had frequent and warm disputes on the subject.*

After their return, on the accession of queen Elizabeth, each party endeavoured to get their peculiar system established; but the queen, who had a leaning to the ceremonies, though not to the doctrines, of popery, not only took the part of the former, but by the most rigorous measures endeavoured to suppress the latter; who holding what they called a purer system, farther removed from Popery, obtained the appellation of *Puritans*. As the suffering of these people is a striking instance of the persecution of Protestants by Protestants, who were acknowledged not to differ from one another in any thing essential, as it was of long continuance, and had remarkable consequences, I shall recite the particulars at some length.

In consequence of the *act of supremacy*, which gave the queen the same power with respect to religion that had been possessed by Henry VIII. and king Edward, and which annulled all that had been done by queen Mary, she erected a court of *High Commission*, by which she and her successors could exercise all jurisdiction of a spiritual nature, as “correcting heresies and schisms, abuses, contempts, offences, and enormities of every kind.” Accordingly, the commissioners appointed by the queen exercised the same power that had been given to Henry VIII.; but not confining themselves to their commission, they, with the connivance of the queen, entangled those who were brought before them with oaths *ex officio*, requiring them to answer all questions put to them, by which, as in the popish inquisition, and in the inextricable mazes of the popish canon law,† they might accuse themselves and their friends. And though the act of

* See *A brief Discourse of the Troubles begun at Frankfort, 1554*, “first published 1575.” *Phoenix*, II. pp. 44—203. *Camden's Eliz.* p. 107.

† *Neal*, I. p. 119. (P.) *Camden*, pp. 168, 191, 192.

parliament which authorized this court makes no mention of imprisonment, or the infliction of any corporal punishment, and therefore could not legally exceed suspension and deprivation, they were guilty of every act of wanton tyranny and oppression, till the very name became odious to the nation.

Unhappily, the idea of *toleration* had not entered the minds of any of the contending parties of Christians at this time; and an *act of uniformity of common prayer and service in the church* (such as would exclude all conscientious Dissenters) was passed in June A. D. 1559; and the rigorous pressure of this was the occasion of unspeakable mischiefs for eighty years following.*

Visitors being sent through the country to see this act carried into execution, not more than about one hundred beneficed clergymen out of nine thousand four hundred relinquished their livings on account of their attachment to the Catholic religion; and yet it was impossible to find Protestants of tolerable capacity to fill their places, so many of the learned exiles not being able to comply with the terms of conformity. Rather than do any thing to accommodate them, the bishops admitted the meanest and most illiterate persons who would conform, and they published a book of *homilies*, or discourses, to be read from the pulpit for their assistance.

Among others, the celebrated Mr. Fox, the martyrologist, who was held in such high esteem by the queen herself, that she commonly called him father, was excluded. Writing to a friend, he said, "I still wear the same clothes, and remain in the same sordid condition in which England received me when I returned from Germany; nor do I change my order, which is that of the Mendicants." When he was summoned before the commissioners, and required to subscribe, he took a Greek Testament out of his pocket, and said, "To this I will subscribe;"† and when they offered him the canons, he refused, saying, "I have nothing in the church but a prebend in Salisbury, and much good may it do you, if you take it from me." But the commissioners, the historian says, had not courage enough to deprive a man of so much merit.

Another eminent Nonconformist was Miles Coverdale, formerly bishop of Exeter, who, together with Tyndal and Rogers, had translated the Bible into English. He was also

* See Vol. V. p. 430. *Camden*, p. 27.

† Yet who that understands Christian liberty would *subscribe* to a Greek Testament, even according to the *reading* of Griesbach?

a celebrated preacher ; but the act of Uniformity brought his reverend hairs with sorrow to the grave.*

David Whitehead, an excellent scholar, and professor of divinity, who had been chaplain to Ann Boleyn, and one of the four divines nominated by Cranmer to bishoprics in Ireland, was among the Nonconformists. In the beginning of queen Mary's reign he went to Frankfort, and on his return was chosen one of the four disputants against the popish bishops. But though the queen had so high an esteem for him that she offered him the archbishopric of Canterbury, he declined it ; saying to her, that he could live plentifully on the gospel, without any preferment. After this he went up and down like an apostle, preaching wherever he could, and died in a good old age, in A. D. 1571.

At the same time, so very unpopular were these approaches to Popery in the habits that were now enjoined, that great numbers of the people refused to frequent those places of worship in which the service was performed in that dress. Many would not even salute the ministers that wore it, besides insulting them in various ways.

The man who urged these measures with such unrelenting rigour was archbishop Parker, than whom no popish inquisitor could be more unfeeling. When the cries of the people reached the court, the secretary of state wrote to him to supply the churches, and release the prisoners for Nonconformity ; but he was inexorable, choosing that the people should have no sermons or sacraments rather than have them without the surplice and square cap. In his answer to the secretary he said, that when the queen put him upon what he had done, he told her that these precise folks would offer their goods and their bodies to prison, rather than relent, and that she wished him to imprison them. He acknowledged that there were many parishes unserved, and that he suffered many hard speeches, and much resistance, from the people ; but that it was nothing more than he had expected.

The tracts that the Puritans published on this occasion, being eagerly read by the people, the commissionours laid a restraint on the liberty of the press, making it imprisonment for three months, besides the forfeiture of the copies, if any thing was printed contrary to the queen's injunctions.

In A. D. 1562, Beza wrote to the bishops to dissuade them from being instruments of such severities. He also wrote to the lord treasurer, to endeavour to procure some

* See *Biogr. Brit.* IV. p. 311, Dr. Kippis's *Note*, and *Brit. Biog.* III. pp. 25, 26.

farther reformation of religion; saying, that he understood that many pious and learned men, the best affected to the church of God, and lovers of the nation, complained of their severity. But this had no effect, and in this very year a hundred of the clergy were deprived for refusing to subscribe.

The Puritans, finding no redress of their grievances by applying to the bishops or the queen, resolved that for the future they would make their application to the parliament. But when Mr. Field and Mr. Wilcox presented a petition to the house, they were taken into custody, and by the influence of the bishops committed to Newgate.

A second petition was presented by Mr. Cartwright, who was lately returned from abroad. The prisoners themselves also wrote an elegant apology in Latin, addressed to the lord treasurer; but he did not choose to meddle in an affair that might embroil him with the queen, and they were detained in prison beyond the time fixed in the statute; by which means they said, in an humble supplication to the earl of Leicester, their wives and children were impoverished, their health much impaired by the unwholesome savour of the place, and the cold weather. They therefore intreated that, if they might not be released, they might be removed to a more wholesome prison. They sent another petition to the lords of the council, and another in the names of their wives and children. But notwithstanding these, and other applications of a similar kind, and though the inhabitants of Aldermanbury presented two petitions for the enlargement of their pastor, "a learned and faithful preacher," as they called Mr. Field, and though some great friends interceded for them, they could not obtain their release till they had suffered the extremity of the law, and had paid their fees, though the keeper gave it under his hand that they were so poor as not to be able to pay for their victuals and lodging.*

In the midst of all this opposition from the queen and her commissioners, the Puritans gained ground; and though the press was restrained, they galled their adversaries with pamphlets, which were privately dispersed both in the city and the country. The scholars at Cambridge were also in general in favour of the Puritans, though the masters and the heads of houses were against them, so that many were deprived of their fellowships, and expelled the university.

Great numbers of the people being now excluded from the

* Neal, l. p. 257. (P.) See Clarke's *Persecutions*, pp. 367—374.

churches, which they could not attend without receiving more offence than benefit, came to a resolution, though with much reluctance, to separate from the church, lay aside the English liturgy, and use the Geneva service book.* This was in A. D. 1566, and was the æra of the schism. For this purpose a presbytery was erected at Wandsworth, a village five miles from London; and this was the first Presbyterian church in England.†

While the pious and learned Puritans were excluded from all the livings, many of the clergy were disguised Papists, who even exhorted their hearers in private against the *new religion*, as they called the Protestant. In Yorkshire they went openly to mass, and were so numerous, that the Protestants stood in awe of them. In London there was a great resort to the Portuguese ambassador's chapel; and when the sheriff, by order of the bishop of London, sent their officers to take some of them into custody, the queen was displeased, and ordered them to be released.

All this time the governors of the church expressed no concern for the suppression of vice, or the encouragement of virtue. There were no citations for immorality; but they were every day shutting the mouths of the most pious, useful, and industrious preachers in the nation.

The queen being incensed against the Puritans for their applications to parliament, reprimanded the bishops for not suppressing them, and was resolved to turn all the power of the crown that way. Accordingly, the treasurer made a long speech before the commissioners of the *Star Chamber*, in which, by the queen's order, he charged the bishops with neglect, in not enforcing her proclamations. He said the queen could not satisfy her conscience without crushing the Puritans, and that she insisted on absolute obedience to her orders, because the safety of her government depended upon it. She openly said that she hated the Puritans more than she did the Papists, whom partly from inclination, and partly from fear, she was desirous of conciliating.

Into the livings of the deprived ministers several foreigners were introduced, though they could hardly read so as to be understood; and instead of having two sermons every Lord's day, there was sometimes only one in a quarter of a year, and often not that. The parishioners signed petitions to the bishops for their former preachers, but it was to no

* "Calvin's Common Prayer Book." See *Phoenix*, II. pp. 204—259.

† *Neal*, I. p. 266. (*P.*)

purpose. They must swear and subscribe, or be buried in silence.

The people farther shewed their affection to the Puritans by visiting them in prison, and several of the aldermen and wealthy citizens assisted them, and engaged others to join them in it.

In A. D. 1571, many of the more serious of the conforming clergy had meetings for their mutual edification, and called their exercises *prophesying*; and in A. D. 1574, there were some in the dioceses of York, Chester, Durham, and Ely, the bishop of London and other bishops encouraging them; but the queen said they were no better than seminaries of Puritanism, that the more averse the people were to Popery, the more danger they were in of Nonconformity; that these exercises tended to popularity, and made the people so inquisitive that they would not submit to the orders of their superiors, as they ought. She therefore gave the archbishop orders to put down these meetings for prophesying, and this was in time effected.

Also some well-disposed persons of the laity in Cambridgeshire and Essex used to meet together on holydays to read the Scriptures, and confirm one another in Christian faith and practice; but as soon as the commissioners were informed of these meetings, the ministers of the parishes were sent for, and ordered to suppress them.

In A. D. 1575, archbishop Parker, the great enemy of the Puritans, died. He was not distinguished for any thing but his zeal in the service of the queen, not by his diligent preaching, or pious example. He was succeeded by Grindal, the archbishop of York, a divine of moderate principles, a friend to preaching and the prophesyings, and no farther a persecutor of the Puritans than he was compelled to be.

This archbishop writing to the queen, though with all possible respect and deference, in favour of preaching and the prophesyings, she was so much provoked, that by an order of the *Star Chamber* he was confined to his house, and suspended from his functions six months. She said it was good for the church to have but few preachers, three or four in a county being sufficient.

In consequence of these measures, the scarcity of preachers was very great. In the large town of Northampton there was not one, though the people of the town applied to the bishop of the diocese for one. In the county of Cornwall, though there were a hundred clergy, not one of them was capable of preaching a sermon, and most of them were

pluralists and non-residents. Even the city of London was poorly provided for. In a petition from the people of Cornwall they say, that, having about one hundred and sixty churches, the greater part of them were supplied by men addicted to the grossest sins, some fornicators, some adulterers, some felons, bearing on their hands the marks of their offences, some drunkards, gamesters on the Lord's day, &c.

In this state of things many of the nonconforming ministers supplied the defects of the regular clergy, under the character of curates and lecturers, and by their diligence and serious preaching gained the hearts of the people. They visited the parishioners, and instructed their children, discharging in all respects the duties of pastors. This they did at the same time that they attended their own private meetings.

While the bishops were driving the Puritans out of the pulpits, the nobility and gentry received many of them into their houses as chaplains, and tutors to their children. They also preached in these families, as well as catechised the children, and this had a considerable effect in the next generation.

When about this time the parliament petitioned for the relief of the Puritans, they were intimidated by the queen's violent opposition and reproofs; and instead of easing them, she was more urgent in enforcing the execution of the laws against them than ever.

Some of the Puritans, being exceedingly exasperated, published satirical pamphlets against their adversaries, especially one entitled *Martin Marprelate*; but the queen procured an act of parliament, enacting that the authors of them should suffer death, as well as the loss of their goods, as in the case of felony, which was to be in force during the life of the queen; and several actually suffered death in consequence of it. The same parliament passed an act obliging all persons not attending the service of the church, to forfeit twenty pounds per month, and be imprisoned till it was paid.

Archbishop Grindal dying in A. D. 1583, was succeeded by Whitgift, bishop of Winchester, who had distinguished himself in the controversy with the Puritans; and the very first week in which he was in power, he forbade all preaching, catechising and praying in any private family in which any strangers were present; that none should preach or catechise in public, unless he would read the whole service, and in

the prescribed habits. Insisting in his primary visitation on this strict conformity in all preachers, one hundred and thirty-three ministers were suspended in the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Sussex, Essex, Kent, and Lincolnshire, besides great numbers in London and other places. This archbishop had kept his preferments through all the reign of queen Mary, and had no mercy for any whose consciences were not as pliable as his own.

Not satisfied with the power he already had, this violent archbishop applied for a new commission, in order to proceed with still more rigour against the Puritans, and the queen was sufficiently disposed to gratify him. Accordingly, she granted it in A. D. 1583, which was the twenty-sixth year of her reign. This court of *high commission* had more power than the ordinary courts of the bishops, but the legality of it was much doubted. By this, the commissioners were invested with all the power in ecclesiastical matters of which Henry VIII. had been possessed, and they soon went beyond the power that had ever been exercised before: for they were directed to inquire into all misdemeanours, not only by means of witnesses, but "by all other ways and means that they could devise;" which was giving them the full power of a popish inquisition, and authorized them to employ even torture.

In pursuance of this, any person suspected of Nonconformity was imprisoned seven weeks before he was brought to trial. He was then required to answer upon oath to any questions that were put to him, so that he was required to accuse himself or his friends, and he had no previous information of the questions that would be put to him. If they could not convict him on his confession, they had recourse to witnesses; but they never acquitted him on his own oath. Sometimes persons were obliged to attend a long time at this court, and sometimes they were condemned without any trial at all.

Mr. John Gardiner,* the deprived minister of Malden in Essex, was in prison seven years on a false accusation. He was sick, and had a wife and five children, besides one that was drowned while his wife was attending on him. He only begged to be bailed, and said in his petition that if he was found guilty of any breach of the law, he desired no favour.

* Here I apprehend is a *misnomer*, and that this persecuted minister was *George Giffard*, mentioned by Strype, Anno 1584, as "minister at Malden," and there cruelly harassed. *Life of Aylmer*, 1701, pp. 109—112.

The lord treasurer Burleigh, writing to the archbishop on this occasion, said that, in his judgment, this mode of proceeding savoured too much of the Romish Inquisition; that it was a device rather to seek for offenders than to reform any. But this letter, though written in favour of a friend of the treasurer, was far from softening the archbishop. When the lords of the council wrote to him in favour of the deprived ministers, representing the deplorable state of the country in consequence of the want of preachers, it had no more effect than the letter of the treasurer: and when the house of commons again applied to the queen on the subject, she reprimanded them with great haughtiness, as encroaching on her prerogative.

As the cause of the Nonconformists was particularly promoted by their writings, the archbishop procured an order from the high commissioners to prohibit all printing presses in private places, or any where, except in London with his licence, and in the two universities. Some of the Puritans, however, procured one, and removed it from place to place, till it was at last discovered at Manchester, when all that were concerned in it were fined, and some put to death.*

All nonsubscribing divines were prohibited from teaching, not only grammar, but even reading and writing; for which all schoolmasters were required to take out licences from year to year.

In the parliament that met in A. D. 1586, the Puritans made another attempt to obtain some relief. In their petition at this time they said that the beneficed ministers were far from being duly qualified to discharge the duties of their office; that the bishops ordained priests of the meanest of the people, as shoemakers, barbers, tailors, water-carriers, shepherds, and horse-keepers. To justify this account they produced a survey of several counties that were the best served, which abundantly verified their assertions. But when some bold speeches were made on this occasion, the speakers were sent to the tower, and the other members of the house were so intimidated, that they would not suffer the bill that was prepared for a redress of the evil, to be read. The queen was so much offended, that in an act for a general pardon which was passed at this time, she ordered an exception to be made of all such as had committed any offence against the act of Uniformity, or that had published seditious books or pamphlets. At the same time the archbishop gave leave

* Neal, I. p. 443. (P.)

for the introduction and sale of popish books from abroad; saying, that by this means the arguments of the Papists being better known, they might be more easily confuted, as if this reason would not have applied to the publications of the Puritans.

Among those who were sentenced to die for the publication of seditious books, was the Rev. Mr. Udal, whose case deserves a particular mention. He was first sent to the Gatehouse, and confined without pen, ink, or paper, and without any person being allowed to speak to him. Here he remained half a year in company with traitors and other criminals. He was then carried to the assizes at Croydon with fetters on his legs. There he was grossly insulted by the judges, and the witnesses against him were not produced in the court, but only their examinations; so that he had no opportunity of asking them any questions in order to refute their evidence. He denied writing the book with which he was charged; and though he said he approved the sentiments of it, he did not like the manner in which it was written. He was, however, convicted at the summer assizes in A. D. 1590, and received sentence of death at the lent assizes following. At the request of king James, then of Scotland, he had leave to go as chaplain to the Turkey merchants; but their ships sailing without him, he remained in prison heart broken with grief, and died there in A. D. 1592. Mr. Fuller says he was a learned man, of blameless life, and an excellent preacher.*

King James, then a zealous Presbyterian, interceded also for Mr. Cartwright, the most distinguished of the learned Puritans, on account, as he said, of his great learning, and faithful labours in the gospel. He himself alleged as a plea for his relief, his sufferings from the gout and the sciatica, which were aggravated by lying in a cold prison. At length, after lying in prison two years, and after many other respectable applications in his favour, he was released on his promise of peaceable behaviour.

John Penry, a Welsh divine, suffered death for papers that were found upon him, though written in a foreign country and not published, which was a thing that had never been known before.

In an act passed in A. D. 1592, the attendance on the established worship was enforced by the penalty of perpetual banishment; and if the persons so banished either

* Neal, l. p. 454. (P.) *State Trials*, Fol. 1. Col. 167—187.

did not leave the country within the time limited, or returned without licence, they were to suffer death without benefit of clergy, which made their case worse than that of common felons. This statute was levelled against the laity as well as the clergy; and the rigorous execution of it in this reign and the following, the historian says, brought infinite mischiefs upon the kingdom, many families being driven into banishment, while some were put to death as in cases of treason, and others as the authors of seditious pamphlets. On this statute Mr. Smith and others were committed to prison, without being allowed the usual liberties of it, and there, the historian says, they died like rotten sheep, some, of the diseases of the prison, and others of want. They complained that they were not allowed meat, drink, fire or bedding, and that no friend was allowed access to them. In a petition to the queen they begged to be released from their sufferings, though it were by death.

The Puritan clergy being now put upon a level with common felons, there was hardly an assizes in any county in which one or more ministers did not appear in that disgraceful character, besides being exposed to the insults of a rude multitude. But their behaviour at the gallows, and their solemn declarations of loyalty before their execution, raised a great odium against the bishops, and at length affected even the queen herself; so that from A. D. 1592, she rather chose to banish them by the statute of the thirty-first of her reign. By this means all the gaols were emptied, but within another year the commissioners took care to fill them again.*

Notwithstanding all these efforts of Whitgift, and his successor Bancroft, it appeared that in the beginning of the next reign, the number of nonconforming clergy amounted to one thousand five hundred, and towards the close of the reign they were not much molested, owing to the uncertainty there was with respect to her successor James of Scotland, who was a Presbyterian.

In this reign, viz. A. D. 1588, Bancroft, then the archbishop's chaplain, advanced a doctrine that was quite new, and the occasion of much controversy; and which, being adopted by the clergy in general, removed the Puritans still farther from the established church. He maintained that bishops were an order distinct from that of priests, and had their superiority by divine right; whereas all that had been

* Neal, I. p. 486. (P.)

advanced before was, that their higher rank was by human appointment.

A state of persecution naturally gave a more serious turn to the minds of the Puritans. This was particularly visible in their manner of spending the Sundays, refraining from all diversion on that day, and employing the whole of it in religious exercises. They also kept at the greatest distance from profaneness, and were remarkable for their sobriety and the moral virtues in general. On the other hand, the friends of the court ridiculed their preciseness, and affected to distinguish themselves from them more than they otherwise would have done, by profaneness and licentiousness of every kind. If in any respect persons adopted the strictness of the Puritans, they were reproached by the Conformists and friends of the court with that appellation, and fell under suspicion as favourers of them.

After attending to the history of the Puritans in this reign of Elizabeth, we cannot wonder at their becoming advocates for civil liberty. Oppression made them feel the want of it; whereas the members of the establishment, in consequence of being favoured by the court, became attached to it, and were advocates for the doctrines of passive obedience and nonresistance, as they continued to be in the succeeding reigns. In the early part of the reign of Elizabeth there was no difference between the Puritans and others, on this subject. Nay, they took every opportunity of professing obedience to the queen in all cases in which conscience was not concerned; and perhaps they attended less to things of a civil nature, and were more indifferent about them, in consequence of being more occupied about religion than other persons. But a change in their situation led them to reflect, and change their opinion, when probably nothing else would have done it.

In Scotland, king James appeared to be a zealous Presbyterian. In a speech that he made in the General Assembly at Edinburgh, in A. D. 1590, he said, "As to our neighbour the kirk of England, their service is an ill-said mass in English. They want nothing of the mass but the liftings," meaning the elevation of the host.* But presently after his arrival in England, his usual saying was, *No bishop, no king*; and he proved through the whole of his reign as bitter an enemy to the Puritans as Elizabeth had been.

In his progress to London the Puritans presented a pe-

* Neal, II. p. 2. (P.)

tion, in which they represented that more than a thousand ministers were groaning under the burthen of human rites and ceremonies ; but all they could ever obtain of him was a conference at Hampton Court, in which every thing appeared to have been settled beforehand with the bishops. The king, who was present, behaved in the most partial and indecent manner, insulting the Puritan speakers, while the bishops stood by, spectators of their triumph. At the conclusion of this conference he said, after hearing them, " If this be all that your party has to say, I will make them conform, or I will hurry them out of the land, if not worse ;" and the historian adds he was as good as his word.* Had the bishops of that time been men of moderation, and the king been possessed of the *wisdom* with which he was complimented, the Puritans might have been easily satisfied, but the opportunity was lost, and never returned. It is evident, however, that Divine Providence had something greater and better in view, by the continuance of the persecution, grievous as it was, than the successful termination of that conference. James and the Stuarts were but the *Pharaoh* in the business, and the Puritans were not then sufficiently disciplined. They had much to learn, especially with respect to toleration, which nothing but their sufferings could effectually teach.

Before the meeting of parliament the king issued two proclamations, one commanding all Jesuits, and popish priests in orders, to depart the kingdom, but expressing that this was not from any hatred he had to their religion, but solely for their maintaining the Pope's temporal power over princes. The other was directed against the Puritans, ordering them to conform, or suffer the extremity of the law. They were, he said, a sect insufferable in any well-governed commonwealth.

In A. D. 1603, the book of canons prepared by archbishop Bancroft, who had succeeded Whitgift, was confirmed by the convocation, and in consequence of it the Puritans were exposed to new hardships. Besides suspensions, and deprivations of their livings, they were subject, in many cases, to excommunication, by which they were rendered incapable of suing for their lawful debts ; they might be imprisoned for life if they did not give satisfaction to the church ; and when they died, they were denied Christian burial. By this engine more than three hundred ministers were thus silenced

* See " Dr. Barlow's Account of the Conference." *Phoenix*, I. pp. 139—180. (P.)

and deprived, some were excommunicated and cast into prison, and others went into banishment.

To support the bishops in these measures, the king summoned the twelve judges, and proposed to them several questions; and in answer to one of them, they said, that the presenting of petitions signed by many hands (which the Puritans had done), with an intimation that if their suit was denied many thousands of his subjects would be discontented, was an offence punishable at discretion, as it tended to excite sedition and rebellion.

After this the archbishop proceeded with more violence than ever; and all the clergy being summoned to Lambeth, in order to subscribe over again, many of them absconded, and such numbers refused, that the churches were in danger of being deprived of ministers; which alarmed the court, as they had been told that the Nonconformists were an considerable body of men. In consequence of this they were under a necessity of relaxing their rigour for the present, contenting themselves with the promises of some to conform in part, and to bear with others, who, though they refused to comply altogether, allowed that the things were lawful in themselves. It was hoped that in time the universities would supply the churches with stricter Conformists, as none were admitted into orders without an absolute and full subscription to all the articles and canons.

But those who absolutely separated from the church were treated with peculiar rigour. Mr. Maunsel, a Nonconformist minister living at Yarmouth, and Mr. Lad, a merchant of that place, were imprisoned by the *high commission*, because on a Lord's day they had met to repeat the sermon which they had heard at the church; and a lawyer, who only pleaded for them, was so far from serving them that he was himself closely confined, and never obtained his release till the day of his death.*

In this state of things great numbers left the kingdom and went to the Low Countries; and several of the ministers became chaplains to the regiments in the cautionary towns. A great number of these emigrants were Brownists,†

* *Neal*, II. p. 42. (P.)

† Robert Brown was a clergyman who first distinguished himself by inveighing against the ceremonies and discipline of the church, at Norwich, for which he was committed to the custody of the sheriff in A. D. 1580. He boasted that he had been in thirty-two prisons, in some of which he could not see his hand at noon-day. *Neal*, I. p. 59. At length he and his friends went to Middleburg, in Holland, but disagreeing among themselves, Mr. Brown returned to England, and conformed to the established church. Fuller says that, to his personal knowledge,

and among them was John Robinson, who formed a congregation of them at Leyden, and was considered as the father of the Independents. They maintained that the Church of England was no true church of Christ, but a limb of Antichrist, or at the best a mere creature of the state.*

In A. D. 1605, was the *Gunpowder Plot*, which, though planned by the Papists, was intended to be charged upon the Puritans; and in a speech which the king delivered on that occasion, after clearing the Catholic religion from encouraging such murderous practices, he said, "the cruelty of the Puritans was worthy of fire, as they would not allow salvation to any Papists." Also in an apology which he addressed to all Christian princes, he said that he had granted free liberty of religion to all the Catholics; that he had delivered all the Jesuits and Papists in a general gaol delivery, and had given strict orders to his judges not to put the laws against them in execution for the future. On occasion of the same plot, the parliament made a law obliging all persons to go to church, under the penalty of twelve-pence for every Sunday on which they were absent.

The court being alarmed at the great numbers that left the country to go to Virginia at this time, the archbishop procured a proclamation to prohibit the emigration, without the king's special licence: and as many persons had retired to the island of Jersey, where they had been allowed to adopt the discipline of the French Protestants, measures were now taken to reduce them to a conformity with the Church of England.

The king having shewn so much favour to the clergy, they in return became zealous champions for his prerogative. One Cowel, vicar-general to the archbishop, published a book in which he maintained that the king was not bound by the laws, or by his coronation oath; that he was not obliged to call parliaments in order to make laws, but might do it of himself; and that it was a favour to admit the consent of the subject in giving subsidies. Another clergyman

he lived a dissolute life, far from the strictness to which his followers pretended. At length, quarrelling with the constable of his parish, he struck this officer, and for this he was committed to Northampton gaol, where he fell sick and died in the eighty-first year of his age. *Neal*, I. p. 61. (*P.*) See *Biog. Brit.* pp. 615—621.

* Among those who fled from this persecution of Bancroft, was Henry Jacob. Having conferred with Mr. Robinson, he embraced his sentiments, and after his return he became the first Independent minister in England. *Ibid.* II. p. 101. In July, A. D. 1620, part of Mr. Robinson's congregation went to New England, and at length formed a settlement at New Plymouth. (*P.*) See *Neal's Hist. of New England*, Ch. iii. Ed. 2, I. pp. 83—95; especially Mr. Robinson's *Exhortation*, p. 84.

maintained that the English nation were slaves, from the Norman conquest. The parliament, however, did not adopt these slavish maxims: but one of the members having made a bold speech in the house, the king summoned both the houses to meet him at Whitehall, when he told them that it was sedition in the subject to dispute what a king might do in the height of his power. But their spirit rising upon this, and representing many grievances, the king dissolved them without passing any act that session. This was in A. D. 1610.

Towards the latter part of this king's reign, from having been a zealous Calvinist, he became a favourer of the Arminians: and they having his support, became advocates for his prerogative, while those who adhered to the old doctrines were called *church Puritans*, and others who were no friends to the prerogative were called *state Puritans*.*

The king having dismissed his last parliament, gratified the Spaniards, with whom he was in treaty for the marriage of his son, by releasing the Jesuits and popish Recusants, to the number it is said of four thousand. All prosecutions against them were stayed, and the penal laws suspended, on which great numbers of Jesuits and other missionaries flocked to England, and mass was openly celebrated. At the same time the court bore hard upon the Puritans; and to distress them the more, the king sent directions to the archbishop, to be communicated to all the clergy of his province, forbidding any minister to preach on any subject not comprehended in the thirty-nine articles, but to forbear entering on the doctrine of predestination, and those connected with it; that no preacher should presume to set bounds to the prerogative, or meddle with matters of state, &c. It was ordered that all offenders should be suspended a year and a day, till his majesty should direct some farther punishment.

Upon this, great numbers went to America, and many Papists came over, and met with every encouragement.†

* Neal, II. p. 122. *P.*

† This they had great reason to expect, as appears from the following passages in *Richelieu's Letters* to M. De Herveaux, the French minister at Rome: "St. Germain, Aug. 22, 1624. I pass to the dispensation for the match with England, and must tell you the king is extremely surprised at some reports that come from Rome, that the Pope will not allow it upon lower terms than he granted that with Spain. 'Tis enough, as I conceive, for the obtaining it, that the king shall procure such articles as are necessary for the salvation of the princess and all her family, and that there be room to hope that the Catholics of England will be gainers by the marriage: now the affair is not only in this condition, but we have procured more advantageous terms." See "Letters of the Cardinal Duke De Richelieu, translated by T. B." 1697, I. pp. 2, 3.

"Paris, Nov. 26, 1624. You'll find the articles of the marriage with England

But though in consequence of this, there was an increase of Popery in the kingdom, there was more than a proportionable increase of Puritanism, while the friends of the hierarchy sunk into contempt. It is said that, upon the whole, the Puritan party was more in number than both the other parties put together.*

The death of king James in A. D. 1625, brought no relief to the Puritans,† his successor Charles I., governed by Laud, then bishop of St. David's, and the queen, who was a zealous Catholic, being, if possible, more their enemy than he; considering them, as Lord Clarendon says, as a very seditious and dangerous set of people. Accordingly, all the laws against them were rigorously enforced, while every indulgence was given to the Catholics; and these being advocates for arbitrary power, the Puritans were the only bulwark of the constitution. The parliament, expressing their zeal against Arminianism and Popery, were dissolved;‡ and through his whole reign this prince governed as much as he possibly could, without them.

The object of Laud was to govern the church in the same arbitrary manner as the king did the state, and to unite the churches of England and Rome; and in this he made considerable progress, by introducing a variety of popish ceremonies, especially in the consecration of churches, and by changing the communion table into an altar.§

To promote the views of Laud, the king by his proclamation silenced all preaching by ministers who were not strict Conformists; and till this time the lecturers were chiefly

are all agreed upon, so that nothing is wanting now to put an end to this affair, but a dispensation from his holiness, who, without doubt, will most readily grant it, since the conditions are so advantageous to religion. So soon as it is dispatched, which I hope will be done with all convenient speed, *Madan* will set forward for *Great Britain*, where she is impatiently expected, as we are informed by the ambassadors of *England*. Their majesties are extremely well pleased with this alliance, and you will readily own that it is not without good reason." *Letters*, pp. 6, 7.

* Neal, II. p. 140. (P.)

† An episcopalian royalist thus describes a *Puritan*: "The essential definition of him is a *Protestant Nonconformist*. A *Protestant* is his *genus*, a *Nonconformist* his *differentia*. The *species* are numbered. 1. The *Perfectionist*. 2. The factious *Sermonist*. 3. The *Separatist*. 4. The *Anabaptist*. 5. The *Brownist*. 6. *Love's Familist*. 7. The *Precisian*. 8. The *Sabbatarian*. 9. The *Antidisciplinarian*. 10. The presuming *Predestinist*." See "A Compleat History of the Life and Reign of King Charles from his Cradle to his Grave, by William Sanderson, Esq." 1658, p. 149. He says of the *Anabaptist*, "His pureness is, a supposed birth without original sin." *Ibid.* p. 150.

‡ *Rushworth*, 8vo. 1703, I. p. 123. *Parl. Hist.* VI. p. 403.

§ See the *Charges* against *Laud* "the fifth day, March 22, 1643." *State Trials*, 1776, I. col. 860, 861. *Abridgment*, 1720, Pt. i. pp. 384—387.

Puritans, who preached in the afternoon, and having no cure of souls, had not been under any obligation to conform; but Laud said that "by their prayers and sermons they awakened the people to disaffection."

This measure brought more business than ever into the spiritual courts, every week some Puritan ministers being suspended or deprived, and their families reduced to distress. In consequence of this, a farther emigration to New England was projected, and in March A. D. 1629, it took place, and a settlement was made at Salem. The summer following, these emigrants were joined by others: and this was done every year of Laud's administration, which drained England of so much money, that it was thought that if those measures had continued twelve years longer, a fourth part of the wealth of the nation would have been carried out of it.*

* Among the more eminent of the divines who went to New England, was John Elliot, who was called the apostle of the Indians, whom he spent a long life in converting. With indefatigable labour he translated the Bible into their language. In A. D. 1634, John Cotton went to New England; and in A. D. 1635, Richard Mather, the grandfather of Cotton Mather, who wrote the History of New England. At the end of A. D. 1636, so many had gone to New England, that they extended their settlements into various parts of the country, especially the south westerly parts of Connecticut, and built New Haven. *Neal*, II. p. 314. *P.* See *supra*, p. 310, Note §; *Neal's New England*, Ch. iv. I. pp. 140—172; *Prince's Annals*, Boston, N. E. 1736, pp. 178—212, 240—250. *Neal* mentions "Mr. Blackston, an episcopal minister," who, according to Dr. Mather, "would never join himself to any of the New England churches, giving this reason for it, that, as he came from England because he did not like the Lord Bishops, so he could not join with them because he would not be under the Lord Brethren." *New England*, I. p. 151.

Among these emigrants was Roger Williams, who arrived at Nantasket Feb. 5, 1631, being then, according to his own account, in his 32d year. Of his birth-place, his family, or his education, no account seems to have been preserved. He was probably a member of one of the universities, then the only academical institutions, and was "for some years employed in the ministry in England," and "of good account there for a godly and zealous preacher." He appears to have attained in very early life a serious character; or as he expresses it, "his soul was renewed by divine grace when he was not more than ten or twelve years old." Among his associates in the mother country, were Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooper, who became eminent preachers in New England.

Mr. Williams, "immediately after his arrival, was called by the church of Salem" to be one of their ministers; but the governor and council of Massachusetts annulled the appointment. Mr. W. had "refused to join with the church of Boston, because they would not make a public declaration of their repentance for holding communion with the Church of England while they lived there." This was one of their objections to him; but the other was probably the most weighty, "because he declared it as his opinion, that the civil magistrate might not punish any breach of the first table." A denial of the magistrate's right to a controul over religion, for the present they forbore to punish, and Mr. W. was invited to be minister to a congregation at Plymouth. Here he preached between two and three years, till finding a difference of sentiment between himself and the leading members of his congregation, he "requested a dismission to Salem," whither he was again invited. He had now embraced the opinion of the *Baptists*, and appears to have been, in the New World, the first public opposer of a *rite* which cannot claim the authority of scriptural precept or example; though, like *transubstantiation*, it cau.

The particulars of Laud's cruelties are far too numerous to be recited in this general history; but the case of Alexander Leighton, a Scotch divine, and the father of bishop Leighton, must not be passed over in silence. Having written [1629] a book entitled *Zion's Plea against Prelacy*, in which he called that mode of church government, anti-christian, and declaimed against the canons and ceremonies, he was sentenced to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds, to be put into the pillory, then whipped, then set in the pillory again, when one of his ears was to be cut off, one side of his nose slit, and branded in the face with S. S. as a sower of

boast of many conscientious adherents; and of much talent and learning engaged in its defence. Mr. Williams, during a long and eventful life, founded *Rhode Island*, conciliated the Indians, whom too many of his-fellow emigrants oppressed, and more than once visited in England his friend and correspondent, Sir Henry Vane. He died in 1683, in his 84th year. His notions of church communion appear to have been very rigid; and have been deemed, perhaps not unjustly, uncharitable. Yet he gave in 1654, a clearer illustration of *religious liberty as a civil right*, than had probably ever appeared in the English language, if indeed in any other, since men in power began as *God, to sit in the temple of God*, and to incur an awful responsibility, by controuling other men's religion. Having been accused of teaching that it was "against the rule of the gospel to execute judgment upon transgressors against the private or public weal," he says, "to prevent such mistakes I propose this case:

"There goes many a ship to sea, with many hundred souls in one ship, whose weal and woe is common, and is a true picture of a common-wealth, or an human combination or society. It hath fallen out sometimes that both Papists and Protestants, Jews and Turks, may be embarked into one ship. Upon which supposal, I affirm that all the liberty of conscience that ever I pleaded for, turns upon these two hinges, that none of the Papists, Protestants, Jews or Turks, be forced to come to the ship's prayers or worship, nor compelled from their own particular prayers or worship, if they practise any. I further add, that I never denied, that notwithstanding this liberty, the commander of this ship ought to command the ship's course; yea, and also command that justice, peace and sobriety be kept and practised, both among the seamen and all the passengers.

"If any of the seamen refuse to perform their service, or passengers to pay their freight; if any refuse to help in person or purse, towards the common charges or defence; if any refuse to obey the common laws and orders of the ship, concerning their common peace or preservation; if any shall mutiny and rise up against their commanders and officers; if any should preach or write, that there ought to be no commanders nor officers, because all are equal in Christ, therefore no masters nor officers, no laws nor orders, no corrections nor punishments; I say, I never denied but in such cases, whatever is pretended, the commander or commanders may judge, resist, compel and punish such transgressors, according to their deserts and merits." See "History of the Baptists in New England, by Isaac Backus," *Boston*, 1777, l. pp. 297, 298. Many interesting passages respecting Williams and Vane are interspersed through the volume.

There will soon probably be known more of this enlightened legislator, from papers collected by the late Mr. Richards of Lynn, which the Rev. John Evans proposes to annex to a biographical memoir of his friend. Wood has thus introduced *Roger Williams* at the end of his account of a "valiant Colonel" of both names, who died in 1595. "I find another *Roger Williams*, later in time, an inhabitant of Providence in New England, and Author of *A Key to the Language of New England*. Lond. 1643. 2. *The Hiveling Ministry none of Christ's; or a Discourse of the Propagation of the Gospel of Christ Jesus*. Lond. 1652. But of what University the said *Williams* was, or if of any I know not, or whether a real fanatic or Jesuit." *Athen. Ozon.* 1691, l. col. 246. *Roger Williams* is quoted on the language of "the natives of New England," in *Harris's Voyages*, 1705, l. p. xi.

sedition. After a few days he was to stand in the pillory again, to be whipped a second time, have the other side of his nose slit, and his other ear cut off, and after all this, to be imprisoned for life. This barbarous sentence was rigorously executed, and he was kept in close confinement ten years, when he was released by the long parliament.*

In A. D. 1633, on the death of Abbot, who succeeded Whitgift, and who was a man of moderate principles, Laud, from being bishop of London, was made archbishop of Canterbury; and now, among other methods of opposing the Puritans, he recommended sports on the Lord's day, and procured a proclamation from the king for that purpose, and it was ordered to be read from the pulpit in every parish in the kingdom. But this struck the nation in general with a kind of horror, as, in their opinion, it contradicted the express command of God. But the object of Laud was to distress all who were puritanically inclined, and this it did exceedingly during seven years. Some of the ministers after reading this proclamation, read the fourth commandment; others got it done by curates, and others refused to comply on any terms. The descendants of foreign Protestants that had been allowed to settle in the kingdom, being required to conform, left the country. From the diocese of Norwich three thousand manufacturers, some of whom gave employment to a hundred poor people, removed.

So many left the kingdom at this time, that a proclamation was issued forbidding all persons except soldiers, mariners, merchants, and their factors, to go without the king's licence. Another proclamation was issued April 30, A. D. 1637, forbidding any to go to New England, whither it was

* "Though he escaped out of the *Fleet*, he was got again by the *Warden* in *Bedfordshire*, and these punishments executed upon him to the full purpose." *Sanderson*, p. 144. A zealous royalist, who appears to have possessed my copy of this history, soon after its publication, in 1658, has written, quite characteristically, in the margin, "hanging had been too good for him." He adds, "This punishment of *Leighton the Scott*, was looked upon by his gang but as persecution amongst the primitive Christians; and they had better not have meddled with him at all, for this gained proselytes and encouraged other rogues."

It is impossible to excuse the cruelty of Laud and the *Star Chamber*; but no book written even in that age of intemperate controversy, was more calculated to provoke cruelty than *Zion's Plea against Prelacy*. I may, I think, venture to say this from recollection, having a few years since read the whole of it; yet there were "about five hundred hands set to it by way of approbation." Dr. *Leighton's* case was reported to the Parliament, April 21, 1611. According to *Oldmixon*, "the clerk when the petition was read was ordered to stop, and when he was going on again, the compassion of the house was such, that he was bid to stop again, till they had recovered themselves." See *Parl. Hist.* IX. p. 255; *Oldmixon's* "History of the Stuarts," I. pp. 110, 111; *Pierce's Vindication*, p. 177; *Chandler's* *Introd. to Lambeth*, p. 81; *His Hist. of Persecution*, pp. 367—373. *Benson's Brief Account*, in *Tracts*, pp. 218—225.

said they went to be out of the reach of ecclesiastical authority, and no clergyman could go without a testimonial from the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishop of London. Among others who were prevented from going to New England at this time, it is said, were Oliver Cromwell, John Hampden, and Arthur Hazzlerig, who afterwards made a distinguished figure in the civil wars. They were embarked with others in eighteen ships in the river Thames, ready for sailing, when they were stopped by an order of the privy council.*

A parliament meeting after this, the convocation which met at the same time, continued to sit after the parliament was dissolved, which was contrary to the established custom. Notwithstanding this, being urged by the archbishop, they made seventeen canons, which were generally disliked, and imposed such an oath on the clergy, that Dr. Saunderson, afterwards bishop of Lincoln, told the archbishop that the peace of the church would be more endangered by it than by all that had passed before. The archbishop, however, would have persisted in this measure, if the nobility and gentry, who were at that time with the king at York, had not persuaded him to relax. Presently after this, the king found himself under the necessity of calling a parliament, and to consent that they should not be dissolved without their own consent; and it continued to sit with some interruptions eighteen years. But the events that followed upon it belong more to the civil than the ecclesiastical history of the country, though at this time they were much connected with each other.

This *long parliament*, † as it was called, consisted of members of the established church, and they were far from having any thoughts of overturning either the ecclesiastical or civil constitution: their sole object was, to redress the intrusions that had been made upon both. The chief officers in the army too, were zealous for the Liturgy, and would not hear any minister who had not episcopal ordination. Also, though the parliament enumerated many grievances in the church, they declared for uniformity in religion. ‡

One of the first resolutions of this parliament censured

* See Bates's *Elenchus*, Pt. ii. p. 219. Neal's *New England*, Ch. iv. l. p. 168.

† Which met Nov. 3, 1640. See *Parl. Hist.* IX. p. 1. "An ominous day," says Saunderson, p. 323.

‡ Neal, II. p. 484. (P.) "Nov. 9. It was ordered that, on the next Lord's day, all the members should receive the sacrament. A select committee was appointed to see this punctually obeyed, and to take care that no Papist sit in the house." *Parl. Hist.* IX. p. 74. See also V. p. 278. *Orders*, 1756, p. 211.

the proceedings of the late convocation. They declared that no convocation, or synod, could make constitutions or canons to bind the clergy or laity, without the consent of parliament, and that the last that were made were not binding. They then inquired how far the archbishop was concerned in making those canons, and drew up articles of impeachment against him.

The number of petitions sent up to this parliament is incredible; some complaining of superstitious impositions, and others of the immoral lives of the clergy, and their neglect of duty. The clamour against the high clergy was so great, and so general, that they could hardly walk the streets in their habits without being insulted.

The parliament soon abolished the court of *High Commission*, and that of the *Star Chamber*, by which the spiritual sword was taken out of the hands of the bishops. And the votes of the bishops in parliament being considered as a principal obstruction to the business of reformation, the parliament refused to admit them; and the king, though much against his will, consented to it. Not being able to carry on the war against the king without the aid of the Scots, and perceiving that they would never act heartily with them, without a conformity to their religious system, they passed a bill [1642] for abolishing episcopacy, though they did not at that time agree to any thing farther, intending to resume it, with the correction of abuses, when the troubles should be over. In consequence of this, every minister was at liberty to act as he thought proper in his own cure, with respect to the vestments or the Liturgy. But though there was no regular church discipline, there was a great spirit of devotion in the people, and especially in the parliamentary army, many of the soldiers having entered as volunteers from a principle of conscience, in the defence of their civil and religious liberty; while, in opposition to them, the friends and the army of the king were distinguished by their profaneness and immorality.

To assist in the business of reformation, the parliament appointed an assembly of divines, two for every county, with thirty lay assessors, who had equal votes with them. This was opened in July, A. D. 1643. There were, however, in this assembly some Independents, and some Erastians,* but no Baptists, though their sentiments spread much at that time.

* The Erastians had their name from *Erastus*, a German divine, who maintained that no form of church government was of divine appointment, but left to the

These divines, though in general originally favourers of moderate episcopacy, yet being urged by the Scots to adopt the solemn league and covenant, the more rigid episcopalians left them. All church business went through their hands, and though the parishioners elected their ministers, the assembly examined and approved them, and then the parliament confirmed them in their benefices.

This assembly drew up a *Directory for Public Worship*, which, instead of one prescribed form of prayer, only directed the minister what topics to enlarge upon. They also afterwards drew up *Articles of Faith*, and composed *Two Catechisms*, a larger and a less; the former to be lectured from in the pulpit, and the latter for the instruction of children.* They sat five years and six months, when they were changed into a committee for the examination of ministers, and broke up when the long parliament was dissolved by Oliver Cromwell, March 25, A. D. 1652.

The civil war was in a great measure a war of religion. The king would never sincerely consent to abolish episcopacy, on which the Scots and the parliament insisted, and both were equally against any toleration; which the Independents and the army, which, in the later periods of the war consisted in a great measure of them and other sectaries, demanded. By an ordinance of parliament, May 21, A. D. 1648, heresy was made punishable as felony, without benefit of clergy.† The army not prevailing with the parliament to grant them a toleration, and having the power in their own hands, thought themselves justified in exercising it by new modelling, and finally dissolving the parliament. After this, they procured the king to be condemned and executed, and governed the nation under different forms till the Restoration.

Presently after the death of the king, the parliament repealed all penal acts relating to religion, and nothing was required of any minister but to promise that he would be "faithful to the government established, without a king or house of peers." This was called the *engagement*, and in consequence of this, many of the episcopal divines complied with the government, and used the Liturgy.

discretion of Christian magistrates; that all Christian ordinances, as the Lord's supper, should be open to all persons without distinction; that all excommunication was therefore unlawful, and that all punishment should be left to the civil magistrate. (P.)

* The whole is still in force in the Established Church of Scotland.

† Neal, II. p. 458. P.) Chandler's *Persecution*, p. 381.

Under the Protector, free liberty was given to the professors of any form of the Christian religion, if they did not disturb the public peace; but the Presbyterian worship was kept up. Popery, however, and prelacy, were prohibited.* Thirty divines were appointed to examine all candidates for the ministry, and of them the majority were Presbyterians, some were Independents, and three were Baptists. Eight laymen were associated with them. On the restoration of the long parliament, the Presbyterians recovered all the power they had lost, and they were in possession of all the livings in England.†

When Charles II. was in exile at Breda, he promised a deputation of Presbyterians, who waited upon him there, that no person in his reign should be molested on account of his religion, while he did not disturb the peace, and upon his return he published a *declaration* conformable to it. But the parliament, which consisted chiefly of royalists, did not confirm it, one of the secretaries of state opposing it, which sufficiently shewed which way the king was inclined; and the bishops and the court, finding that they could do it safely, restored every thing to its former standard; and then the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance were preached as much as ever.

An act was presently passed to restore all the secluded ministers, though they had been deprived for incapacity or immorality; by which means some hundreds were turned out of their livings, while the popish clergy appeared every where with impunity, in defiance of the laws against them.

On the pretence of an alarm of an insurrection, an act was passed requiring all mayors, and other officers of corporations, to declare that they believed it to be unlawful to take up arms against the king upon any pretence whatsoever, and to renounce the solemn league and covenant. It likewise ordered, that no person should be hereafter elected to such an office, who had not taken the Lord's supper according to the rites of the Church of England, a year before. Thus all the Nonconformists were turned out of every office of magistracy.

In some measure to fulfil his promise, the king appointed a conference at the Savoy, of some bishops, and some of the Presbyterian divines, to review the Book of Common Prayer: but the bishops would not allow of any of the alterations that were proposed, nor did they pay any regard to any

* See Vol. V. pp. 131, 132, Note 1.

† Neal, II. p. 225. (P.)

intreaties to make some concessions for the sake of peace.* After this, the bishops did of their own accord make some alterations, but none in favour of the Nonconformists. On the contrary, it was made in some respects more exceptionable than it was before, and many ministers were reduced to great distress for not using it, even before it was required by law.

At length an *act of Uniformity* was passed, requiring every minister, professor in a college, and even school-masters, to declare "their unfeigned consent to every thing contained in the Book of Common Prayer," before the feast of Bartholomew in A. D. 1662, though it was impossible for many of them to see the new Prayer Book before that time. Every minister was also required to renounce his Presbyterian ordination, and to be reordained by a bishop, besides renouncing the solemn league and covenant, and the lawfulness of taking up arms against the king on any pretence whatever. No provision was made for those who could not comply with these terms, though both queen Elizabeth and Oliver Cromwell allowed one-fifth of the benefice for the maintenance of the ejected incumbent.

When the fatal day came, about two thousand ministers relinquished their preferments.† Of these some applied to secular employments, as those of the law and medicine, others were received into private families as chaplains, but the greater number must have starved if they had not been relieved by the charity of their friends. Many, however, thinking it to be their duty to exercise their ministry at all risks, preached in the fields and in private houses, till they were apprehended and cast into gaol, where many of them perished. The people were no less divided, and many were fined and imprisoned for attending upon the persecuted preachers, and many left the country and settled in the Plantations.

By an act of parliament called the *Conventicle Act*, passed

* See "An Account of all the Proceedings," printed 1661, p. 130.

† Concerning these ejected ministers Mr. Lindsey writes as follows: "Perhaps the noblest and most extraordinary sacrifice that was made to integrity and religious principles, was that which was exhibited by this class of men, whether we consider the extent of the numbers engaged in it, the purity of their moral characters, or the eminent talents possessed by many of them, with the necessary valuable qualifications of all of them in general for their high and honourable office; when, after the Reformation, and particularly in consequence of the Bartholomew act of Uniformity, little short of two thousand gospel ministers gave up their benefices, which to many of them was all their worldly subsistence, rather than declare their unfeigned assent and consent to the Liturgy and articles of the church, and conform to many things which they disapproved and condemned." (P.)

in A. D. 1663,* it was enacted that not more than five persons besides the members of any family, should meet in any house for the purpose of public worship, not conducted according to the rites of the Church of England, the offenders to be fined and imprisoned, and for the second offence, banished.

In A. D. 1665, it was farther enacted, that any person who refused to take a particular oath, which it was known that no Dissenter could take, was prohibited from settling in any place within five miles of any city or corporated town, or wherever they had officiated as ministers.

On the fall of the earl of Clarendon,† who had been the chief promoter of the persecution, the Nonconformists about London were connived at, and people went openly to their meetings, though the House of Commons petitioned against them. By this time, however, their sufferings had excited much compassion, and the number of Dissenters had greatly increased, especially after the plague and fire in London, when most of the regular clergy deserted their cures, and left the field open to the Dissenters, who preached and discharged every other ministerial duty in the city, at all risks.

After this the king would have agreed to a scheme of the comprehension of some of the Dissenters, and a toleration of the rest, and some persons of influence about the court endeavoured to bring it about; but it was blasted by the court bishops and the friends of lord Clarendon. On this, the persecution was renewed, and the private meetings, which had been connived at, were broken up: and now the Conventicle Act was renewed in April, A. D. 1670, with an additional penalty. The offender was to pay five shillings for the first offence and ten for the second; and the persons who knowingly suffered such conventicles were to forfeit twenty pounds. The oaths of any two witnesses before a justice of peace was sufficient for conviction. Of these fines one-third went to the king, another to the poor, and a third to the informer. Also any house might be broken into in which such meetings were suspected to be held.

Great numbers were prosecuted on this act, many industrious families reduced to poverty, many ministers confined in close prisons, and great sums of money levied. In the diocese of Salisbury, many hundreds were driven from their families and trades, and many of the traders left Lon-

* Repealed 1812, at the instance of Mr. W. Smith.

† In 1667. See *The Proceedings*, printed 1700.

don to go to Holland, till the king put a stop to it. Soldiers broke into the houses of the farmers, on the pretence of searching for conventicles, and where money was wanting, they plundered their goods and drove away their cattle. All this time the Catholics were at their ease, sheltered by the prerogative, and their number increased very much.

With a view to favour the Catholics still more, the king, by his own authority, in A. D. 1671, suspended all the penal laws against them, and the Nonconformists too, though the Catholics were not allowed the public exercise of their religion. The Dissenters were far from approving this dispensing power of the crown, but they were glad to avail themselves of it; and accordingly most of the ministers took out the licences which the declaration required.* Great numbers attended their meetings, and moderate and cautious addresses of thanks were presented to the king for this liberty.

On the alarm excited by the increase of Popery towards the end of this reign, the parliament began to be disposed to make a distinction between the Dissenters and the Papists; and the former entertained some hopes of a legal toleration. But all that was done was the passing an act called the *Test Act* [1673], which required every person bearing an office of trust or power, to receive the Lord's supper according to the usage of the Church of England, as well as to declare their disbelief of the doctrine of *transubstantiation*. Though it was evident that this test would exclude the Dissenters as

* Dr. Lindsay, the present minister of the congregation assembling in Monkwell-street, has obligingly given me access to the *original* licence, granted for their chapel, which, according to a memorandum written by the grandson of Mr. Doolittle, "was the first meeting-place built after the fire of London." The following is an exact copy of the licence, signed by lord Arlington, who was then principal Secretary of State:

"Charles R.

"Charles, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all Mayors, Bailiffs, Constables, and other Our Officers and Ministers, Civil and Military, whom it may concerne, greeting. In pursuance of our Declaration of the 11th of March, 1673, Wee have allowed, and Wee do hereby allow of a certaine roome adjoining the dwelling House of Thomas Doolittle, in Mugwell Street, to bee a place for the use of such as do not conforme to the Church of England, who are of the persuasion commonly called Presbyterian, to meet and assemble in, in order to their public Worship and Devotion. And all and singular our Officers and Ministers, Ecclesiastical, Civil and Military, whom it may concerne, are to take due notice hereof, and they and every of them are hereby strictly charged and required to hinder any tumult or disturbance, and to protect them in their said Meeting and Assemblies. Given att our Court at White-hall, the 2d day of April, in the 24th year of our Reigne. 1672.

"By his Maj^{ties} Command,

"ARLINGTON.

"Meeting-place in Mugwell Street." See *supra*, p. 362, Note †.

well as the Papists; yet, confiding in the favourable disposition of the country, they heartily concurred in the measure. But they were disappointed in their expectation of any favour being shewn them for this. On the contrary, the act was put in force against them from that time to the present, and all the attempts to get it repealed, except in Ireland, have been frustrated by the opposition of the clergy.

The court was exceedingly offended with the Dissenters for not preventing the passing of the Test Act, as it was taken for granted they would have done; and the indulgence being revoked, a whole tribe of informers was let loose against them, and Mr. Baxter and many others suffered grievously in consequence of it. He said he was so weary of keeping his doors shut against persons who came to distrain his goods for preaching, that he was forced to sell them and leave his house. He had been twelve years deprived even of his books: for after paying dear for their carriage during two or three years, he was obliged to sell them.* This was the case of many other learned Dissenters. They were separated from their families and friends, and forced to sell their books and household goods for a subsistence.

These sufferings, however, excited the compassion of many; and the House of Commons, being alarmed at the insolence of the Papists, who challenged the Protestant divines to disputations, and even threatened to assassinate those who preached against their tenets, a bill was brought in for the indulgence of Protestant Dissenters, but the king prorogued the parliament.

In A. D. 1678, the Papists formed a conspiracy to massacre many of the Protestants, and some intended to kill the king, in order to advance the duke of York, and establish the popish religion; and in case of non-success, the whole was to have been thrown upon the Dissenters. But the authors of it were discovered, and confessed the whole scheme. This popish plot having failed, the courtiers attempted to bring odium upon the Dissenters by accusing them of another plot, but this too was happily discovered, as well as others which were contrived to implicate the Dissenters.

The Commons in parliament [1680] made another attempt to relieve the Dissenters, and passed a bill to comprehend them in the establishment. This not succeeding, they

* *Reliq. Baxter*, p. 194. *Calamy*, p. 357.

passed another to repeal many of the penal laws against them; but the more the Commons were disposed to favour them, the more violent were the court and the bishops against them; so that the laws against them were executed with more rigour than ever. In the village of Hackney only, warrants were signed to the amount of fourteen thousand pounds. Two hundred warrants of distress were issued upon private persons and families in the town and neighbourhood of Uxbridge, for frequenting conventicles, and not going to church. The justices of peace in Exeter promised a reward of forty shillings to any person who should apprehend a Nonconformist minister; and this the bishop of the diocese ordered to be published in all the churches.

So grievous was this persecution, that the earl of Castlemain, a Roman Catholic, said it was never known that the Romans had persecuted as the English bishops did, viz. persons who held the same faith with themselves; and that this persecution even exceeded that of queen Mary.

When James II. came to the crown, he promised, though a professed Catholic, to preserve the government as by law established in church and state. This gratified the clergy, and the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance echoed from their pulpits with respect to this popish prince, as much as to the preceding Protestant ones. The parliament also presented an address, requesting him to put the penal laws into execution. On this, the storm which had slackened a little before the death of Charles II., revived; and the king hoping to destroy the Dissenters in the first place, and the clergy afterwards, heartily concurred in the measure. The meeting-houses were then shut up, the business of informers was resumed, and great cruelties ensued. The venerable Mr. Baxter was grossly insulted by judge Jefferies, and imprisoned two years,* when the court changed its measures.

The rebellion of Monmouth furnished an additional handle for the persecution of the Dissenters. But this was so far from intimidating them, that some clergy of considerable eminence, as well as others, joined them at this time. Many fled to New England.

At length the eyes of the clergy began to open. They perceived that the king's intention was to overthrow them, as well as the Dissenters by their means, and some of them

* Calamy's *Baxter*, pp. 368—372.

wrote warmly against Popery. This offending the king, he, to mortify them, published a toleration for all sects of religion, and with the consent of all the twelve judges except one, this *dispensing power* in the crown was decreed to be lawful. On this the meeting-houses were opened again.

The Churchmen seeing themselves to be in danger, now courted the Dissenters, giving them the strongest assurances of a comprehension and toleration in better times. But though the king now courted them, they would not fall into his measures to distress the church; and he seeing their temper said, "they were an ill-natured sort of people, and were not to be gained." We shall hereafter see that no sooner was the danger of the church over, than the clergy forgot all their assurances of good-will to the Dissenters.

Mr. Delaune, in his *Plea for the Nonconformists*, says, that near eight thousand Protestant Dissenters perished in prison in the reign of Charles II., and that within the compass of three years they suffered in their trades, &c. at least two millions. He even questions whether in all the times since the Reformation, including the reign of Mary, such a number of Christians suffered death and loss of their substance, for religion. Mr. Jeremiah White, who collected a list of dissenting sufferers, had the names of sixty thousand who had suffered on a religious account between the Restoration and the Revolution, of whom five thousand died in prison.* Mr. Neal supposes that their losses could not, on a moderate computation, amount to less than twelve or fourteen millions. And yet this account does not include the sufferers in the reign of Elizabeth, or those of James I. and Charles I. Notwithstanding this, the number of Dissenters was not lessened; so true is the observation, that "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church."

The Dissenters, however, had the less reason to complain of the hardships to which they were exposed, as they still retained principles that would have led them to persecute others. When it was proposed by the king at a conference held at the Savoy, immediately after the Restoration, that all persons who did not disturb the public peace should have liberty to meet for public worship, Mr. Baxter, who was aware that this was intended to favour the Catholics, ob-

* Calamy says, "When James II. gave the Dissenters liberty, Mr. White was importuned to print this account. Some agents of James made him considerable offers [*Oldmixon* says one thousand guineas] if he would publish it; but he was not to be prevailed with, for fear of strengthening the Popish interest." *Continuation*, p. 85. *Hist. of Stuarts*, p. 715.

served, that there ought to be a distinction between the *tolerable* and the *intolerable*, including in the latter description the Catholics and the Socinians, for whom he said they did not desire any toleration.*

In all these reigns, the *Baptists*, of whom little is said in the history of England before the time of Edward VI., when Joan Bocher was put to death, but who were pretty numerous in the reign of queen Elizabeth, suffered more than those of any other denomination of Dissenters. Several of them were put to death in her reign, and many suffered grievously other ways; and before her death they were all, both natives and foreigners, banished the kingdom under the penalty of imprisonment and confiscation of their property; when many of them fled to Holland. Though no persons could behave more peaceably, and their ministers were in general men of eminent piety, and some of them learned, they were peculiarly obnoxious to the Presbyterians, as well as to the Episcopalians, and were never spared by either of them when they were in power.

SECTION XIII.

Of the Quakers.

IN times of public calamity, the thoughts of many persons are turned to religion, and of these some may be expected to be of an enthusiastic turn of mind, imagining themselves to be inspired, and acting as under a divine impulse. Such was the origin of the *Quakers*, in the time of the civil wars. The first of them, whose name is known, was George Fox, a shoemaker in the North of England.† He and his companions thought themselves to be inspired in the same manner as the apostles were, and consequently sufficiently authorized to reform all abuses in the church. Hence they went about declaiming against all the modes of worship then in use, especially Episcopacy, frequently disturbing congregations during divine service, particularly inveighing against the ministers, as hirelings; whereas they, like the apostles, took nothing for their labours. Giving this disturbance to the public peace, they exposed themselves to great sufferings, which they bore with the greatest fortitude.

A female Quaker, in imitation of some of the ancient prophets, went into the house of parliament in the time of

* See *supra*, p. 362, Note †.

† See his Life, abridged from *Croesius*, in the *Christian Reformer*, IV. An. 1818.

Cromwell, with a trencher in her hand, and breaking it, said of him, "Thus shall he be broken in pieces." Another of them, Thomas Adams, complaining to the Protector of the imprisonment of some of his friends, and finding no redress, took off his cap, and tore it in pieces before him, saying, "So shall the government be torn from thee and thy house."

Others were guilty of great indecencies approaching to insanity, and from the violent agitation with which they conducted themselves at their public worship, they got the appellation of *Quakers*; but the only name by which they designated one another was that of *Friends*.

Esteeming their inspiration to be equal to that of the ancient prophets and apostles, they at first made but little account of the Scriptures, or any positive institutions, never administering baptism or the Lord's supper. Not to arrogate too much to themselves, they taught that all men had within them a divine supernatural light, which, if they gave due attention to it, would be their sufficient guide. This they called *the light within*, and sometimes *Christ within*, who in the gospel is called *the true light*. It was, therefore, usual with them to say that Christ was in every man. They consequently did not confine Christianity to the nominal Christians, but thought that even Heathens, attending to their divine light, would obtain the same happiness with any others of the human race. With the Mystics they held that, by contemplation and a steady attention to this inward light, the soul, freed from the pollution of the gross body, became united to God; and having a debasing idea of the body, and of matter in general, they did not believe that there would be any literal resurrection of the dead, but that this Scripture doctrine was to be understood in some figurative sense.

No people ever shewed greater firmness in time of persecution than the Quakers, or asserted the rights of Englishmen against the arbitrary proceedings of the courts of law with more courage and effect. The trial of Mr. Penn and Mr. Mead is one of the most memorable and instructive in the English history.

The Quakers being kept out of their meeting-house, in Gracechurch street, by an armed force, met in the open street, but in the most peaceable manner; and these two, having been the principal speakers, were on the 1st of September, A. D. 1670, tried for a riot, and insulted by the court in the grossest manner. The jury, however, only brought them in *Guilty of speaking in Gracechurch street*.

This being deemed no verdict, they were threatned and sent back, when Mr. Penn said to them, "Ye are Englishmen, mind your privilege, give not away your right:" to which some of them answered, *We never will.* They were then shut up all night, without victuals, fire, or a chamber-pot, though they petitioned for one. The next morning they still gave the same verdict. Being sent back, and threatened again, they brought their verdict *Not guilty*; and on this they were fined forty marks a-piece.*

The Quakers continuing to meet in the same place, and at the same hour, always following the constables to prison, refusing to pay any fines, or prison fees, the government was at length tired of contending with them.

When the Quakers meet for public worship, they are confined by no forms, and at first any person present, who thought himself moved by the spirit, was allowed to address the audience; but finding the inconvenience of this, they afterwards set apart some for the work of the ministry, and this is not confined to the men, for women may be of this class. But they think all the valuable purposes of their meetings sufficiently answered by each person attending to the light within himself; and they often continue in silent meditation, without any exhortation or prayer; and they never sing.

The morals of the Quakers are very exemplary, and they reject all superfluity of dress, and use the greatest plainness of speech, using always the second person singular in addressing a single person, and giving no title of honour to any man, or shewing respect by putting off the hat; and they lay aside the usual salutations and complimentary forms in letters, &c. But continuing these practices in all their rigour, they depart from the spirit of their original principles in keeping up to their forms: for the professed design of their plainness of speech and of dress, was, not to have their minds unnecessarily occupied with the customs and things of the world. But when this sect was formed, the same plainness of speech and of dress was universal in the middle classes of society, so that they were not distinguished from other persons of the same rank; whereas, as the fashions afterwards changed, they, by keeping to the old ones, appeared singular, and thereby drew particular attention upon themselves, and of course gave more attention to themselves, in those respects, than other persons. They would have

* See *State Trials*, fol. II. col. 609, 8vo. p. 29. *Phoenix*, I pp. 304—349.

gained their object more effectually by being equally careful neither to lead nor to neglect the prevailing fashions.

The Quakers, like the Anabaptists on the Continent, take no oaths, and renounce the right of self-defence.

After some time, a few men of ability and learning joined the Quakers, as Robert Barclay, George Keith, and some others, who were capable of writing in their defence, of checking their extravagancies, and reducing their doctrines and discipline into some form: though, depending on immediate inspiration, they never made much account of, or greatly encouraged, human learning.

Notwithstanding this advantage, in consequence of refusing to take any oath, and especially to pay tithes to a hireling ministry, they were necessarily exposed to great hardships, which continued till the reign of James II., who, willing to favour the Quakers, and being also under some obligations to one of their body, viz. William Penn, or his father, who had served under him in the fleet, granted his indulgence to them as well as to other Dissenters. Many of the Quakers, however, fled to foreign countries, and several of them procured a settlement in Holland. But great numbers accompanied Mr. Penn to America, where he had obtained a grant of land under the crown, with liberty to settle in it in whatever manner he pleased. There he founded a colony, called after him, *Pennsylvania*, and gave to the capital the name of *Philadelphia*. Giving entire liberty of conscience to all settlers, and behaving with the greatest justice and kindness to the natives, this colony soon became one of the most flourishing on that extensive continent, and continues to be so to this day.

So ignorant of history and theology were the great body of the Quakers at their outset, that numbers of them maintained that there never was any other Christ than that which is in every man, and that the whole of the evangelical history is an allegory.* This Keith, who was a man of learning, opposed, and it occasioned a controversy among them, which terminated in his expulsion from their body, and his conforming to the Church of England.

Penn, besides being a statesman, wrote a number of theological tracts, by which it appears that he was a Unitarian,

* A contemporary thus describes their notion of Christ: "With the *Socinians* they account him but a mere man, at least some calling him *the man that suffered at Jerusalem*; and with the *Nicolaitans*, they account him but a quality, an *ignis fatuus*, a mere illusion, a light within them, which is not much better than an allegory, or rather worse." *Doctrine of Devils*, 1676. *Epistle*, p. 3.

and a strenuous opposer of the doctrine of atonement.* But the writer of whom the Quakers make their greatest boast is Robert Barclay, who wrote a work entitled *An Apology* † for their sect, in which, with great art, and in the forms of scholastic theology, he defended their principles, and to it he prefixed a manly dedication to Charles II. ‡

As the principles of the Quakers cut them off from all public employments and honours, they necessarily apply themselves to agriculture, manufactures, and commerce; and many of them becoming by this means wealthy, have relaxed of the austerity of their ancestors; and conversing more with the world, and having their minds improved by reading, many of them, without deserting their friends, reconcile the system to their minds by explanations which the more rigid Quakers do not approve. With many of them the *light within* is nothing more than what is more commonly called the light of conscience, and not any thing supernatural, and they acknowledge that their speakers address them not from any proper inspiration, but as their own ability and prudence enable and direct them to do it. Many of them also lay aside all their peculiarities in speech and dress, so that outwardly they are not distinguishable from other persons.

Though the Quakers began without any regular discipline, they soon found the inconvenience of it, and they are now the most orderly of all societies, dividing the country into districts, and having regular officers in each. Refusing to have any connexion with the established church, they marry among themselves, and they also provide for their own poor; and they hold an annual meeting in London from all parts of the kingdom, and make a common purse to defray the expenses occasioned by their sufferings, and other demands upon them.

* The modern Quakers have, however, disowned a respectable member of their Society, solely for being a Unitarian, while they oppose the unintelligible mysticism of some early Quakers, and even of Penn himself, to the plain good sense and scriptural arguments of his *Sandy Foundation Shaken*. Thus they decline to take their lot among the Sect every where spoken against, and would seem to be regarded as orthodox Trinitarians. See Foster's "Narrative, April and Second," *assim*.

† First published in 1676, at Amsterdam, in Latin, under the following title: *Roberti Barclay Theologiae verè Christiane Apologia*. Voltaire calls it "Ouvrage aussi bon qu'il pouvoit l'être," and adds, "L'Épître Dedicatoire contient non des basses flatteries, mais des verités hardies, et des conseils justes." *Lettres sur les Anglois*. Amst. 1736, No. iii. p. 21.

‡ In which he uses this plainness of speech: "If after all these warnings and advertisements, thou dost not turn unto the Lord with all thy heart, but forget him, who remembered thee in thy distress, and give up thyself to follow lust and vanity; surely great will be thy condemnation." *To Charles II.*

SECTION XIV.

Of the State of Religion in Scotland in the Reign of the Stuarts.

KING James was educated a Presbyterian, and till towards the end of his reign in Scotland appeared zealous for that system, which was firmly established in the country; the last hand being put to the Presbyterian discipline in Scotland in A. D. 1594.* In A. D. 1544, the parliament had voted for the bishops to be no more than pastors of one parish. In A. D. 1577, they ordered that all bishops should be called by their own names, and the next year they voted the name itself of bishop to be a grievance. In A. D. 1580, the General Assembly with one voice declared diocesan episcopacy to be unscriptural and unlawful.† The same year king James with his family, and the whole nation, subscribed a confession of faith, with a solemn league and covenant annexed, obliging themselves to maintain and defend the Protestant doctrine and Presbyterian government.‡ In A. D. 1587, the king being then of the full age of twenty-one, consented to an act to take away the bishops' lands and annex them to the crown. In A. D. 1584, all presentations to benefices had been directed to the particular presbyteries, with full power to give collations, and ratifying all former acts in favour of the Presbyterian discipline. This was confirmed in A. D. 1593 and 1594, so that from that time to A. D. 1612, Presbyterianism was undoubtedly the legal establishment of the Church of Scotland, and evidently with the full consent of the king.§

Notwithstanding this, it is probable that through the insinuations of the English bishops, and other friends of the hierarchy in England, sometime before he left Scotland, he had projected the restoration of Episcopacy there.|| and

* Bishop Guthry, who died in 1676, says that "Presbyterian government in the church was at last established by law in the year 1592." *Memoirs*, Ed. 2, *Glasgow*, 1748, p. 5.

† *Ibid.* p. 4.

‡ Yet *Guthry* says "Debates arose for many years betwixt his majesty and the ministers, the king still pressing episcopal government, and they, on the other part, contending for the presbyterian way." *Ibid.*

§ *Neal*, l. p. 489. (P.)

|| "Not without the consent and furtherance of many of the wisest among the ministry, whom experience had taught to see a necessity of having bishops set up to curb the humours of some preachers, especially the younger sort, whose out-breakings against authority, both in their pulpits and meetings were very offensive." *Guthry*, p. 7.

immediately on his arrival in England he nominated bishops to the thirteen sees that had been abolished, and restored to them their votes in parliament, with the titles of *Lords of Parliament*, and in A. D. 1610, he invested them with the *high commission*.* This being a new creation, he had some of the clergy consecrated by the bishops in England, and these conveyed the spiritual character to their brethren in Scotland. This was in the time of archbishop Bancroft, the most violent persecutor of the Puritans, and not long before his death.†

These bishops, however, had little more than the title. To give them more power, in A. D. 1617, he made a progress into Scotland, attended by bishop Laud, and a parliament being called, he proposed two acts relating to religion, one concerning his prerogative and the apparel of the clergy, and the other for the ratification of the former acts touching religion. But though the lords consented to the article concerning his prerogative, they dissented to all the rest. The king, however, would not hear of any distinction, requiring them to say yes or no to both. This being done, the clerk declared that the majority said yes; and though this was not believed to be the case, and a scrutiny was demanded, the king would not allow of it.

The year following he summoned a convention to meet at Perth, when he carried five articles conformable to the practice of the Church of England, as that of kneeling at the Lord's supper, &c.; but though the ministers were required to read them from their pulpits, the greater number refused to do it, having at that time nothing to fear besides the king's displeasure. But in A. D. 1621, these articles were confirmed, though with difficulty, by the parliament; and this was the beginning of the persecution in that kingdom, many of the ministers being fined, imprisoned; and banished, by the *High Commission*. Dreading, however, an insurrection, the king forbore to introduce the Book of Common Prayer.‡

When the king left Scotland, [1617,] Laud framed articles for the king's chapels in that kingdom, conformable to

* *Neal*, l. p. 81. (P.)

† In 1610. Archdeacon Blackburne calls him "the fiery Bancroft." *Confessional*, Ed. 3, 1770, p. 285.

‡ "After the model of the English, which, though the bishops relished well, yet they waved the motion during his reign, for reasons best known to themselves." *Guthry*, p. 8.

those which he had introduced into those in England;* but the Scotch ministers preached against them, and warned the people to defend their liberties.†

In the reign of Charles I. the bishops declaring openly for Arminianism, sports on the Lord's day, and the liturgy of the church of England, were regarded with the greatest abhorrence by the common people. To support them, the king gave them the best secular employments in the country, which excited the envy of the nobility and gentry. Of this they were so sensible, that they advised the king not to trust the intended alterations in religion, to the parliament, or the general assembly, but to introduce them by his own authority.

At length the Book of Canons and of Common Prayer intended for Scotland being finished, they were confirmed by the great seal in A. D. 1635, and nothing could have been drawn up more offensive to the Scottish nation. The first of the Canons excommunicated all those who affirmed that the power of the king was not equal to that of the Jewish king, meaning that it was absolute and unlimited; and the object of the rest was to reduce every thing to the English model. But the book was no sooner published than the Scotch presbyteries openly declared against it.‡

The new Liturgy was appointed to be used in Easter, A. D. 1637; but though for fear of a commotion, it was put off from time to time.§ when it was read in the great church at Edinburgh, where the bishops and several lords of session attended, the service was so much interrupted, that it could not be finished till the common people were turned out of the place, and then they threw stones at the windows; and when the clergy went out they were in danger of being torn in pieces.|| The court being informed of this,

* "The chapel at *Holbrood-house* was adorned after the manner of that at *White-hall*, pictures being carried from London with the statues of the twelve apostles, and four evangelists, curiously wrought in timber, in order to be gilded and set up. But the people murmuring, the bishops dissuaded the king from setting them up. His majesty made his public entry into Edinburgh on the 16th of May; and next day the *English service*, singing of psalmists, playing on organs, and surplices were first heard and seen in the chapel royal." Crookshank's *Church of Scotland*, 1749, I. p. 21.

† *Neal*, II. p. 202. (P.) *Crookshank*, I. p. 26.

§ "There arose a clamour, which, upon the sudden, spread throughout the whole land, that religion was undermined by a conspiracy betwixt the archbishop of Canterbury and other bishops, and that they, being suborned by him, were bringing in the mass-book." *Guthrie*, p. 19.

|| "No sooner was the service begun, but a multitude of wives and serving women, in the several churches, rose in a tumultuous way; and having professed

orders were sent down to proceed with the work notwithstanding this opposition.

The council being apprehensive of danger from large assemblies of the people, agreed that they should appoint a number of all the orders to represent the rest, till the king's pleasure should be known concerning a *protest* that had been signed by many persons of all orders against the late measures. Accordingly four *tables*, as they were called, were formed, of the nobility, the gentry, the burghesses, and the ministers, when they agreed to renew their confession of faith, and the solemn league and covenant, which had been subscribed by king James in A. D. 1581, and by all the Scotch nation in A. D. 1590; and to this was now added a *band of defence* for adhering to each other in the present cause. In this they engaged to oppose to the utmost of their power various particulars of popish doctrine, discipline and ceremonies, which they enumerate, and to defend the ancient doctrine and discipline of their kirk. This was received by the common people as a sacred oracle.*

The king, alarmed at these proceedings, and beginning to be embroiled with his parliament in England, which made it desirable for him to conciliate the Scots, sent the marquis of Hamilton with power to revoke, if necessary, all that had been done with respect to the Canons, the Liturgy, and the *high commission*. With this view he published a proclamation for the meeting of a General Assembly at Glasgow in November 1st, A. D. 1638, but despairing of gaining any thing by them, he dissolved them after they had sat seven days. The members, however, continued to sit, and published a protestation to justify their proceedings, and did not break up till they had passed several acts con-

awhile with despicable exclamations, threw the stools they sat on at the preachers, and thereafter invaded them more nearly, and strove to pull them out of their pulpits. As for the bishop of Edinburgh, he was in danger to have been murdered in the street, had not the earl of Roxburgh received him into his coach, which drove so quickly, that they could not overtake them." *Guthrie*, p. 23.

"When the hour of service was come, the dean in his surplice came out of the vestry, passed through the crowd to the reading desk and began the service, the people still continuing silent; but on a sudden, at some words that disgusted her, an old woman started up and said, *Villain, dost thou say the mass at my lug* [ear]. Some that sat near her, followed her example, till the whole church was in an uproar, and the dean obliged to leave the desk and pull off the *surplice* for fear of being torn in pieces. The bishop of Edinburgh went into the pulpit and beckoned for silence; but both bishop and dean were obliged to give over and retire to the vestry." *Crookshank*, l. p. 27.

* *Ibid.* pp. 9, 11, 28--30.

demning the service book, &c. abolishing Episcopacy, and restoring Presbytery, &c.*

This brought on a war, in which the king marched towards Scotland in person; † but finding his army not hearty in the cause, he entered into a pacification with the Scots, and a General Assembly being called at Edinburgh confirmed the proceedings at Glasgow, and moreover made a declaration against the lawfulness of diocesan episcopacy. The parliament, which met soon after this, confirmed all their acts, and with the king's consent the members signed the solemn league and covenant. ‡

The king seeing no other method of getting the better of his English parliament than by gratifying the Scots, went to Edinburgh; § and the parliament meeting him, he consented to an act by which it was declared that the government of the church by bishops and archbishops is contrary to the word of God, and was therefore abolished. And while the king was in the country he conformed to the Presbyterian mode of worship, so that when he went away, it was said he departed "a contented king from a contented people." Of this consent to the act against Episcopacy, the king afterwards sorely repented; and notwithstanding this compliance with the wishes of the people, the Scots saw no reason to trust him while he was governed by a popish queen and English bishops. They therefore cultivated a good understanding with the English parliament, which was kept up to the death of the king.

Charles II. being invited to Scotland, confirmed every thing relating to the establishment of Presbytery, and promised never to endeavour to make any change in it. He took the solemn league and covenant three times. "swearing by the eternal and almighty God, who liveth and reigneth for ever, that he would maintain every thing contained in it." ¶

When Monk was left by Cromwell after the defeat of Charles [1651] to command in the country, he made no alteration respecting religion; but when he ordered that no person should suffer in his civil rights on that account, the rigid Presbyterians were offended.

* *Guthry*, pp. 46—49. *Crookshank*, I, pp. 30—32.

† He "published his resolution 26th January, 1639, to go in person against the Scotch Covenanters, at the head of an army." *Crookshank*, I. p. 32.

‡ *Guthry*, p. 62. *Crookshank*, I. p. 32.

§ "14 August 1641, accompanied with the Prince Palatine." *Guthry*, p. 98. *Crookshank*, p. 33.

¶ See "the form and order of his coronation," *Phenix*, I. pp. 232—270.

After the Restoration, the Presbyterians in Scotland were as much disappointed as those in England; for the king having got a parliament to his mind, he declared his resolution to restore the Church of Scotland to its rightful government by bishops as before the troubles; and accordingly bishops were consecrated for all the vacant sees. Mr. James Guthrie, who preached against this change, was condemned and executed.* All the Presbyterian ministers were silenced, though the court had no supply of clergymen to fill their places, and those who did succeed them, bishop Burnet says, were mostly mean divines, vicious and idle. In Ireland also the hierarchy was restored as well as in Scotland.

In consequence of these measures, the sufferings of the Scots were not exceeded by those of the Nonconformists in England, but the people were not so submissive. The people in general forsook the churches, though great numbers were imprisoned and suffered otherwise on account of it, and many removed to Ireland.

Exorbitant fines were imposed for not going to church, and soldiers were quartered on all who were refractory, till they were ruined. At length, Sir James Turner being sent to levy fines at discretion,† the people had recourse to arms; but being finally overpowered, forty were killed, and one hundred and thirty taken prisoners; and of these many were hanged at their own doors. Mr. Hugh M'Kail, their minister, was put to the torture,‡ but he bore it and his death in such a manner as struck all who were present, and impressed them in favour of the cause for which he suffered.§

When the *indulgence* was published in London [1668], the Scots availed themselves of it;|| but when it was revoked, the persecution revived with inexpressible severity under the duke of Lauderdale.¶ In these circumstances, the people met for public worship with arms to defend themselves. Many were outlawed; and these forming themselves into a body, openly opposed the government. But they were

* "June 1, 1661." His widow and daughter were prosecuted in 1666, for having in their possession a book in his vindication, and refusing to discover the author. *Crookshank*, l. pp. 104, 105, 203, 204.

† *Ibid.* pp. 209—212, 263.

‡ "They ordered the executioner to put his leg into the *boot*. He received ten or eleven strokes with considerable intervals, to the extraordinary compression of both flesh, sinews and bones, all which he endured with a most Christian patience." He was aged 26. *Ibid.* p. 230.

§ "Among all the spectators there was scarcely an eye that did not run down with tears." *Ibid.* p. 238.

|| *Ibid.* pp. 268, 280—284.

¶ *Ibid.* p. 305

defeated, and four hundred of them killed, and twelve hundred taken prisoners. On this, two of their ministers were hanged, and two hundred banished, while great numbers went to the plantations in America.

On the accession of James II., the parliament seconded his views in passing an act which made it death to resort to any conventicle in houses or fields, and high treason to take the covenant or to write in defence of it.* The people were also required to take an oath to acknowledge the king's absolute power, on pain of banishment.

When the English court changed their measures in favour of toleration, the Scottish parliament agreed to a suspension of all the penal laws during the life of the king, but they would not repeal them altogether, on which they were dissolved.

On the accession of king William, Episcopacy was finally abolished in Scotland; and though a rebellion was excited by the friends of James, it was soon suppressed, and Presbyterianism has been the established religion in Scotland from that time to the present.†

SECTION XV.

Miscellaneous Articles.

1. THIS period was distinguished by an application to literature far exceeding any other, and the pursuits of men of letters were far more various. Great light was by this means thrown upon every thing relating to antiquity, and the early history of the Christian church, whereby many abuses were traced to their source, and impositions of various kinds exposed. The languages in which the Scriptures were written were generally studied, and thereby much new light thrown upon them, and the authority of Aristotle in the schools of philosophy and logic, almost every where overthrown, first by the labours of Peter Ramus, a professor at Paris, and who perished in the massacre of St. Bartholomew,‡ Gassendi, and Descartes, whose systems it is not the object of this work to explain; while the only true key to natural philosophy was given by Lord Bacon, and before the close of this period was made great use of by Mr. Boyle, soon followed by Sir Isaac Newton, who appeared with great lustre very early in the next period.

* *Crookshank*, II. pp. 385, 384.

† See *Burnet*, O. T.

‡ See *supra*, p. 365, Note 2.

The advantage derived from these literary pursuits was, that the shackles of *authority* of every kind being broken, and all men left without restraint to speculate at pleasure, the foundation was laid for real knowledge of every kind, and in the next period much was built upon it.

2. In this period [1582], pope Gregory XIII. corrected the Julian calendar, which had been used by all Christians, and introduced that system of computing time, and settling the festivals of the church, which has ever since been called *the New Style*, and distinguished from the former, which was still retained by all the Protestant states, and then differed ten days from the other.*

In A. D. 1645, pope Urban VIII. published a bull for lessening the number of holidays observed in the church of Rome †

3. Much good was produced by the Reformation in countries that continued Catholic, many abuses, especially in discipline, having been corrected. This, however, was not effected immediately. The following are traces of great abuses in France subsequent to the time of Luther.

The bishop of Valence, in his speech at the assembly of the states in A. D. 1560, complained that sometimes forty bishops were seen at Paris, "wallowing in pleasure and idleness." ‡ The chancellor, in his speech in A. D. 1562, said, "how many priests have sent away their harlots, in order to put a stop to the complaints the public made against them?" § In an assembly of the clergy at Melun, in A. D. 1579, the bishop of Bazas said, that very great abuses were committed in the choice of bishops, of which the king himself was guilty; that there were twenty-eight sees destitute of bishops, the revenues of which were enjoyed by laymen, and that the performance of divine service was entirely neglected in them; that a great number of abbeys were in the hands of laymen, and miserably plundered by them; that even in the king's council a bishopric had been bestowed on one of the court ladies, and several other things of this nature.||

* "Un Médecin Romain fournit la manière la plus simple et la plus facile de rétablir l'ordre de l'année tel qu'on le voit dans le nouveau Calendrier. *Gregoire XIII.* jouit de la gloire de cette réforme. Elle fut rejetée par les Protestans, uniquement parcequ'elle venoit du Pape. Ils craignirent que les peuples en recevant des loix dans l'Astronomie, n'en reçussent bientôt dans la Religion." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* III. p. 168. The *New Style* was adopted in Great Britain in 1752.

† *Mosheim*, IV. p. 396. (P.) Cent. xvii. Sect. ii. Pt. i. Ch. i. Par. liii.

‡ *Laval*, I. p. 263. (P.)

§ *Ibid.* p. 613. (P.)

|| *Ibid.* IV. p. 286. (P.)

4. In this period, in which so much zeal was shewn for religion, it was not safe for any man to profess Infidelity. We find, however, some unbelievers. In France, Cæsar Vanini, a Neapolitan, the author of some works of an atheistical tendency, was publicly burned at Thoulouse, after having his tongue cut out, in A. D. 1629.* There have been some who maintained that he was no atheist; but after the account of him in *Bayle's Dictionary*, it is hardly possible to doubt it. Indeed, his avowed admiration of Aristotle and Averroes almost amounts to a proof of it. A witness of his death says, that he boasted that he would die like a philosopher, but that he did not suffer with the meekness or fortitude of a Christian. Nothing, however, can justify the dreadful punishment to which he was exposed.

At Florence we find Cosmo Ruggeri, an avowed atheist, who died at Paris in A. D. 1615,† and in A. D. 1689, a little after this period, Casimir Leszynski, a Polish knight, suffered death at Warsaw for denying the being and providence of God.‡

Calvin had to contend not only with many who pleaded for the liberty, or rather, the licentiousness of former times, as the toleration of brothels, &c., but with some unbelievers, among whom was Gruet, who denied the divine mission of Christ, the immortality of the soul, and the difference between moral good and evil. For these tenets he was brought before the civil tribunal, and in A. D. 1550, was condemned to death.§

In this period flourished Spinoza, a Jew of Holland, who was born in A. D. 1633, and died in A. D. 1677, generally considered as an atheist. His opinion, as appears chiefly from his posthumous works, was, that there was but *one substance in nature*, that it is possessed of intelligence as well as extension, and that the souls of men and all other beings are parts, or modifications, of this one substance. It is pro-

* See *Biog. Dict.* 1784, XII. pp. 306—312.

† “Son corps fut traîné à la voire, parce qu’il avoit eu l’impiété de déclarer qu’il mouroit en athée.” *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* V. p. 297.

‡ *Moshiem*, IV. pp. 251, 252. (P.) Cent. xvii. Sect. i. Par. xxiii.

§ *Ibid.* IV. p. 124. (P.) Cent. xvi. Sect. iii. Pt. ii. Ch. ii. Par. xxxix. According to one account of *Gruet's* conduct at Geneva, he brought an extraordinary accusation against the adherents of Calvin. “Il eut la hardiesse d’afficher des placards, en 1547, dans lesquels il accusoit les Réformés de cette ville, d’être des esprits remuans qui après avoir renoncé à la vérité et la plupart à leur premier état, vouloient dominer sur toutes les consciences.” Such an accuser would scarcely be suffered to live, and his enemies seem to have been little scrupulous, as to the means of procuring a conviction. “On saisit ses papiers, on y trouva des preuves d’irreligion, et on se servit de ce prétexte pour le condamner à perdre la tête.” *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* III. p. 132.

bable that he was an unbeliever in revelation, though he wrote nothing on the subject.

I would observe, however, that while he admitted a principle of intelligence, and did not deny that of benevolence to exist in the universe, he could not be properly termed an atheist; because he acknowledged all the attributes of divinity, in whatever substance he might suppose them to reside, and he could not deny that these attributes are perpetually active. There was, therefore, nothing in his doctrine that was necessarily inconsistent with a belief of a Providence, and moral government of the world, or consequently with that of a state of retribution after death. He might therefore have been, though it is probable he was not, a believer in the Jewish and Christian revelations. All that can in strictness be said of him, is, that he fell into a metaphysical absurdity, in supposing the same thing to be the *cause* and the *effect*.*

In this period several learned Christians are said to have embraced Judaism, and among them was Rittangel, a Roman Catholic, though some say that after this he became a Lutheran. He was professor of the Oriental languages at Königsberg. Antony, a minister at Geneva, was burned for having abjured Christianity in favour of Judaism, in A. D. 1632, and the Jews consider him as a martyr that does them great honour.†

* “ Ses raisonnemens sont fondés sur une Métaphysique alambiquée, où il se perd, sans savoir ni ce qu’ il pense, ni ce qu’ il dit. Ce qui reste de la lecture de ses écrits les moins obscurs, en les réduisant à quelque chose de net et de précis, est que le monde matériel, et chacune de ses parties aussi-bien que leur ordre et leurs modes, est l’ unique être qui existe nécessairement par lui-même. Pour affoiblir les preuves de la Religion Chrétienne, il tâche de déprimer les prédictions des prophètes de l’ ancien Testament. Il prétend qu’ ils ne devoient leurs révélations qu’ à une imagination plus forte que celle du commun: principe absurde qu’ il étend jusqu’ à Moïse et à Jesus Christ.” *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* V. p. 441.

† *Catalogue Raisonné des Esprits forts*, à Berlin, A. D. 1768, pp. 91, &c. *Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique*, 1789. It is only in the former of these works that I find any account of Antony of Geneva. (P.)

PERIOD XXIV.

FROM THE REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES, IN
A. D. 1685, TO THE PRESENT TIME, A. D. 1802.



SECTION I.

*Of the Consequences of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes,
and particularly of the War in the Cevennes.*

THE Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which was thought to be a master-stroke of policy, and what would be of the greatest advantage to the country, uniting all the subjects in one faith, and one interest, was immediately a source of the greatest evils with which any part of Europe was afflicted. The sufferings of the Protestants, against whom the measure was directed, were extreme, and upon the whole not inferior to those occasioned by the apparently more violent proceedings of Philip II. of Spain; and eventually France itself sustained an injury in a civil respect in the loss of numbers of its most worthy, industrious, ingenious, and wealthy inhabitants, that more than a century did not repair.

The time fixed for the ministers to abjure their religion, or leave the kingdom, was only a fortnight, under the penalty of being sent to the galleys; but even this liberty was often rendered useless by various artifices; for, by the contrivance of the clergy, secret orders were frequently given to prevent their embarking within the time, or disposing of their property. Their debtors were absolved by their confessors, when they denied the debts due to them. Children were taken from their parents, with a view to shake their constancy; and some of the ministers who ventured to exercise any act of their office contrary to the law, were broken alive on the wheel; for such was the penalty annexed to this offence.

The laity were forbidden to leave the kingdom, on any pretence whatever. But yet great numbers of both sexes and of all ages fled through by-ways to avoid being compelled to conform to the established religion, or to suffer for their refusal. Of these, notwithstanding the vigilance of the officers of government, not less, it is thought, than three hundred thousand effected their escape, and were hospitably received by the Protestant states. Great numbers, however, were apprehended in these attempts, and the prisons and galleys were filled with them. Sometimes, of two hundred that were chained together, one hundred would be Protestants; and of these, it is supposed, that three-fourths were destroyed by the bastinado, for not bowing at the elevation of the host, and by other hardships; and most of those that were alive when this account* was written, the writer says, were confined in dungeons, where they passed all their time in absolute solitude, and in circumstances barely supportable with respect to accommodations of every kind, till they were released by death. Of this, some examples will be given in the next Section.

After the peace with Spain, [1678,] the soldiers were encouraged in every act of violence towards the Protestants. They went from house to house, and when they found any persons who refused to go to mass, they plundered them at pleasure. To some houses drummers were sent, who beat their drums night and day, to prevent the family from taking any rest. Some persons, and some of them of rank and fortune, they treated in the most cruel manner; as, putting hot irons into their shoes, or putting them into deep pits or wells till they were chilled with cold; and various other acts of wanton cruelty were exercised upon them.

Things of this kind were done openly, but many were secretly put to death. Some were said to be transported to Canada, where, however, they were no better treated than they were at home; but of these, it is supposed, many were drowned when they were out at sea.

The Protestants were always the most numerous in the southern provinces of France; and among them were some zealous ministers, who ventured to stay and comfort their flocks, concealing themselves as well as they could. Of these was one Mr. Brousson, but in A. D. 1699, he was taken and broken alive on the wheel at Montpellier; but his piety and constancy in suffering this cruel punishment,

* "Memoirs of the Wars of the *Cevennes*, under Col. Cavalier," written in French, and the translation published by himself. *Dublin*, 1726.

made a great impression on many,* and inflamed the zeal of the Protestants in those parts.† After him came a Mr. Roman, with two others of the name of Plan. Both of these were taken and hanged; but Roman after being put in prison was rescued, and escaped to Germany.‡

Among the most zealous for their religion were many boys of the age of fifteen and sixteen; and of these, about twenty assembled to sing psalms before the door of the church in a village called Montel, near Arles, in the Cevennes, which induced the priest to send some of them, together with their parents, to prison. Of these, some made their escape; and at a place called Brignon, they went into the church, and, pulling down the images and crosses, openly burned them. Being pursued by the militia, some of them were killed, and others taken; but some fled to the woods, where they were soon joined by others. Among those, one of the name of Daniel shewed the greatest zeal, exhorting the rest, and praying with them in a manner that excited the greatest fervour.

On this, an order was sent from the court, that wherever six persons were assembled together, the soldiers might fire upon them, without waiting for any particular orders. After this, Daniel being caught and two of his companions, he was hanged, and they sent to the galleys. But this did not damp the courage of the rest, and they continued to assemble in the woods and on the mountains.§ Daniel was succeeded by one La Serre, who formed assemblies of Protestants in the Upper Cevennes. These, however, were discovered by the soldiers, who killed many of them, and took others prisoners.

The most violent and the most active of the enemies of the Protestants, in this part of the country, was the Abbé Chailat, sub-delegate of the intendant Bayille, whose benefice was in the Cevennes. He kept an exact account of all the Protestants in his district, and whenever he missed any of them at mass, he sent for them on one pretence or other, and treated them in a cruel manner. Sometimes he had

* "His death was as edifying as his life; his great constancy made the very executioner to weep over him. The prayer he made on the scaffold would have had a great effect on all that were present, had not *Bayille* (the intendant) caused six drummers to beat, so that few could hear him." *Cavallier*, p. 19. Such, it will be recollected, was the insult offered in 1662, by the ministers of Charles II. to the last moments of Sir Henry Vane. See Ludlow's *Memoirs* 1669, III. pp. 103—112.

† See *Voltaire's Siècle*, III. p. 144.

‡ *Cavallier*, pp. 19—21.

§ Their memorialist adds, "like poor starved sheep looking for the pasture of life." *Cavallier*, p. 27.

them tied to trees, whether they were men or women, and scourged with great severity.

At length five or six persons of both sexes, being apprehended as they endeavoured to escape out of the kingdom, were confined in a cellar in his house, and tortured by him in the following manner: a beam of wood being cleft, he had their legs put into the opening, and squeezed till the bones were broken. He also applied other modes of torture.* These being heard of, one of the Protestant preachers, whose name was *Esprit*,† said to his congregation, that if thirty of the young men would go with him, he would engage to set those prisoners at liberty. Twice that number immediately joined him, and they went with arms in open day to the village in which the Abbé lived, singing the sixty-eighth psalm, and going to the house, demanded the prisoners. On this he ordered the guards to fire, when two of the young men were killed, and several more were wounded. Not discouraged by this, they forced their way into the house, and carried off the prisoners; for they found them so bruised with the torture‡ that they were not able to walk. The Abbé, in endeavouring to make his escape, was shot in the thigh, and being seized, they had no regard to his begging for mercy who had never shewn any, but shot him and set fire to the house.§ From this they proceeded to other similar acts of violence; but their conduct was much disapproved by the generality of the Protestants in the neighbourhood.||

The intendant Baviile, and count Broglio, who commanded in Languedoc, hearing of this, came with an armed force; and taking by surprise *Esprit*, and some others of the party, they hanged them, and burned them alive. When they had done this, they issued a proclamation; saying, that if those who had been concerned in those disorders would disperse, and go to their homes, they would not be called to account for what had been done, but that otherwise they

* "Tied their toes with strings, and turned them with wheels, till they were out of joint." *Cavallier*, p. 85.

† Who had related these cruelties in his sermon, while *Cavallier* was present. *Ibid.* p. 34.

‡ "Having the bones of their legs mashed." *Ibid.* p. 36.

§ "They desired him to ask pardon of God, and gave him a quarter of an hour to prepare himself." *Ibid.* See *Voltaire*, III. pp. 144, 145.

|| "They went to the castle of *La Vedeye*, where they knew there were two or three priests, they surrounded it and desired them to deliver their arms; but the gentleman and the priests fired at them, which obliged *Esprit* to set the castle on fire, where all that were in it were burned; after which he went into a wood. All the Protestants in that neighbourhood disapproved mightily of the burning at that castle." *Cavallier*, p. 87.

would be considered as rebels. Notwithstanding this, those who complied with these terms were taken, and hanged at their own doors. On this, the rest took refuge in the woods, and procured arms to defend themselves; and “the count of Broglio ordered the houses of those he could not take, to be burned, or pulled down.”

Being now so closely beset,* that they could not get out of the kingdom, which they were desirous of doing, they were encouraged by some of their body who had been in the army, to keep together where they were, and defend themselves as well as they could; and, in order to get arms and ammunition, to go in sufficient numbers and disarm the Catholics in the neighbourhood. This they soon did with great success, attacking houses in the night, but without doing any thing more than supplying their own wants.†

Broglio, hearing of this, came with more troops; but though he followed them from place to place, they easily eluded his pursuit; so that he was not able to take any of them. When their number amounted to fifty or sixty, they formed themselves into regular companies, and appointed officers; and instead of being caught, they sometimes surprised parties of ten or twelve of the enemy. But imprudently waiting the attack of two hundred of the king's troops, commanded by one *Poule*,‡ they were put to flight, and were so disheartened that for many days they did nothing but fly from one wood to another. In this situation, frequently disguising themselves, and sometimes with long beards, they got the appellation of *Barbets*, though they were afterwards more generally called *Camisards*, from some of them having put shirts over their clothes, to distinguish one another in their nocturnal expeditions. *camise* instead of *chemise*, being the name of the shirt in that part of the country.§

Notwithstanding this defeat, they had so many friends in their neighbourhood, that their numbers were soon recruited, and twenty of them attacked as many of the enemy with such success that not one of them escaped. Encouraged by this little victory, they ventured to go out every night, to attack some of the small garrisons which had been placed

* “Count Broglio had raised the militia, who pursued us from wood to wood, and from mountain to mountain.” *Cavallier*, p. 38.

† Except that they “burned some churches for fear the enemy should put garrisons in them.” *Ibid.* p. 40.

‡ “Formerly a *partizan* under the Marshal *Catena*, against the poor *Vaubris* in Piedmont.” *Ibid.* p. 41.

§ See Vol. II. p. 196, Note †.

in the villages, in order the more effectually to surround and take them; and in this they were so successful, that the soldiers were obliged to retire to fortified towns for their greater security; and as these soldiers usually passed the night in the churches, as places of greater security, the Camisards made it a principal object to surprise and burn them.*

This provoked Baille and Broglio so much, that whenever they caught any of them or their friends, whether men, women, or children, they never spared them; † so that the galleys were filled, and the scaffolds and gibbets, the writer says, were stained with their blood. This cruelty, however, served to increase the army of the Camisards: for the Protestants seeing no security at home, were in a manner compelled to join those who kept the field. Soon after this they were joined by one La Porte, a person of a good family, who was generally called *Jourdan*, ‡ to distinguish him from another of their leaders of the name of La Porte. These two, and Cavallier, the writer of this account, headed each a separate company; and though in consequence of this, the number under each was inconsiderable, yet making their expeditions always in the night, and often disguised, so as to make a frightful appearance, the country was kept in a state of constant alarm, especially after thirty-five of them being surprised in the day time, defeated a party of fifty of the enemy, with the loss of no more than one man. This victory made a great noise: but the first thing that these pious warriors did was to prostrate themselves on the field of battle, to give God thanks for their success.§

They were farther encouraged by the arrival of two officers of considerable experience in military affairs, who gave them good advice; and when Broglio, hearing of what had taken place, came with a reinforcement of troops, they not only eluded his pursuit by their superior knowledge of the country, but disarmed the Catholics in several villages; and when they were attacked by a Captain Bimard, he was

* The memorialist says, "We never meddled with any church wherein there was no garrison, nor took any thing out of it." He adds, "when the priests saw the sparks of their churches flying about their ears, they had no time to say mass." Further, that they "retired into fenced cities," where "nothing else was to be seen but *cassocks* and *capuches*, the streets were full of them." *Cavallier*, p. 49.

† "They ordered the innocent as well as the pretended guilty to be taken up, and upon the least suspicion, without any trial, to be put to death." *Ibid.* p. 50.

‡ Here I apprehend is a mistake; *Carallier* mentions *Jourdan* (p. 59) as formerly a Protestant, but who was turned Papist and a great persecutor. Of this *La Porte*, he says, (p. 61,) that he "is the same person who after took upon him the name of *Roland*," by which name he is always described.

§ *Ibid.* pp. 62—65.

killed in the engagement, and his troop pursued with great slaughter, while they had only four men wounded. On this occasion also they gave God solemn thanks on the field of battle. On this Bimard, they found one hundred pistoles, which were of great service to them in purchasing clothes and stores.*

The Sunday following this action being Christmas [1701], they kept with great devotion; and having given notice of it to all the Protestants in the neighbourhood, they joined them to the number of five hundred. The governor of Arles being informed of this, marched with a body of six hundred men to surprise them; and "became so confident of the victory, that he ordered a mule to be laden with ropes, saying he would have all the rebels burned and hanged in all corners of the city." But the Camisards being apprized of his approach, dismissed those who only came to join in their devotions, and lying in wait for the enemy, killed a hundred of them, besides wounding many more; and this with the loss of only six of their own number. On the field of this battle they remained an hour, in part for the purpose of devotion, and in part to collect the arms and ammunition which the enemy left behind them.†

In this state of their affairs they appointed a commander-in-chief, and the choice fell upon Cavallier, the writer of this account;‡ and being joined by a person of the name of Roland,§ they found their numbers amount to two hundred and thirty men. Their first exploit after this was to surprise by stratagem the town of Savues, which was walled and garrisoned. In this bold attempt they succeeded completely, by some of their numbers getting admittance into it on the pretence of their being part of the militia who had been in pursuit of the Camisards, and wanted refreshments. Here, though masters of the place, they did no injury to any person. They only carried away the arms, and what else they wanted for their immediate use.||

* *Cavallier*, pp. 67—74.

† The memorialist relates these particulars: "The governor seeing the confusion, went one way and his soldiers another. When we perceived the general route, we pulled off our coats to run after them the faster, and pursued them as hounds do stags, gleaming now and then some of them. We found near the field of battle the load of ropes the governor had prepared for us, but meddled not with them." *Ibid.* pp. 75—78.

‡ He says, "they vested in me the power of life and death over the troop, without being obliged to call a court-martial; nevertheless I did not any thing without the advice of six of my chief officers." *Ibid.* p. 79.

§ *La Porte*. See *supra*, p. 437, Note †.

|| The commander's own account of this *ruse de guerre*, sufficiently exhibits the *Christian simplicity* of these Protestant soldiers. See *ibid.* pp. 80—82.

After this they defeated a party of soldiers that were on their march to Italy; and finding in the pocket of the commander an order to all mayors of towns, &c. to receive and lodge them and their recruits, Cavallier made use of it to get admittance into a strongly-fortified castle, by which they had been greatly annoyed. They therefore put [the governor and all] the garrison to the sword; * and carrying off a great quantity of ammunition and provision, they set fire to the place.

This exploit gave so much alarm, † that Marshal Montrevel was sent to supersede Broglio, ‡ with ten thousand men, to suppress them; but he had no more success than his predecessor. At this time Cavallier had the command of four hundred men, and he had provided caverns in the mountains where their provisions and ammunition were deposited, where also they had an arsenal for the manufacture of gun-powder, and convenience for their sick and wounded. At one time when Cavallier was absent, his lieutenant Raval was attacked by Broglio and Poule, when the former was wounded, and the latter killed, with the total dispersion of their soldiers. They had various other successes, but the approach of winter alarmed them much, and not being able to accommodate them all, the greater part dispersed themselves into the neighbouring villages, and only eighty remained in the woods. However, by the help of their friends in the neighbourhood, they not only subsisted all the winter, but at the end of it, which was the beginning of A. D. 1702, they found themselves in good health and spirits. §

In this year they had various success, though in one action they lost one of their generals, viz. La Porte. || To balance this, Cavallier defeated a party of the enemy consisting of six hundred, so that only sixty of them escaped. Their general too, the baron de la Rosse, was killed, while the Camisards lost only one man and had six wounded.

The Camisards could have raised many more forces, Cavallier says, if they had received the assistance which had been promised them from England and the allies, who

* "To revenge so many cruelties which they had committed against the neighbouring Protestants." *Cavallier*, p. 88.

† Cavallier says, "The first ministers of state, who had looked on the first news of our insurrection as a fire of straw that would soon be extinguished, began to fear the ill consequences of this business. Secretary *Chamillard* had not yet informed the king of it, and Madam *Maintenon* did what she could to conceal it from him." *Ibid.* p. 89.

‡ In February 1708. *Ibid.* p. 149.

§ *Ibid.* pp. 95—114.

|| *Ibid.* p. 127.

were then at war with France. With twenty thousand pounds sterling, he could have raised and armed fifty thousand men, which, acting in the South of France, would have been of great use to the common cause. However, notwithstanding the paucity of their numbers, and the immense force that was now sent against them, and though this was chiefly directed to the destruction of the villages abounding with Protestants, by whom they had been supplied, they were generally successful in their attack of small parties and convoys; and while their enemies destroyed the villages occupied by their friends, they took their revenge on those that were occupied by the Catholics. This success continued through A. D. 1703, and at the beginning of A. D. 1704, Cavallier says, that the troop which he commanded consisted of between one thousand and twelve hundred foot, and a hundred horse.*

In this year Montrevel was succeeded by the famous Marshal Villars, who brought fresh troops, but what was more effectual, he brought proposals of a conciliatory nature, sending word to Cavallier that if he would lay down his arms, all his just demands would be granted; and in order to bring about an accommodation, he proposed a conference with him. This proposal was brought by a deputy, who, on taking his leave, threw down some money for each of the men who accompanied Cavallier to the place of interview, who were fifty horse, bidding them drink the king's health; but not one of them would take it, saying they wanted not money, but liberty of conscience.†

Cavallier having sent his terms in writing, the following were granted, viz. that the Protestants in all the province should have liberty of conscience; that they might hold religious assemblies, but not in cities or walled towns, provided they did not build churches; that all who were detained in the prisons or galleys on account of religion, since the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, should be liberated within six weeks; that all who had left the kingdom on the same account, should have liberty to return and enjoy their privileges and estates, on taking the oath of allegiance; that the inhabitants of the Cevennes, whose houses had been burned in the wars, should pay no imposts for seven years; and that out of his followers he should raise a regiment of two thousand, to serve in Portugal. He had demanded much more in favour of the French Pro-

* *Memoirs*, p. 247.

† *Ibid.* pp. 262, 263.

testants in general, but more could not be granted. A writing containing the terms here mentioned, was signed by Marshal Villars and Baviile on the part of the king, and by Cavallier and his lieutenant Billiard on that of the Camisards, the 17th of May, A. D. 1704.*

Though Cavallier and his followers saw sufficient ground for distrusting the sincerity of the court, yet their affairs were at that time so low, their resources of every kind being cut off, all their secret caverns having been discovered and taken possession of by the enemy, and the villages from which they drew their support being destroyed,† that they thought they could not do better than accede to the terms of this treaty.

Notwithstanding the express stipulations of this treaty, the Camisards soon found that little regard was paid to it by their enemies. Some, indeed, were released from the prisons, but they had not the liberty of public worship, all persons being apprehended who went to attend it; and Cavallier himself, on the pretence of employing him and his regiment, which he found no difficulty in raising, in Germany, instead of Portugal, was conducted under a guard on the way to Brisac. He obtained leave to speak to the king in person, which he did with great freedom on the subject of their revolt, and the only effectual remedy of the evil; but when he mentioned the *treaty*, he was forbidden to say any thing on the subject, directly or indirectly. The same injunction was laid upon him in his interview with

* *Cavallier*, pp. 272—274.

† *Ibid.* pp. 258—260. Cavallier adds, "Our friends' love grew cold, their purses being empty," and "the succours which had been promised me for two years before from England did not come."

Flequier, Bishop of Nismes, who died in 1710, "wept by the Catholics," as D' Alembert remarks, and "regretted by the Protestants," witnessed the horrors of this civil war, and has referred to them in several of his letters. In the following passages of one written to a *Marchioness*, from *Nismes*, April 27, 1704, the bishop thus describes some affecting scenes, in language which discovers a pious and benevolent disposition:

"L' exercice de nôtre Religion est presque aboli dans trois ou quatre Diocèses, plus de quatre mille Catholiques ont été égorgés à la campagne, quatre-vingt prêtres massacrés, près de deux cens Eglises brûlées.—Quand les Catholiques sont les plus forts, les autres craignent d' être égorgés; quand les Fanatiques sont en grand nombre près d' ici, les Catholiques craignent à leur tour. Il faut que je console et que je rassure, tantôt les uns, tantôt les autres.

"J' ai vû de mes fenêtres brûler toutes nos maisons de campagne impunément. Il ne se passe preque pas de jour, que je n' apprenne à mon réveil quelque malheur arrivé la nuit. Ma chambre est souvent pleine de gens qu' on a ruinés, de pauvres femmes, dont on vient de tuer les maris, de curés fugitifs qui viennent représenter les misères de leurs paroissiens: tout fait horreur, tout fait pitié, je suis père, je suis pasteur. Je dois soulager les uns, adoucir les autres, les aider et secourir tous."

Lettres De M. Flequier, à Paris, 1711, pp. 58, 59.

Chamillard, the prime minister, afterwards, so that it was evident no regard would be paid to it.*

In this state of things, Cavallier, being warned of his danger if he should go to Brisac, laid hold of an opportunity of making his escape from his conductors, and going through Switzerland he entered into the service of the duke of Savoy, then at war with France; and afterwards he went to Holland, where he engaged in a regiment in the pay of the Dutch and English. When the war was concluded he went to England, and there he wrote his book.†

In the mean time Roland, and the rest of the Camisards, seeing that no regard was paid to the treaty made with Cavallier, continued in arms; choosing rather to die, as they said, with their swords in their hands, than suffer what they must do if, on any promise from the court, they should lay down their arms. But at length Roland being surprised and killed, and Ravel completely absconding, so as never to be heard of any more, the rest of the Camisards accepted a proposal either to leave the kingdom, or to give up their arms and resettle on their lands; and this latter the greater part of them chose to do, so that before the end of A. D. 1704, a final end was put to this revolt, during which, according to Mr. Brueys, who wrote the history of it, under the title of *Histoire de Fanatisme*, thirty-two parishes were sentenced to be entirely destroyed. They contained more than four hundred villages or hamlets. All the houses were to be demolished, and the inhabitants with their families and effects to be removed to distant places.‡ This destruction of the houses they were at first ordered to effect by labour; but to make it easier to them, they afterwards had leave from the court to employ fire. The consequence was, that a part of the country nearly forty leagues in extent, became a frightful desert, that could not be seen without horror.§

This recourse to arms cannot be defended on Christian principles, great as was the provocation that the persecuted Protestants received. But much as they are to be censured on this account, and for the wild pretences to inspiration and prophecy with which they are charged, and some artifices imputed to some of their leaders, the greater part, it cannot be doubted, acted from a principle of conscience, and their devotion in the midst of arms is truly exemplary and edifying.||

* *Cavallier*, pp. 296—310.

† *Ibid.* pp. 346—348.

‡ *Hist.* II. p. 220. (P.)

§ *Ibid.* p. 253. (P.)

The commencement and the close of this paragraph are scarcely consistent.

“In our woods and deserts,” says Mr. Cavallier,* our chief business was to apply ourselves to religious exercises, in which we were assisted by ministers, who risked their lives along with us.” They also chose elders, and they were generally such as had served in that capacity in their churches. They constantly read the liturgy that had been used by them before. They had sermons twice every Sunday, and prayers in the evening. When, on a march, they could not attend to these services, they did not fail to have prayers in the evening, though they arrived at the rendezvous ever so late. They always sung with loud voices. They had the Lord’s supper administered to them four times in the year.

Whenever they fought, one of their ministers said prayers at their head, and exhorted them to fight with courage. They then sung a psalm, and went singing down the hills: and the sound being increased by the echo from other hills, the enemy imagined that they were more numerous than they really were, and were by that means often struck with terror. Whenever they could do it, they gave notice to the neighbourhood of the places where they had sermons, and they were commonly very numerously attended, sometimes, he says, by two thousand persons, and on those occasions they had sentinels placed at proper distances.†

That some persons, whose minds are much agitated, as those of many must have been in such troubles as those occasioned by the war in the Cevennes, persons of a pious disposition, willing to see the hand of God in every thing, (as in a proper sense it certainly is,) but of weak understandings, should not be able to distinguish such natural emotions as they did not usually experience, from the impulse or suggestion of a foreign agent, and that they should ascribe these impulses to the Supreme Being, acting in and by them, is by no means incredible. Such pious and honest enthusiasts as these, I doubt not, were among the Camisards in the Cevennes, as they were among the Quakers in England. Also that persons of no religion should adopt their language, and imitate their gestures, &c. and endeavour to acquire reputation and emolument by the imposture, is equally credible. Such abandoned and artful people there are in all countries. And persons of both these classes, I doubt not, there were at the time to which this history relates.

When the war was over, several persons left the country, and came to England, where they were soon noted for their

* *Memoirs*, p. 115. (P.)

† *Ibid.* p. 129. (P.)

pretensions to inspiration and prophecy, being thrown into convulsions, and then saying what they pretended they knew nothing of, but which was taken down by persons present as oracles; and they were joined by many English persons of both sexes, who were affected and acted in the same manner. Three of the foreigners, called by way of distinction *the three Camisards*, were more particularly famous; and a Mr. Lacy, a member of the congregation of Dr. Edmund Calamy, an eminent dissenting minister, was among the most noted of their admirers and followers.

The three Camisards were clearly proved to be impostors. One of them went by the name of *Cavallier*, pretending to be a relation of the writer of the history quoted above, who was then colonel of a regiment in Holland, and to have been acknowledged as a prophet in the Cevennes. But the colonel being applied to, declared that he was no relation of his, and that he had never heard of his being considered as a prophet. This man appeared afterwards to be of an infamous character. He turned Papist, and enlisted in the French king's guards. The second, of the name of *Marion*,* was equally unknown to the colonel in the character of a prophet; and the third, called *Durand Fage*, he said, was a vagabond and a poltroon.

Having perused several of the tracts written by Mr. Lacy,

* "On the 2d of December, 1707, *M. Fatio*," who had been "professor of mathematics at Geneva," and "was honoured with the friendship of the most eminent mathematicians of that age, (Sir Isaac Newton, in particular,) stood in the pillory at Charing-cross, with the following words affixed to his hat: 'Nicolas Fatio, convicted for abetting and favouring Elias Marion in his wicked and counterfeit prophecies, and causing them to be printed and published, to terrify the queen's people.' Nearly at the same time a like sentence was executed upon Elias Marion and John André.

"This mode of treatment did not convince *M. Fatio* of his error; and, indeed, the delusion of a man of such abilities, and simplicity of manners, was rather an object of compassion than of public infamy and punishment. Oppressed with the derision and contempt thrown upon himself and his party (to whom he had been chief secretary), this worthy enthusiast retired, at last, into the country, and spent the remainder of a long life in silence and obscurity. He died at Worcester in 1753, being upwards of 90 years of age. When he became the dupe of fanaticism, he seems to have given up his philosophical studies and connexions. *M. Fatio*, besides being deeply versed in all branches of mathematical literature, was a great proficient in the learned and oriental languages. He had read much also in books of alchymy. To the last he continued a firm believer in the reality of the inspiration of the French prophets." *Biog. Brit.* III. pp. 143, 144. *Additions* by Dr. Kippis.

Burnet, in his first letter to *Boyle*, dated Sept. 1, 1685, speaks "of that incomparable mathematician and philosopher, *Nicolas Fatio Duillier*, who, at twenty-two years of age, is already one of the greatest men of his age, and seems to be born to carry learning some sizes beyond what it has yet attained." *Travels*, 1738, p. 12.

It must have been earlier in 1707, before the barbarous exposure of this philosopher, that lord Shaftesbury said, "we tolerating Englishmen deny these prophesying enthusiasts the honour of a persecution." *Letter concerning Enthusiasm*, 1707, Sect. iii.; *Charact.* 1758, I. p. 19. On *Fatio*, see *Voltaire*, III. p. 150.

I am willing to consider him as more of an enthusiast than an impostor, though it is barely possible to believe what he asserts concerning himself, allowing as much as we can to the force of imagination. With respect to the convulsive motions with which he, like the rest, was agitated, he says, in his *Relation of the Dealings of God with him*, "When my arm, head, or leg, is shaken, I must be allowed to know whether it be voluntary from myself, or not; and I do affirm it is not from myself, nor at my own will and pleasure; but, on the contrary, when that agent does so, and I think to suppress the same, he does continue so to start and twitch my limbs, and by more interior uneasiness over my whole body to solicit my obedience, that I can have no rest till I suffer the same to take place. Under his influence I have sometimes experienced a voice so strong and clear, sometimes so harmonious, as my natural one never did or could furnish. Under the same I have been carried on my knees several times round a room swifter than I could have gone on my feet. Some other particularities many have also been witnesses of; but these may suffice to shew that I am at times under the agency of another distinct being; at which time the tongue also is at the direction of that foreign agent, and no more under mine than the motion of the other parts of my body."*

Dr. Calamy, however, in his treatise entitled a *Caveat*,† shewed that several of the predictions of these prophets when they were in the Cevennes notoriously failed in their fulfilment, and he alleged many other reasons for their being either enthusiasts or impostors, and that the latter was the more probable of the two.

At length, it was given out by these prophets, that God would attest their inspiration by an evident miracle, viz. the resurrection of a Dr. Ems from the dead on the 25th of May, which was five months after his death. "If this be performed," says Mr. Lacy, in the tract above quoted, and written before that day, "by the power of Him who is the resurrection and the life, none that believe Moses and the prophets will doubt that the fulfilling of the glorious things written of him by them is at the door, according to the tenor of this prophetic voice of late sounding:"‡ For, the princi-

* *Relation*, p. 10. (P.)

† "Against the new Prophets, with a single sheet in answer to Sir Richard Bulkeley's Remarks on the same, 1707-8. Queen Anne sent her thanks to Mr. Calamy for this tract, and for the service he had done the public by it." *Biog. Brit.* III. p. 144.

‡ *Relation*, p. 29. (P.) *Voltaire*, III. pp. 149, 150.

pal of these predictions was the overthrow of the persecuting papal powers, and the deliverance and flourishing state of the Protestants.

When the 25th of May arrived, great numbers went to the place where Dr. Ems had been buried, with the confident expectation of being witnesses of his resurrection. But, notwithstanding their devotions at the time, to their great disappointment, he did not rise. On this, the general credit of these prophets vanished; and though some endeavoured to account for the failure of this particular prediction, without the impeachment of their pretensions in other respects, of whom Mr. Lacy was one, as appears by his *Letter to Dr. Woodward*, the delusion did not continue much longer, and no pretensions of the kind were any more heard of.*

That there were impositions contrived by some of the leaders of the Camisards, while they were in the Cevennes, appeared by the testimony of credible witnesses. A person of the name of Clary, among them, was said to stand and dance in the flames unhurt. This was published by Mr. Lacy as a miracle, from the deposition of the pretended prophet Cavallier above-mentioned; and Mr. Chubb laid great stress upon it, as a relation as well attested as the miracles recorded in the Scriptures. But Mr. Le Moine, who answered him, found by diligent inquiry, and especially the testimony of Mr. Serres, who had been one of the privy council of the Camisards, that this was a trick contrived by themselves to encourage their troops; this Clary being placed behind the fire, but appearing to those who stood at a distance to be in it. This was declared by Mr. Serres when he was near his death.†

SECTION II.

Of the Sufferings of Mr. Marolles, Le Fevre, and Peter Mauru.

A MORE distinct idea may be formed of the severity and extent of the persecution that followed the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, from the sufferings of a few individuals, of which we have particular and authentic accounts; and for this purpose I have selected those of Mr. Marolles, Le Fevre, and Peter Mauru, of which I formerly published a larger

* On *Ems* and *Lacy*, and Sir Richard Bulkeley, see the extract from Dr. Calamy's *MS. Memoirs*, *Biog. Brit.* III. pp. 143, 144.

† See my *Institutes of Natural and Revealed Religion*, (P.) Vol. II. p. 196.

account, translated from the French.* From this it will clearly appear, that this papal persecution exceeded that of any of the Heathens in cruelty and duration, though not in extent, because it was confined to the kingdom of France. But all the persecutions of the Protestants by the Catholics far exceeded all those of the Heathens even in this respect.

Lewis de Marolles was born about A. D. 1629, of an ancient family in Champagne, and lived at St. Menehould, where he held the office of king's counsellor, and the receiver of consignments; his religion incapacitating him for any other office. He particularly excelled in the knowledge of mathematics and the philosophy of the times, which was that of Gassendi and Descartes.†

On the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, he was arrested on his way to Strasburg, by which road he was endeavouring to leave the kingdom; and though it is probable that he might have been suffered to proceed, if he had concealed his design, yet he frankly avowed it, thinking it base to use any dissimulation.‡

On the 17th of January, A. D. 1686, he was removed from Strasburg to Chalons, accompanied by his family, and there he was detained six weeks, in the first four of which he had some liberty, the clergy endeavouring to convince him of his errors;§ but this measure not succeeding, he was put into a dungeon, where he was not permitted to see any person for a fortnight. After this he was brought out to receive his sentence, which was to be sent to the galleys for his life, and all his goods to be forfeited to the king.

* See Vol. IX. p. 19.

† "He applied his experience to the study also of physic, as far as philosophy and his own natural sense and understanding would enable his mind to find out some medicines proper to heal the sick." *Sufferings of Marolles*, 1712, p. 11.

‡ He was "stopt with his whole family on Sunday the 2d Dec. 1685, upon the territories of France, two leagues on this side the Rhine. They were all conveyed to one of the prisons of Strasburg, and put into a square tower which stands in the middle of the river." Here he was visited by "father Robine, and their discourse was concerning the authority of the church in explaining the meaning of the Scripture. Mr. de Marolles said, that the Scripture was explained by itself, and the maxims of good sense. Upon which the Jesuit asked him, if he was infallible? To which having replied, that he had not presumption enough to believe himself such, the Jesuit concluded, saith he, that I must therefore doubt of all my decisions. To which I answered, that, because I might be mistaken, it did not at all follow that all my judgments must be dubious, and that his maxim was good for nothing but to establish infidelity." *Ibid.* pp. 23, 24.

§ "He was immediately visited by the bishop of Chalons, who is now archbishop of Paris. We must do him justice, and say that the zeal which he hath for his religion, is as conformable to his character, as the persecuting spirit of several other bishops is far from it. He wrote to Monsieur de Chamilly [the governor] in favour of Mr. de Marolles, so soon as he knew of his confinement at Strasburg; and in the visit which he made him at Chalons, he told him, that, if he could, he would conceal him under his robe." *Ibid.* p. 30.

This was on a Saturday, and on the Monday following he was conveyed in a waggon to Paris, attended by three archers. There he was put into the prison called the Conciergérie, on the 14th of March; and there his youngest son, who had accompanied him to Paris, was told that he must see his father no more. Accordingly, he was then put into a dark dungeon, and no person whatever was allowed to have any access to him. On the 11th of May he was brought before his judges,* and on the 14th, the sentence passed at Chalons was confirmed, when irons were put upon his hands, and he was conveyed to another prison, called *la Tournelle*, where those who were to be sent to the galleys were confined till the departure of what was called *a chain*, from a number of them being chained together on the road. Here, he says, he was shut up in company with seven miserable wretches, either condemned to the galleys, to be hanged, or broken on the wheel, and the place was so dark that he could not well discern their faces. They were all troubled with rheums or fluxes, from the unwholesomeness of the place; and there, he says, he expected to rot; but contrary to his expectation he did not suffer in his health.†

Having some spare moments in this situation, he wrote to his family to comfort them, expressing the perfect tranquillity of his mind, in consequence of putting his trust in God, and esteeming himself happy in suffering in so good a cause. In a letter from this place, of the date of May 6th, he says, "I was put into a dark dungeon, where I have been buried for these six months. I was twice brought before the procurator-general. He gave me this testimony, that it was admirable to see men do that for error, which none of them, perhaps, would do for the truth."‡

From another letter, of the 2nd July, it appears that the tears of his wife and family, which had not moved him at Strasburg, induced him now to accept of a proposal to have his liberty, on condition that, with a view to his conversion as it was called, he would receive instruction from the bishop of Meaux, with whom he might continue six, eight, or ten months; but he soon repented of this concession, and of course was remanded to prison, where the chain was taken from his feet, and another, which he believed did not weigh less than thirty pounds, was put about his neck. In this situation it was that he had the two visits from the pro-

* The parliament of Paris, to which he had appealed. *Sufferings of Marolles*, p. 33.

† *Ibid.* pp. 31, 42.

‡ *Ibid.* pp. 35, 36.

curator-general, and other persons of consequence, who expressed much kindness for him, but found him inflexible on the subject of religion.*

While he was in this prison, his wife visited him as often as she could, though she could only see him through a grate, and wash the wounds which the chain had made on his neck; and this she did with water in which musket-balls had been steeped. Here it was said that he had lost his reason; but to convince his enemies that this report was without foundation, he proposed a mathematical problem to be solved by those who were skilled in that branch of science. The celebrated mathematician De Moivre was acquainted with Mr. Marolles in this confinement, and gave a particular account of this problem.†

On Saturday, July 20, the *chain* departed from Paris, when Mr. Marolles was ill of a fever. They had but a little way to go from the prison to the boat in which they were to be conveyed from Paris, and in this space they went in pairs, carrying a long chain, which went through each particular chain. In this passage he was met by his children, who threw themselves on his neck, and kissed him. His wife had not been able to bear so great a trial. As the case of Mr. Marolles had been the subject of much conversation in Paris, he was attended by a great concourse of people, who appeared to be much affected on seeing so respectable a person in that situation; and an old merchant, though then a Catholic, breaking through the crowd, encouraged him, and offered him his purse. This merchant some time after became a Protestant, and took refuge in London.‡

From Dijon, through which the *chain* passed, Mr. Marolles wrote to a friend in Paris, dated July 30, when he acknowledged that the treatment he had met with had been very prejudicial to his health, though he had concealed it from his family and other friends, that he might not give them too much pain; that he had not got quit of his fever, though he was not in danger from it, and expressed his hope that, before his arrival at Marseilles, which was to be the termination of this march, he should be perfectly recovered.§

Being arrived at Marseilles, he wrote on the 25th of August a letter, from which it appears that his fever had not then left him. He had, he said, undergone incredible fatigue, and had been twice at the point of death; and that

* *Sufferings of Marolles*, pp. 37, 38, 45, 46.

† *Ibid.* p. 64.

‡ *Ibid.* pp. 61—68.

§ *Ibid.* pp. 64, 65.

in that condition he had lain upon planks, without any straw under him, and his hat for a pillow. When the *chain* left the water, he said their condition was much worse than it had been, being jumbled fourteen hours a day in a waggon, and lodged in dungeons. Without any attention being paid to his condition, though he was evidently sick, he was immediately on his arrival at Marseilles sent to a galley, conducted by two archers, who were obliged to support him all the way; and he was chained as other galley slaves were. Some of the officers, however, seeing him in this condition, got him sent to the hospital, where he recovered his health and strength. In the mean time his family appears to have made their escape out of the kingdom.*

In this hospital he was about three weeks, and fortunately in company with Mr. Le Fevre, of whom an account will next be given, their beds being contiguous, which was a great consolation to them both. Writing from this place to his wife, he says, she had nothing to do but to thank God, and to be cheerful. Though about this time many pardons arrived from the court for galley slaves, none could be obtained for him, notwithstanding much intercession had been made for him; and his condemnation, the writer says, troubled his judges, and all honest men.†

After this he was removed to the galley, but a different one from that to which his companion was sent. Writing to his wife on the 23rd of September, he, with much pleasantry, gives a description of his galley-slave dress, and the circumstances of his treatment, of which he made no complaint. "Let all these succours which God affords me," says he, "comfort and rejoice thee. I am already used to the place where I am, as if I had been here all my life. I am better here than in the hospital." This was on account of the better air that he had on board the galley. Speaking of his chains, he says, that the iron which he then wore on his foot, though it did not weigh three pounds, had given him more pain at first, than that which he had worn on his neck; but that he had learned every day to place it so as to be less inconvenient to him.‡

By a letter to his wife, dated the 24th of October, it appears that his treatment was then much harsher than it had been. Before this he had been permitted to sleep in a bed, but now, he said, he was not loosed from his chain

* *Sufferings of Marseilles*, p. 66, 67.

† *Ibid.* pp. 67, 68.

‡ *Ibid.* pp. 71—75.

all the night; that he never had the liberty to go on shore, and that he was not allowed to receive any letters, or to write any but such as were inspected.*

Being told, after changing his galley several times, that he was to be put into one that was going to America, he says to his wife, "Let not this afflict thee. Let us resign ourselves to the providence of God, who does all things with an infinite wisdom, and with a most noble end for his children. We are not able to make a good choice, because we know not what is best for us. Let us not oppose his will by impatience or fruitless tears." To comfort her he says, that he had then the use of a little cabin, which had been procured for him by a young officer to whom he taught Algebra. †

In the month of December he had several conferences with the clergy at the bishop of Marseilles's, but they only served to make his condition worse, as the same had done to Mr. Le Fevre, who had been brought thither before him. After an interval, in which he appears to have been treated with a considerable degree of civility, he was remanded to the galley, where he was kept six weeks. ‡ But after this he was removed to a kind of dungeon prepared for him in the citadel, which was probably done in consequence of an express order from the court, with a view to triumph over his patience. In this place, the writer says, he was kept six years in nakedness, hunger, cold and darkness. §

Till several months after his confinement, he had no opportunity of writing to any person. Then, in a letter to his wife, dated the 25th of October, he tells her that on the 12th of February he was taken out of the galley, and shut into a small room, which had served for a soldier's lodge, twelve feet one way, and ten the other, but so altered, that the greatest part of the light came into it from the chimney; that he was allowed five *sols* a day; that one sentinel was placed day and night at his door, and another at

* *Sufferings of Marolles*, p. 78.

† *Ibid.* pp. 79—81.

‡ The consolation he happily found, in this situation, he thus describes in a letter to his wife, "written with his own hand," January 20, 1687:

§ "I have not so much reason to complain as you imagine, and the time slips away very quickly. The week is no sooner begun, but I find myself at the end of it. When I am up, after having presented my petitions to God, I read six, seven, or eight chapters of Holy Scripture; I make such reflections and observations thereon as I am able. I draw from this divine source, all the consolations which I stand in need of. God himself doth most plentifully furnish me with them, and with his precious balm of Gilead, he gently anoints and supplees all the wounds which my sufferings may make in my heart." *Ibid.* p. 87.

§ *Ibid.* p. 94.

the top of the chimney ; but that he bore all with patience and resignation. *

For some time he was much pleased with this change in his situation, as his ears, he says, were no longer offended with the horrid and blasphemous sounds which he had continually heard on board the galley, that he was then at liberty to sing praises to God, and prostrate himself before him, whenever he pleased. He was also relieved from his troublesome chains. The solitude, however, and the darkness distressed him greatly, and for some time disturbed his imagination so much, that he feared it would end in distraction ; but he was relieved, he says, by prayer. †

The writer of this account could not find the trace of letters written by Mr. Marolles for the three years following ; but from those which were written to his wife in A. D. 1691 and 1692, it appears that notwithstanding his continuance in these most uncomfortable circumstances, his faith and hope did not fail. He says that what afflicted him the most was the excess of her anxiety about him. But even this, he says, he would bear like a Christian. He acknowledges that after he had been in this confinement three weeks, he thought he could not live many months ; but says, that God had now preserved him there almost five years ; that on the 15th of October, in the first year, he had had a painful defluxion, which settled on the elbow and shoulder of his right arm, so that he could not undress himself to go to bed ; and this disorder continued almost a year. ‡

Four winters he spent in this place almost without any fire. The first, none was allowed him. In the second, they gave him some on the 28th of January, but took it away before the end of February. The third, they gave him some for about a fortnight. This winter, he says, they had not given him any, and he should not ask for it. Though the mayor had money of his, he would not allow him the use of any of it. Though, however, he says he experienced cold, nakedness and hunger, his situation was at that time better. §

He had been fed by different persons at different times, and one of them cut off three *sols* of the five that had been allowed him for his maintenance, and for this he said he had no remedy. At one time he had no bread for three days. He was at one time almost a year without a

* *Sufferings of Marolles*, pp. 94, 95.

† Letter to his wife, March 21, 1692, a few weeks before his death. *Ibid.* pp. 103—111.

‡ *Ibid.* pp. 101, 102.

§ *Ibid.* pp. 103, 104.

shirt, and his clothes more ragged, he said, than those of any beggar. He had no stockings to his feet, and his shoes were unsewed on both sides. An intendant, seeing him in this condition, expressed some pity for him, but left him in it ten months. At length, however, a galley-slave's dress was procured for him, though out of his own money.*

For the last year and a half he said he had been allowed a lamp full of oil, which gave him light six, seven, or eight hours, by which he could read the Scriptures more than before. Before this he had only had a small candle for a *liard* a day. At one time he said he was troubled with a disorder which took away his breath, and that he had a giddiness in which he fell down and broke his head. This he ascribed to a want of food. But now, he says, I am in perfect health, and for two or three months have been allowed regularly three loaves, and often soup.†

It appears by a letter of Mr. Marolles to a brother sufferer, in A. D. 1692, that at this time his situation was worse than it had been before. For, after acquainting him with the state of his mind, which was resigned and unbroken, he desires him to procure for him, if he could, some thread to mend his linen and clothes. For six weeks he said he had applied for some, but had not been able to procure it, and that for the three last months he could not get his linen washed.‡

From this he must have been guarded with more than usual strictness, as no letters appear to have come from him; § and by his extreme weakness he was incapacitated for reading or writing, a month or two before his death, which happened the 17th of June, A. D. 1692, when he was buried by the Turkish prisoners in a place appropriated to the burial of infidels. ||

During all this long confinement, which must be allowed to have been a more grievous punishment than death in any form, all the letters that he had an opportunity of writing (which, indeed, so closely was he watched, do not appear to have been many) breathe a truly Christian spirit; expressing the greatest patience, resignation, and even joy and gratitude with respect to God, and without any ill-will to his persecutors; and feeling more for others, especially his wife and family, than he did for himself. *Surely, there is a reward for the righteous, since there is a righteous God that judges in*

* *Sufferings of Marolles*, pp. 104, 105.

† *Ibid.* pp. 105, 106.

‡ *Ibid.* pp. 106, 107.

§ Except the letter to his wife. See p. 452.

|| *Ibid.* pp. 111—113.

the earth. At length this illustrious confessor and martyr found rest from all his sufferings; and at last, being welcomed with *Well done good and faithful servant*, will enter *into the joy of his Lord.*

Isaac Le Fevre, whose sufferings procured him as much renown through France, and all Protestant countries, as those of Mr. Marolles, was born at Chatel Chinon, in Nivernois, of one of the most respectable families in that district. By profession he was an advocate, or counsellor at law. In A. D. 1663, he was sent to Geneva, where he went through a course of philosophy, and then he studied the law at Orleans, where he maintained a thesis, and took his degrees. He then went to Paris, and shewing his testimonials to Mr. Talon, at that time advocate-general, he was admitted one of the advocates of the court of Parliament.

After continuing some time at Paris he returned to Provence, where he was employed by the marchioness of St. Andrew Mombrun, and took a journey to Poitou and Xantouigne to settle some affairs of hers, which he did to her satisfaction. There he was questioned about his religion by the intendant of Rochfort. Being, however, dismissed, he went to Paris at the time of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes; and on this he went to Burgundy to give the Marchioness an account of the business he had transacted for her, and then intended to seek an asylum in Switzerland; but on the 14th of February, A. D. 1686, he was apprehended near the town of Portali, together with a Swiss, whose name was La Tour.

From this place he was sent to Besançon, where he was insulted, and robbed of every thing that he had, especially of a watch worth twenty-five louis d'ors; and his horse was given to the archer who took him. On the 12th of April he was put into irons, and after three weeks brought to trial, when sentence was pronounced against him. The day following he was put into a dungeon with fetters on his feet night and day; and thus he was kept two months and some days. A counsellor seeing him carry his chains awkwardly, said to him by way of insult, that a person who was satisfied that he was in the true religion would suffer even unto death. This, he said, made an impression on him. He replied that what he said was true, and that he was in the way to it. At this time he was thirty-seven years of age.

In a letter written by him the 12th of May, he said, that nothing could be worse than the treatment he met with at this place; that the more they saw him affected by it, the

worse they used him ; and if there was any part of the prison more offensive than another, they put him into it. But though in these circumstances, he was repeatedly offered his liberty if he would recant, he resolutely refused. He said, he would end his days in torment rather than renounce a religion which would make him happy in the greatest misfortunes, which could make him despise shame, and put it into his heart to pray for his enemies and persecutors. He said, he felt compassion for them, and believed that they thought they did God service, though they were fighting against God and his truth.

At this time the superior of the Jesuits at Besançon was sent by the intendant to inform him, that he would be sent away the Monday following, fastened to the *chain*. Then, also, he heard that his sister, who persevered as he did, notwithstanding all the persecution to which she had been exposed, was sent to a convent at Moulins, which increased his affliction, but also, the writer says, his zeal and fervour ; and though he was still solicited by his judges and other Catholics to recant, he was nothing moved by any thing that they could urge.

From Besançon he was removed to Dijon, where he arrived the 30th of May ; but the hardships of the conveyance and his irons, bruised him much ; and had they not been taken off at Ausonne, where he had a horse allowed him, he said he should not have been brought alive to Dijon, his situation in the waggon was so painful. At this place he met with better treatment, and recovered his strength ; and after continuing two months in the prison of this city, he was conducted with his companions to Chalons on the Soane, where the *chain* arrived, that came from Paris ; and to this *chain* Mr. Marolles was then fastened. They were bound and slept together ; and for him, as he was sick, he expressed more concern than for himself.

When he was arrived at Marseilles, he wrote that he had suffered so much on his journey, that the guard, thinking that he was dead, some took one thing from him, and some another ; and that had they not made a little stop at Avignon, and he been permitted to take a litter, for which he paid with his own money, he could not have survived it. After his arrival he was forty-eight hours without being able to eat or drink any thing that was given to him, and without getting any sleep. He was then sent to the hospital as mentioned before, together with Mr. Marolles, which the writer says was like being in paradise.

Before Mr. Le Fevre was perfectly recovered, and even while he was not able to stand, he was put on board the galley. An officer seeing him in this situation said, that had he been sent to the galleys for any crime, he might have expected the kindest treatment. These, he said, are hard extremes; but in all events I shall trust in God, and praise him as long as I live.

Like Mr. Marolles, he was removed from one galley to another, and met with very different treatment in them; but at length the liberty of seeing his friends was taken from him, no letter addressed to him could be received by him, nor could he write to any person. He could not even converse with those who were chained with him, and was always kept to the *chain*, which was an uncommonly short one. After this harsh treatment, intended, no doubt, to subdue his fortitude, he was taken to the bishop of Marseilles, who said every thing that he could to induce him to recant, but it was without effect.

He was kept on board the galley till April, A. D. 1687, when he was removed to a dungeon similar to that of Mr. Marolles, in the fort of St. John in Marseilles, where he was confined till his death in A. D. 1702, which was in all sixteen years, and ten years after the death of Mr. Marolles. His prison was a vault of an irregular form, that had been a stable, but found to be too damp for the horses. There still was a rack and a manger in it. No light came into it but by the door, the upper part of which was broken, and grated within and without; so that the place was dark as well as damp, and had an offensive smell. Every thing rotted in it, and he never saw any fire but that of a candle.

When he entered this place he was searched, and the only book that he had left was taken from him. At first he lay two or three nights in a damp manger, and more than a month on a short and narrow chest, with no other covering than the king's allowance of a garment. Sometimes he could not sleep for cold.

This hard treatment brought on several disorders, at first a rheumatism, and then a continual fever. No person was permitted to come near him, much less to speak to him; and the food they gave him he said was full of impurities; and besides the badness of his food, he was often without linen or clothes. He should, he said, have been entirely without any shirt, if, by some means which he could not account for, two had not been sent to him. At the same time he received a bolster and some other things, on which he fell on his knees,

and thanked God for such unexpected favours. Even in these circumstances he said that God comforted and supported him in a sensible manner, and gave him strength to bear his afflictions with patience and joy; and that if he should say that he was sometimes so contented and happy, that he forgot that he had any cause of sorrow, he should not exceed the truth.

In this dungeon he was so closely guarded, that no news could be had of him but very rarely, and that with much trouble and expense; so that he sometimes kept his letters a whole year before he could find an opportunity of sending them. At this time, however, he composed a large treatise on *the Necessity of Suffering*. He also made a translation of the Psalms, and turned Kempis's book on *the Imitation of Christ*, into verse. From this it appears that he was allowed to have pen, ink and paper. But two years and some months before the end of A. D. 1698, the person that had served him for a messenger was imprisoned, all his writings and books were taken from him, and he kept nothing besides the translation of the Psalms printed at Neufchatel, and sometime after a soldier, who had done him some little service, was condemned to be hanged.

Some days after he had been in this solitude, a missionary and another clergyman would enter into controversy with him, but they made no impression on him.

The firmness with which this extraordinary man bore his unexampled sufferings is barely credible. In a letter to a lady, in A. D. 1695, he says, "I enter the tenth year of my sufferings, but by the grace of God, I have lost neither courage, nor patience, nor faith, nor wholly my health."

No letter of his can be traced beyond A. D. 1699, when he was so closely confined that he saw no person besides the man that brought his victuals, and he was forbidden to tell him any thing that passed in the world. He was particularly anxious to know whether at the peace (viz. at Ryswick) any thing had been stipulated in favour of the Protestants. But nothing was done for them. On the contrary, the applications and remonstrances of the Protestant powers in their favour, made Louis and his court more inveterate against them; as it was said to be a proof of their having correspondence with foreign states, and that it was impertinent in those states to intermeddle in the affairs of France. This was in the height of Louis's prosperity. Not long after this he experienced a reverse of fortune, but still there was no relenting with respect to his Protestant sub-

jects. Neither Le Fevre, nor any of his brethren in similar circumstances, were relieved. Their sufferings were rather aggravated till his death, which, as mentioned before, happened in June, A. D. 1702, when he was fifty-two years of age. Of the last scenes of his life, and the circumstances of his death, there is no knowledge.

I am tempted to extend this article, in order to give an account of the sufferings of *Peter Mauru*, which, in some respects, exceeded those of Mr. Marolles or Le Fevre.

He was a native of Loisi in Brie, and of a pretty good family. In his attempt to get out of France he was stopped in Burgundy, and was imprisoned at Besançon, together with Mr. Le Fevre, and about the same time sentenced to the galleys for life. Before he arrived at the sea-port he was coupled with Philip Le Boucher, another confessor; and because this poor man was not able to carry his chain, Mr. Mauru, who was next to him, bore it up at first with his hands, and afterwards with a forked stick, in such a manner that he was entirely relieved, and this was in the heat of the dog days.

In the galley his sufferings almost exceed belief, and seven or eight times he seemed to be at the point of death, and yet shewed a noble example of piety, humility and constancy. In a letter to Mr. Le Fevre, who requested to be informed of the particulars of the bastinadoes to which he had been subjected, he said he could not recollect all of them, that he had sometimes forty blows at a time, and never less than twenty, and this sometimes for eight or ten days successively.

When the captain of the galley knew why he was sent thither, he had him searched, and all books and papers taken from him; and at length he was fixed in a place where a spy was set over him, and he was continually tormented with needless labour. No person was permitted to speak to him besides a priest who endeavoured to convert him. An inferior officer requesting to have the management of him, saying he could do more with him than the missionaries, he was put into his hands, and only not allowed to take his life: and he every day contrived some new mode of tormenting and mortifying him. Among other things, the most wicked of the Turkish slaves and Moors were placed about him, and encouraged in insulting and abusing him. But he said, that though in his body he suffered all day long, his heart rejoiced in his Saviour day and night.

At the end of a painful voyage he had an illness which

continued a month, when he was taken to the hospital, and his life was a long time despaired of. After bearing this hard treatment ten years, his constitution was entirely broken, and he had a continual cough, which hardly allowed him to speak. In this languishing condition he continued from A. D. 1695 to 1696, and soon after this he died. Some persons having got a coffin made for him, the almoner caused it to be unnailed, and had the body taken out and buried without one. Mr. Le Fevre, who outlived him, said he preserved his senses sound to the last, and his faith and constancy were stronger than ever.

For an account of other distinguished confessors and martyrs on this trying occasion, and their extraordinary sufferings in various ways, I refer to that publication of mine from which the above is extracted. That human beings should be able to endure all that they did, and with perfect patience and resignation, and without any thing of the spirit of revenge, is truly wonderful. It shews what Christian principles can do; and certainly no other could produce this effect. A man with other principles may be sullen and obstinate, and by the help of a good constitution bear what they did, but not with their humility, patience, and universal benevolence, bearing no ill-will even to the authors of their unmerited sufferings, but praying for them.

Before I entirely close this article, I must take notice of two circumstances of peculiar hardship and injustice in the case of the French confessors and martyrs. They were generally sentenced to the galleys for life, but though some of them were sentenced to that punishment for a limited time, as ten years, yet no attention was paid to their application for release when the time was expired; so that they continued in that situation without any hope of deliverance except by death.

Though the laws of France, like those of other countries, allow of no more than one punishment for one offence, those Protestants in the galleys were subjected to the *bastinado*, and often in a peculiarly cruel manner, if they did not bow at the elevation of the host; and they were compelled to attend the recitation of the mass, together with the other slaves. The following account of one of those *bastinados* is given by a Catholic clergyman who afterwards became a Protestant:

“ In A. D. 1703, several Protestants out of *Languedoc* and the *Cevennes* were put on board our galley. They were narrowly watched, and I was mightily surpris'd on Sunday

morning, after saying mass on the *bancasse*, (a table so placed that all the galley may see the priest when he elevates the host,) to hear the *Comite* say he was going to give the Huguenots the bastinado, because they did not kneel, nor shew any respect to the mysteries of the mass, and that he was going to acquaint the captain therewith. The very name of bastinado terrified me; and though I had never seen this dreadful execution, I begged the *Comite* to forbear till the next Sunday, and that in the mean time I would endeavour to convince them of what I then thought their duty and my own.

“Accordingly I used all the means I could possibly think of to that effect, sometimes making use of fair means, giving them victuals, and doing them other good offices; sometimes using threats, and representing the torments that were designed for them, and often urging the king’s command; and quoting the passage of St. Paul, that *he who resists the higher power, resists God*.—I could not but admire at once, both the modesty of their answers and the greatness of their courage. *The king*, said they, *is indeed the master of our bodies, but not of our consciences*. But at last the dreadful day being come, the *Comite* narrowly observed them, to see the fruit of my labours. There were only two out of twenty that bowed their knees to *Baal*. The rest generously refused it, and were, accordingly, by the captain’s commands, treated in the following manner:

“In order to the execution, every man’s chains were taken off, and they were put into the hands of four *Turks*, who stripped them stark naked, and stretching them upon the *coursier*, (a great gun,) there they are so held that they cannot so much as stir, during which time there is a horrid silence throughout the whole galley; and it is so cruel a scene that the most profligate, obdurate wretches cannot bear the sight, but are forced to turn away their eyes. The victim thus prepared, the *Turk* pitched upon to be the executioner, with a tough cudgel, or knotted rope’s end, unmercifully beats the poor wretch; and that too the more willingly because he thinks that it is acceptable to his prophet Mahomet.

“But the most barbarous of all is, that, after the skin is flead off their bones, the only balsam they apply to their wounds is a mixture of salt and vinegar. After this, they are thrown into the hospital. I went thither after the execution, and could not refrain from tears, at the sight of so much barbarity. They quickly perceived it, and though

scarcely able to speak, through pain and weakness, they thanked me for the compassion I expressed, and the kindness I had always shewn them. I went with a design to administer some comfort, but I was glad to find them less moved than I was myself. It was wonderful to see with what true Christian patience and constancy they bore their torments; in the extremity of their pain, never expressing any thing like rage, but calling upon Almighty God, and imploring his assistance. I visited them day by day, and as often as I did, my conscience upbraided me for persisting so long in a religion whose capital errors I long before perceived, and above all, that inspired so much cruelty; a temper directly opposite to the spirit of Christianity. At last their wounds, like so many mouths, preaching to me, made me sensible of my error, and experimentally taught me the excellency of the Protestant religion."*

The author of the work from which I quote this, says, (p. 200,) that the bastinado ceased in A. D. 1701; but the preceding account, if the date may be depended upon, contradicts this assertion. The reason that is given for its discontinuance is, that all the princes and states of Europe expressed their abhorrence of it, and could not forbear to reproach the French ambassadors and others, with the infamy of it.

SECTION III.

Articles relating to the Catholics in general.

In this period we find the learning and virtue of several of the popes considerably superior to that of many of their predecessors, owing in some measure, no doubt, to the influence of the Reformation, after which such odious characters as those of some former popes could not have been endured. The most distinguished of the sovereign pontiffs that are now before us are, Clement XI., Innocent XIII., Benedict XIII., Clement XII., and Benedict XIV., and especially the first and last of these. In A. D. 1725, this Benedict formed a council in the palace of the Lateran, for the purpose of reforming the church; but the event did not answer his expectations.† But the influence of the popes in the politics of Europe, which used to be predominant, was reduced to nothing, a distinction being always made by

* Bion's Account, 1712, pp. 49—51. See Vol. IX. p. 19, Note*.

† Mosheim, V. p. 75. (P.) Cent. xviii. Par. vii.

those princes whose interest it was to make it, between their temporal and their spiritual power.

The endeavours of the Catholics to propagate their religion both in the East and West Indies, were continued with unabated zeal in the beginning of this period, especially when they were directed by Anthony Veri. There was no want either of missionaries or of funds for their support; but the effects of their labour and expense were not very conspicuous, and have now nearly disappeared. The candid Catholics themselves acknowledge that the Christianity which their missionaries did propagate had little in it of the genuine spirit of the gospel.

The dispute between the Jesuits and their adversaries relating to the religious ceremonies of the Chinese was particularly warm, when, in A. D. 1704, Clement XI. decided against the opinion of the Jesuits, forbidding the Chinese Christians the practice of the idolatrous rites of their ancestors. This decree was carried to China by the cardinal Tournon, who, by his imprudent conduct gave so much offence that he was thrown into prison and died there. It being thought necessary to give some satisfaction to the Jesuits, rather than lose all the fruits of the mission, in A. D. 1715, the former decree was mitigated, and leave was given, with some modifications, to do what they had permitted. This decree was carried to China by Mezzabarba, but he could not prevail on the emperor to make the least change in the institutions of his ancestors.*

I shall observe in this place that Frederic IV., king of Denmark, in A. D. 1706 sent missionaries for the conversion of the Indians on the coast of Malabar; and this establishment was much encouraged by Christian VI., and has been attended with much success.† Though fewer converts were made by the Lutheran missionaries, they were, no doubt, better Christians than those that were made by the Catholics. The Russians too, though with what success is not known, have not been wanting in their endeavours to plant their religion in Siberia.‡

The controversies within the pale of the Catholic church rose higher in this period than at the close of the last, though the low state to which the whole system has gradually sunk, has abated the virulence of all the parties. The disputes relating to Jansenism are those to which I particularly

* *Mosheim*, V. pp. 70, 71. (P.) Cent. xviii. Par. iii.

† *Danish Mission*, Ed. 3d, 1718, *passim*.

‡ *Mosheim*, pp. 71, 72 (P.) Par. iv.

allude. In them the Jansenists had the advantage, in the piety and general popularity of their leaders, while their opponents, who were principally the Jesuits, were aided by worldly power and policy.

This controversy was much inflamed by a measure which was intended to allay it, viz. the publication of the bull *Unigenitus* by Clement XI. in A. D. 1713. This bull contained a condemnation of Quesnel's translation of the New Testament, published in the preceding period, in which the doctrines of the Jansenists were insinuated in a manner peculiarly pleasing to persons of a pious disposition.* It alarmed the Jesuits so much, that, at their instigation, Lewis XIV. procured the bull above-mentioned, in which this New Testament, and one hundred and one propositions contained in it, were censured as heretical.† This bull likewise confirmed the Protestants in their aversion to the Catholic religion in general, as it convinced them that all attempts to abate the superstitions and corruptions of that church would be ineffectual.‡

The greatest disturbance that was occasioned by this bull was in France, where it was opposed by the cardinal de Noailles, archbishop of Paris, notwithstanding the resentment of the king, and a persecution which drove many to take refuge in the Netherlands and Holland, where the Catholics were almost universally Jansenists. And though by the influence of the Jesuits, and the orders of the court, the bull was registered in the parliament, and thereby obtained the force of a law, a great number of those who were zealous for the liberties of the Gallican church appealed from it to a general council, and thence obtained the name of *Appellants*.

But much of the credit which the Jansenists gained by their ingenious writings, and their real piety, they lost by their superstition, relying upon miracles and prophecies which were easily exposed. The cures of diseases at the tomb of the abbé Paris, who like many other Jansenists, died a martyr to his voluntary mortifications, were the most remarkable of those that fell within this period; and that there was nothing miraculous in them has been abundantly proved. In this period, however, the Jansenists have had an abundant cause of triumph in the total extinction of the order of Jesuits, though it does not appear, that by this, or

* See, however, a specimen of this manner, Vol. II. p. 296.

† Yet Voltaire says, "treute pages changées et adoucies dans son livre auraient épargné des querelles à sa patrie." *Ecrivains du Siècle de Louis XIV.*, art. *Quesnel*

‡ *Mosheim*, Cent. xviii. Par. x.

any other circumstance, they have gained any advantage with respect to the spread of their tenets.

In this period we have to contemplate the enormous power of the popes, even in spirituals, but much more in temporals. in a state of great depression, not even holding the language they did in the last period; and what is most remarkable in it is the total defection of that state from which they originally derived their temporalities, and the rank they held among the potentates of Europe, and which in the very last period had been most devoted to them; and the total suppression of that order of men, the Jesuits, which had been as it were, their right hand, having done more to support their pretensions than any other. But France was not the only power of which the Pope had cause to complain, and other orders besides that of the Jesuits were affected by the new maxims that now began to prevail.

In A. D. 1767, the government of Milan published a law, by which all the rights which the popes and the bishops had before exercised were transferred to a council established for that purpose, and no subject of that state was permitted to go to Rome to solicit any favour except letters of indulgence, without the consent of the same council.* The same law was published at Venice in the pontificate of Benedict XIV., but it occasioned so much debate, that the Republic thought proper to repeal it in the beginning of the pontificate of Clement XIII.†

In the same year almost all the powers of Italy were employed in restraining ecclesiastical authority, or making strict inquiries into the state of the clergy, with that view. Many restrictions were laid on the different orders of monks with respect to the manner of admitting noviciates, and the number they were allowed to receive, with a view to diminish them. The Republic of Venice at the same time made several new regulations about the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in their territory; and because the bishop of Brescia would not submit to them, his revenues were confiscated.‡

At this time too an edict was issued in Naples, by which the powers that had been exercised by the Pope's nuncio were transferred to the secular judges and magistrates. This court was also determined to lessen the number of monasteries. With this view a strict inquiry was made into the state of their revenues. The lesser ones were suppressed.

* *Ann. Reg.* p. 6. (P.)

† *Ibid.* (P.)

‡ *Ibid.* p. 55. (P.)

and it was forbidden to take the vows, or the habit, of any religious order whatever. And the king was requested by a printed petition to reunite to the crown the rights of patronage over all the churches of the kingdom which were possessed of royal fiefs or estates.

By an edict of the king of France in May, A. D. 1768, none of the monastic orders could have more than two monasteries in Paris, or more than one in any other city. Also the houses of the Cordeliers in the whole kingdom were reduced one third.*

A violent storm was raised which threatened great and imminent danger to the papal power this year by the proceedings respecting Parma. The ecclesiastics of this state had enjoyed very extraordinary privileges. Not only were their estates and effects free from all taxes, but they continued to be so after they were alienated, in consequence of which the public revenues were greatly reduced. An application that was made to the Pope for the redress of this grievance having no effect, the duke published what he called a *pragmatic sanction*, or ordonnance, by which his subjects were forbidden to appeal to Rome, and no benefices or dignities could be enjoyed by any foreigner, or any native, without his permission.

The Pope alarmed at this, threatened the duke with excommunication, &c. in the usual manner; declaring that the dutchy of Parma was his sovereignty, and the duke his feudatory, though the Papal claims on that dutchy had been given up in former treaties. In return, the duke ordered all the Jesuits in his territory, amounting to one hundred and sixty, to be seized in the night of the 17th of February, and sent into the ecclesiastical states, with a prohibition ever to return, even though they should be absolved from their vows; allowing the priests among them seventy crowns each for their lives, and the lay-brothers forty. At the same time the brief of the Pope was declared to be spurious, and treated with great contempt.

The conduct of the Pope in this business gave great offence to the Catholic powers. On its being communicated to the king of Naples, he took possession of Benevento and Ponte Corvo. He also laid claim to the dutchies of Castro and Ronciglione. He declared the Pope's bull to be spurious, and that which bore the title of *In cæna Domini*, which asserted that no ecclesiastics are subject to the tem-

* De Loys' *Harmonie des Prophéties*, p. 213. (P.)

poral powers or lay jurisdiction, to be illegal; that the Pope is only the premier among the bishops, and inferior to a general council, and that he has no direct jurisdiction over the subjects of other princes.

The king of France took this opportunity of seizing on Avignon and the county of Venaissin, as fiefs belonging to his crown, while the vice legate could only denounce spiritual penalties against those who seized on effects belonging to the church, to which no regard was paid. At the same time the religious houses in that territory were sealed up, those belonging to the Jesuits being first stripped of every thing of value in them.* The parliament of Paris also declared the Pope's brief to be illegal, and derogatory to the honour of all sovereigns.

An application for the revocation of this brief was made by the ministers of France, Spain and Vienna; but with great firmness the Pope refused to comply with it; saying that "their masters might seize his territories, and even his person, if they pleased, that he would make no resistance, if it was in his power; but he would not betray the interest of the church. It was not," he said, "the custom of the holy see to revoke its judgments, which were never passed but after the most mature deliberation, and always with the concurrence of the holy spirit."

The king of Portugal entered into these measures of the princes of the house of Bourbon, and sent a minister to Rome with orders to make a common cause with them. The Republic of Venice also sent a memorial to the Pope, soliciting the revocation of the brief against the duke of Parma. The duke of Modena laid hold of this opportunity of publishing an edict similar to that of the duke of Parma, by which the estates of the clergy in his dominions were made liable to the same imposts with those of his other subjects, and he gave notice to the monks of three of his monasteries to quit his dominions in three days, and sixteen others were threatened with the same fate. The court of Rome expressing its resentment at these measures, the duke revived his claim to the duchy of Ferrara.

The Pope, steady to his purpose, opposed these innovations with remonstrances in a high tone of authority, but soon after, loaded with years and infirmities, he died [1762]. His successor was the cardinal Ganganelli, a man of great virtue and moderation, who assumed the name of Clement

* *Ann. Reg.* 1768, p. 46. (P.)

XIV. Yet when he was solicited by all the princes of the house of Bourbon to suppress the order of Jesuits, to make a cession of Avignon, &c. to France, and of Benevento, &c. to Naples, he shewed more firmness than was expected. In a letter which he wrote to the king of France, he said that he had suspended the effects of the brief against the duke of Parma, but that he could not consent to the suppression of the Jesuits,* or give up any territory belonging to the holy see, though he should never oppose force to force. This, however, did not prevent the king of France from seizing Avignon, and annexing it to the kingdom of France, though he agreed to pay six millions of livres to the Pope, and the king of Naples kept possession of Benevento.

Though the house of Austria did not adopt the violent measures of that of Bourbon, the states of Milan seized on the celebrated monastery of the Chartreuse de Buccia, one of the richest in Italy, and sequestered its effects, allowing to the monks an annual pension of a hundred pistoles each; and all the ecclesiastics were forbidden to alienate their estates without the consent of the sovereign.

The elector of Bavaria forbade the taking of any monastic vows before the age of twenty-one. He ordered the prisons in the monasteries to be demolished, that no superior should have any jurisdiction, civil or criminal, over any member of the house; that the begging of the Mendicants should be discontinued from the first of May, A. D. 1770; that there should be no more hermits in his estates; and that the Recollects should receive no novices till their number should be reduced to four hundred.†

In this year also the duke of Tuscany abolished the right of asylum in the churches of his estates; and the same was done in others.‡

The archbishop of Vienna, in a circular letter addressed to all the monasteries and chapters in his diocese, forbade the carrying of any relics of saints in procession, or to dress or adorn their statues or images in churches.§

The duke of Saxe Gotha suppressed all the festivals of

* "Clément XIV. se trouvant précisément au centre des plaintes et des éloges qu'on faisoit de la compagnie de Jesus, voyoit tout à la fois des motifs pour la détruire, et des raisons pour la conserver.—Toujours modéré, prit-il le terme de quatre années pour surjeter le avantages et les inconvéniens d'une pareille démarche, malgré les instances journellement retirées des princes et de leurs ambassadeurs, malgré les murmures d'un public toujours impatient." *La Vie du Pape Clem. XIV. (Ganganelli)*, par M. Caraccioli, *Amst.* 1776, pp. 43, 44.

† *De Loys*, p. 213. (P.)

‡ *Ibid.* p. 215. (P.)

§ *Ibid.* (P.)

the saints. The elector of Mayence did the same, ordering some of them to be transferred to the Sunday following.*

At length, however, the moderation of this Pope almost recovered what the rigour of his predecessor had lost. France gave up Avignon, and the king of Naples gave up his claim to Benevento; and as this Pope, in A. D. 1773, consented to the abolition of the order of the Jesuits,† peace was made with the princes of the house of Bourbon, and things were continued on their former footing. The states of Italy, however, still continued to curtail the power of the ecclesiastics. The Venetians refused to receive a bull from the Pope, by which he had conferred two abbeys in their states upon the cardinal Rezzonico; the senate having resolved that no person should possess any benefice in their territories who did not reside in them. Also two religious houses were suppressed in the dutchy of Milan.

In A. D. 1774, the inquisition in Spain was deprived of all its formidable power, being reduced to little more than a college of inquiry in religious matters. Its jurisdiction, and its prisons, were taken from it, and those powers restored to the civil tribunals.

In the year following, a law was passed in the grand dutchy of Tuscany, regulating the age, terms and mode of admission of both sexes into the monastic orders, so as not only effectually to check all abuses in them, but gradually to promote their suppression, which seemed now to be an object with all the Catholic princes.

In this year also the regency of Milan abolished the court of Inquisition. Venice continued inflexible to the claims of the popes, and the king of Naples ordered his bishops, under heavy penalties, to fill up the vacancies in those numerous benefices in his dominions, which had formerly been considered as the sole gift of the holy see.

It was in this year that the Pope died,‡ and was suc-

* *De Loys*, p. 216. (P.)

† “Clément XIV., après avoir mûrement balancé les motifs qui le faisoient agir, signa, en levant les yeux au ciel, le fameux bref qui supprime à jamais la *compagnie de Jesus*, en date du 21 Juillet 1773. Jour qui, dans l’Histoire, ne sera sûrement pas oublié.” Aussi le bref est-il intitulé: *Ad perpetuam rei memoriam.*” *La Vie*, p. 106.

‡ “Septembre 22. Les hommes terrestres plaignent Clément XIV. d’avoir si peu joui des honneurs de la Papauté; et en mourant il bénissoit Dieu de l’avoir délivré d’un pareil fardeau.—A peine eut-il expiré, que son corps noircit, parut se dissoudre, et que, selon le rapport des témoins oculaires, on crut entrevoir lorsqu’on l’excetra, les marques du plus cruel poison.” *Ibid.* pp. 152, 153. *Ganganelli* was born in 1705. *Ibid.* p. 155.

ceeded by the cardinal John Angelo Braschi, who assumed the name of Pius VI., and filled the papal chair till A. D. 1800. It is an argument in his favour that he was greatly esteemed by Benedict XIV., and employed by him in many affairs of importance, in which he always distinguished himself by his disinterestedness, zeal and ability. He was also a great favourite with the late Pope, and by him made cardinal, and treasurer of the apostolic chamber.

Till this period the emperors of the house of Austria had been bigotted Catholics, and the principal supporters of the Papal power; but in this, the emperor Joseph, who was suspected to be an unbeliever, discovered very little attachment to the holy see. He began his reign with a great variety of reforms, both of a civil and ecclesiastical nature. In A. D. 1782, he suppressed all those religious orders of both sexes which were entirely devoted to a contemplative life, as the Carthusians, Benedictines, Bernardins, Dominicans and Franciscans, &c.; but he spared those nuns who were employed in the education of youth, and he allowed pensions to those who did not leave the Austrian dominions. More than fifty-three monasteries were suppressed in Austria alone. About the same time he issued edicts of general toleration of religion, which greatly offended his bigotted subjects, especially in Brabant.

The Pope, alarmed at these proceedings of the emperor, undertook a journey to Vienna, and was received with every mark of outward respect.* What passed between him and the emperor is not certainly known. He, no doubt, remonstrated against his innovations in religion; but there was no change in the emperor's measures in consequence of it.†

The far greatest blow that was received by the papal power in this period, was given to it in France, in consequence of the Revolution that has taken place in that country. But some steps towards a general toleration were taken before this, in A. D. 1786, when, during the administration of the archbishop of Thoulouse, an edict was issued to enable the Protestants to register their births, marriages and deaths in a court of justice, and also to inherit

* See Vol. V. p. 4, Note *.

† The insurrection had attained so much strength in 1790, that the Brabanters issued a silver coinage, of which I have three specimens, given me by a friend who was travelling in Flanders at that time. The largest, about the size of a crown-piece, has on one side, the Belgic lion holding a shield, on which is inscribed *Libertas*. On the other side are the arms of the eleven Austrian provinces, and round the borders, *Domini est regnum. Et Ipse dominabitur gentium*. Thus designing, I apprehend, to describe the insurrection as a war for religion, and claiming the *liberty* of remaining under the dominion of *J^rests*.

property ; whereas before, it was not known to the law that any such persons existed, though they were openly connived at. In the opposition that was made to the passing of this edict, it is remarkable that all professed themselves the friends of toleration, though some objected to this particular mode of granting it ; such progress had good sense, and the maxims of sound policy, made in this period.

When the National Assembly was formed in A. D. 1789, the finances appearing to be greatly deranged, and other resources failing, Talleyrand Perigord, bishop of Autun, proposed the annual appropriation of fifty out of one hundred and fifty millions, to which the emoluments of the clergy amounted ; and this bold and generous proposal, after much debating, was acceded to. This measure was not much objected to at Paris ; but in the provinces, and especially in the South of France, this and other measures, which were apprehended to be aimed at the Catholic religion, excited violent tumults, and in some places the Protestants, at the instigation of the monks and the clergy, were set upon, and some of them massacred. This measure was followed by a new organization of the clergy, according to which all the officiating clergy were to be chosen by the people, and some part of the emoluments were taken from the richer benefices, and given to the poorer.*

At this time the people of Avignon seized the palace, took down the papal arms, and set up those of France, petitioning the National Assembly that this territory might be annexed to the dominion of France. This occasioned a bloody contest at the place, which was in some measure quieted by troops sent for the purpose ; and at length it was determined in the assembly to annex that territory to France, and to give the Pope a compensation for it.

The principal opposition to the new constitution coming from the clergy, a law was made by which they were required to take an oath to be faithful to it, and with this many of them complied ; but others not complying, the obligation was enforced by a new decree, declaring that those who refused to take the *civic oath*, as it was termed, should lose their benefices, and become subject to other pains and penalties. On this, a great number resigned their livings, and the Pope declared his strong disapprobation of the conduct of the assembly. At first these nonjuring clergymen were allowed a

* A decree of the National Assembly at the close of A. D. 1789, declaring the estates of the church to be national property, had filled the court of Rome with the greatest consternation. *New Am. Reg.* (P.)

pension of five hundred livres a year, but in A. D. 1792, it was ordered to be withdrawn, and farther penalties were inflicted in case of any disturbance being occasioned by them. Here the king interposed his *veto*, when another decree was passed authorizing the banishment of any non-juring priest, on the petition of twenty citizens, in twenty-four hours; but the king again interposed his *veto*. But when the king had no longer any power, that decree was passed, though the distress occasioned by it was very great. Some of these priests were committed to prison till they could be sent out of the country, and some were massacred by the populace. Many of these emigrant priests were hospitably received in England, and a public provision was made for them.

In the constitution of A. D. 1793, it was declared that all persons had a right to assemble peaceably for public worship, and that no favour should be shewn to any particular sects; by which the establishment of the Catholic, or any particular mode of religion, was entirely set aside. On this, Gobet, archbishop of Paris, with other members of the ecclesiastical body, entered the hall of the assembly, and solemnly renounced both their functions and the Christian religion. Several of the clergy who were members of the assembly did the same, and Gregoire was the only one of them who had the courage to profess himself a Christian, though he said the emoluments of his bishopric were ready to be devoted to the service of the Republic.

With a view, no doubt, to the abolishing of Christianity, and if possible to consign it to oblivion, the Christian æra was ordered to be disused, and that of the French Republic to be adopted, the year *one* corresponding to A. D. 1793. The names of the months were also changed, and instead of the division of time into weeks of seven days, a new one into tens [*decades*] was introduced.*

Soon after this, the churches in Paris were shut up by an order of the commune; but this causing a great clamour, they were opened again, and the freedom of religious worship again declared. On this occasion Robespierre was thought to have acquired much popularity, by taking part with the people in defence of religion.

In A. D. 1794, at the proposal of Robespierre, it was decreed that the French nation acknowledged the existence

* The decree passed October 5, 1793, after a *Report* made by *Fabre D' Eglantine*. See "The Patriot's Calendar," 1794, pp. 7—24.

of a Supreme Being, and the immortality of the soul, and that the worship of the Supreme Being consists in the practice of the duties of man. At the same time, the perfect freedom of religious worship was again asserted, and a festival-day was appointed to be celebrated on the 8th of June, in honour of the Supreme Being. As it was still generally supposed that the assembly meant to suppress the Christian religion, it was thought proper to pass a decree on the 21st of February, A. D. 1795, and it was done unanimously, for securing the freedom of religious worship and opinions. This encouraged some of the Catholics not only to frequent their places of worship, but to appoint a synod for the purpose of seeking a reconciliation with the Pope. This, however, was not permitted; but the Catholics were left in the enjoyment of religious liberty, together with all other persons.

That in this Revolution no respect was paid to the interest of the Pope, is not to be wondered at; since, in the general coalition of the other powers against the French, he did not fail to act his part. He published a manifesto, in which he recommended a general armament, in order to the extermination of the friends of the Revolution, as men without faith, and without law; offering at the same time absolution to criminals who should take up arms for the church and the state; excepting none from this rising in mass but children, old men and priests, who, in the language of the manifesto, were to raise up their hands on the mountain, while the faithful fought in the plain.*

Considering how deeply the Pope and the court of Rome were interested in the French Revolution, it was impossible but that they must have been hostile to it; but the papal power, both in spirituals and temporals, was now inconsiderable. Such as it was, however, it was exerted when the French invaded Italy in A. D. 1797, the Pope sending troops, it is said, to join the Austrians. In consequence of this, as soon as Buonaparte was at liberty, he began his march towards Rome; and the opposition he met with was so feeble, that it was evident he might have proceeded without any obstruction, and have overturned the papal government, if that had been his object.

Then, however, the Pope, sensible of his danger and of his weakness, addressed a submissive letter to that general, and a treaty was concluded between them, by which the

* *New Ann. Reg.* 1798, p. 303. (P.)

Pope renounced all connexion with the powers that were coalesced against France. He allowed the annexation of Avignon to it, and also gave up Bologna and some other places, besides advancing a sum of money, and delivering up a great number of statues, pictures, manuscripts, &c.

Conceiving fresh hopes from the extraordinary exertions that were made by the Austrians in A. D. 1798, the Pope was encouraged to join his forces to theirs, and to put them under the command of an Austrian general. This being an evident infraction of the treaty, a French army was again sent into the papal territory; and meeting with no great resistance, they advanced very near to Rome, having in their way taken Loretto, and carried off what they could find of the treasure that had been lodged in that celebrated place of pilgrimage, together with the famous image of the Virgin, her wardrobe, &c.

In these circumstances of alarm, the Pope again addressed a letter to Buonaparte, and sent ambassadors to conclude a peace. In this letter he called him his *dear son*, and gave him his paternal and apostolic benediction. On the 19th of February the peace was signed on terms nearly the same with those of the preceding year, Buonaparte being unwilling to take advantage of the Pope's situation. He, however, agreed to set at liberty all persons who had been confined in Rome for their political opinions, and to send to Paris to make an apology for the murder of Mr. Basseville, the French envoy, in a popular tumult.

But the spirit of revolution had pervaded the ecclesiastical state before the arrival of the French armies in Italy. This spirit, which no papal edicts could charm, and no punishment suppress, was now aided by pecuniary embarrassments, in consequence of the heavy exactions of the French. In this state of things, the Pope and the cardinals could hardly make their appearance without being insulted, and the friends of revolution applied to the French ambassador, Joseph Buonaparte, for their assistance in effecting it. But neither he nor any of the French officers gave them the least encouragement.

The popular tumult increasing, the French did every thing in their power to suppress it, and in doing this, general Duplot was killed. But though the papal government had no concern in this, the French ambassador left Rome upon it; and the French Directory, eager to lay hold on any occasion to extend their influence, directed their army under general Berthier to enter Rome, on the pretence of revenging

the murder of Basseville and Duplot. Being joined by the populace, they proclaimed the *Roman Republic*; and no offers made by the Pope could now prevent the total abolition of the papal government; a kind of provisional government being formed, under the denomination of consuls, composed of six members; but for ten years the French were to have a *veto* on their proceedings.

The cardinals, and the more wealthy supporters of the former system, being taken into custody, procured their liberty by great sacrifices, and some escaped in disguise. The Pope, in a kind of stupefaction, remained in Rome; but this not being approved of, he went to Sienna, and thence to a place near Florence. But the grand duke being required to dismiss him, he intended to go to Sardinia: but on account of his age and infirmities he was permitted to continue there some time longer.

But the French Directory, having had proof of his insincerity, did not choose to trust him in Italy; and by their orders he was removed to Valence, in France, where, however, he was treated with due respect, and permitted to exercise his spiritual functions. Still jealous of his neighbourhood to Italy, the Directory gave orders for his removal to Dijon; and the notice of this, finding him in a weak, exhausted state, operated like the sentence of death on this venerable old man, and he survived it but a short time, dying on the 29th of August, A. D. 1799, in the eighty-second year of his age. Not long after, Buonaparte being in power, the body, which had not been buried, was ordered to be interred with all the honours due to his rank, and a monument to be erected on the place of his burial.*

This Pope, though distinguished for his piety, lost the respect of his subjects on account of his personal vanity, and especially his attachment to his nephews, whom he advanced and enriched beyond their merits. He deserved praise for the addition he made to the museum in the Vatican, and his undertaking to drain the Pontino marsh: but this contributed to exhaust the people, and enrich his nephews, and was never completed.

After a moderate interval, another pope was elected, and took the name of Pius VII.; and at the peace, in A. D. 1802, he was allowed to retain the sovereignty of all the ecclesiastical states, except Bologna, some other places in its neighbourhood, and Avignon in France; when it seemed

* *New Ann. Reg.* 1799, pp. 411, 483. (P.)

to be universally taken for granted, that no future Pope would be any thing more than the spiritual head of the Catholic church, and that the ecclesiastical states would be converted into a Republic. But it was an object with Buonaparte to appear the friend of religion, and especially of that which was professed by the majority of the people of France, and his inclination was decisive.

In the shameful abandonment of religion by many of the French clergy, Gregoire, the bishop of Blois, who had before distinguished himself by his eloquent defence of the Jews, stood alone in the national convention against the torrent of atheism, and yet was always as zealous a republican as any man. In the state of persecution, as it may be called, to which the Catholics were afterwards reduced, and in which great numbers had apostatized, he retained all his laudable zeal, and published pastoral letters to revive the spirit of his church.

In A. D. 1798 he procured a national council to be held, in which the state of the church was represented as indeed deplorable in every respect. In order to restore it, the most conciliatory measures were adopted to compose their differences, and all the remaining clergy were exhorted to the assiduous discharge of their functions. They acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope as of divine right, and professed their adherence to all the articles of the Catholic creed. The zealous bishop concluded with an eloquent address to the assembly, in which he said, "The political world is shaken to its centre, the inquisition and despotism, tyranny civil and religious, are crumbled to the dust;" and he ventured to prognosticate the approach of the glorious times which are the subject of many prophecies, when the Jews will be restored and converted. It does not appear, however, that this assembly of the clergy had any considerable consequences.

In the mean time, an attempt was made by the enemies of Christianity to substitute in the place of Christian worship one of simple deism, and the government favoured it by allowing the *Theophilanthropisti*,* as they called them-

* They published at Paris, An. 5, (*Septembre*, 1796,) "*Manuel des Théanthropiles, ou Adorateurs de Dieu et Amis des Hommes, contenant l'Exposition de leurs Dogmes, de leur Morale et de leurs Pratiques religieuses; publié par C....*" This was adopted in Jan. 1797, by a small society, *cinq pères de famille*. They now published a small volume, which may be called their *Directory*, from which I quote the following title: "*Le Culte des Théophilanthropes, ou Adorateurs de Dieu et Amis des Hommes; contenant leur Manuel et un Recueil de Discours, Lectures, Hymnes, et Cantiques pour toutes leurs Fêtes religieuses et morales.* Ed. 2. à Basle, 1797." They say,

selves, the use of the churches. An attempt of the same kind had been made in London some years before, and a scheme of the same nature had been proposed by Voltaire. But it appeared from all these schemes, and from this in France as well as the others, that where there is no belief of revealed religion, there will be no zeal for any, sufficient to keep up any form of worship. These societies, favoured as they were, sunk gradually into neglect and contempt.

At length, after the French nation had continued several years without any establishment of religion, and all the denominations of Christians seemed to be well contented with the liberty of professing their own, and maintaining their ministers, the policy of Buonaparte led him to make an agreement with the Pope; in consequence, an advantage was given to the Catholics, as the most numerous; but two other denominations, viz. the Lutherans and the Reformed, the next in importance, have salaries for their ministers from the state; but all other classes of Christians may be tolerated or not, at the pleasure of the government.

According to this *Concordat*, as the instrument signed by the Pope and Buonaparte was called, the Catholic religion is to be professed by the consuls; the bishoprics, and also the parishes, are to be arranged in some new manner; the bishops, who are to swear fidelity to the government, and

in their preface (p. 6), “Les Théophilanthropes ne sont point les disciples de tel ou de tel homme; ils font leur profit des préceptes de sagesse qui nous ont été transmis par les écrivains de tous les pays et de tous les siècles.”

This work of 78 pages concludes with a short *Extrait des Pensées Morales de Confucius*, immediately preceded by an Ode, entitled *Caractère de l'Homme juste*, evidently taken from the *Psalms*, particularly the 24th. There are nine pages, containing *Pensées Morales, extraites de la Bible*; to which is annexed the following hymn, designed for recitation:

“Père de l'Univers, suprême intelligence,
 Bienfaiteur, ignoré des aveugles mortels,
 Tu révélas ton être à la reconnaissance,
 Qui seule éleva tes autels! (Ter.)
 Ton temple est sur les monts, dans les airs, sur les ondes,
 Tu n'as point de passé; tu n'as point d'avenir;
 Et sans les occuper, tu remplis tous les mondes,
 Qui ne peuvent te contenir. (Ter.)
 O toi, qui du néant, ainsi qu'une étincelle,
 Fis jaillir dans les airs l'astre éclatant du jour,
 Fais plus... vers en nos cœurs ta sagesse immortelle;
 Embrâse-nous de ton amour.” (Ter.)

The thought in the last stanza is probably taken from this couplet in the *Night-Thoughts*:

“O Thou! whose word from solid darkness struck
 That spark, the sun, strike wisdom from my soul.”

Reveliere Leparix was one of the *Théophilanthropes*, and wrote a pamphlet in their favour, which I once possessed, but cannot now recover it.

to be native Frenchmen, are to be nominated by the first consul, by which he undoubtedly gains a considerable accession of influence; and canonical institution is to be given by the Pope, for which, no doubt, he will receive some acknowledgment; and all the churches are to be at the disposal of the bishops.

No act of the court of Rome can be published in France before it has been examined and approved by the government, nor can any ecclesiastical assembly be held, or any holiday except Sunday be established, without its authority. No religious ceremony can be performed out of the church in any town in which there is a temple destined for any other mode of worship. Bells are not to ring without the permission of the local police. No preachers are directly or indirectly to inveigh against any other mode of worship, or the ministers of it; nor are they to give the nuptial benediction to any but those who have contracted marriage before the civil officer. For all religious acts the ancient calendar is to be used, and the day of rest for the public functionaries is to be Sunday.

None besides Frenchmen can be ministers of any mode of worship. No article of faith can be published or taught before the government has authorized it, nor can any mode of discipline be introduced without the same authority. There are to be two academies for the education of ministers of the Augustan confession, and Geneva for those of the Reformed. The professors in all the academies are to be appointed by the first consul. In all these seminaries, those who are designed for the ministry are to study a certain time, and to have a testimonial of their good morals. All the regulations for the interior police of these seminaries, the number and quality of the professors, and their mode of teaching, &c. are to be approved by the government.*

This scheme is not likely to give satisfaction to any except those of the Lutheran and the Reformed religions, who gain considerably by it, though they are laid under some disagreeable restrictions. The Catholics lose much of their former consequence, and the friends of perfect liberty in matters of religion, Unitarians and others, are wholly at the mercy of those who are at the head of government, who may tolerate or persecute them at their pleasure.

Defective as this constitution must appear to the friends of equal religious liberty, which is the natural right of all

* See the *Reviews of L'Almanach Impérial*, in *Mon. Repos.* VI. pp. 615—618, XI. pp. 94—98.

men, it is a great improvement on the former established religion of France, and in many respects it is superior to that of England, which provides for no ministers besides those who can subscribe the thirty-nine articles of their church, excludes all others from the benefit of the national universities, and holds out the punishment of confiscation of goods, and eventually of imprisonment for life, to Unitarians; besides laying all the tolerated sects under many civil disabilities, none of them being eligible to any office of power or trust under the government, or even in any corporate town.

How infinitely inferior are both these constitutions to that of the United States of America, in which I have the happiness to reside, where the government takes no more cognizance of religion than it does of philosophy, but every person is at liberty to provide for himself in that respect as well as in any other! And the happy effects of this universal liberty are very conspicuous. In consequence of no particular sect being favoured by the government, they all live on good terms with each other; religious truth has all the advantage that its advocates can wish for; a native or a stranger may preach or publish whatever he pleases; and though no form of religion is particularly favoured, there is as much of a general belief, and open profession, of religion, as in England or France. Its influence on practice is certainly not less. It were to be wished that this was more conspicuous than it is, in all countries.

SECTION IV.

Of the Suppression of the Jesuits.

THIS period was distinguished by the entire suppression of the order of Jesuits, an event as unexpected as it was extraordinary; shewing, in the most striking light, the great difference between this and the preceding period, when any attempt of the kind would have been hazardous for the peace of any Catholic country in Europe; and this measure was begun in Portugal, and followed by Spain, countries the most subservient to the papal power, whose chief supporters the Jesuits had been.

The real causes of the extreme animosity with which the Jesuits were pursued, and their extermination urged, are matters of conjecture; but the probability is, that it was their frequent interference in the politics of states. Their

supposed wealth, as well as their power and influence, might have been some object, though they were not in general so wealthy as had been imagined. In Paraguay it is said they paid little regard to any orders from the court of Spain, and sometimes opposed the governors with force of arms, and that they almost monopolized the trade of the Spanish West Indies. This, however, is exceedingly improbable. As to their doctrines, such as that of the lawfulness of killing sovereign princes when the interest of the church required it, &c., they were become obsolete, and not having for many years been acted upon, they were little regarded, though they were urged among other pretences for the severity with which the Jesuits were treated.

On the 1st of October, A. D. 1758, as the king of Portugal was returning to Lisbon from the country, he was attacked by three persons in disguise, and though not killed, was dangerously wounded. For this, many persons were apprehended, and some executed; and it being suspected that some of the Jesuits were concerned in the business, a congregation was appointed by the Pope to make inquiry concerning it; when one hundred and seventeen of them were sentenced to spend their lives in the fortress of Mazagan, or in the island of Terceira; others were sent to Rome, and none suffered to remain in the country. But that the Pope did not give satisfaction to the court of Portugal, is evident, for about the same time the Pope's nuncio was dismissed from the court of Portugal, and the Portuguese minister left Rome.

That the court of Spain received any particular provocation from the Jesuits, does not at all appear; so that its conduct with respect to them, must be ascribed to some general policy. In what manner soever it was brought about, this great measure was determined upon in a council held January 29, A. D. 1767; the commission for the execution of it was issued February 27; and on the night of March 31, while the Jesuits, vigilant as that body of men always were, and having the most extensive correspondence, were not in the least apprized of any danger, six of their houses in Madrid were surrounded with troops, and the occupiers of them conducted to Carthagera.

Three days after this, the same measures were taken at Barcelona, and in every other part of Spain. Their effects were every where seized, their persons conveyed to the ecclesiastical state in Italy, all the native Spaniards among them being allowed a small pension for their lives.

But this was to be withdrawn if any of them ever quitted the Pope's territories, or gave the court of Spain any just cause of resentment. Moreover, if any Jesuit whatever, should write any thing by way of apology, or justification, tending to disturb the peace of the kingdom, all the pensions should be taken away. The return of any of them, and all correspondence with them, was strictly forbidden, and all publications on the subject were declared to be high treason.

The account of this transaction was received in Rome with the greatest astonishment, and while the first impression remained, nine hundred and seventy Jesuits arrived at Civita Vecchia; but the Pope gave orders that they should land, and all his remonstrances with the court of Spain proving fruitless, the Republic of Genoa was induced by the court of France to permit them to settle in those towns in Corsica, which then belonged to it; but it was a long time before these, or those that were sent after them, could be set on shore, there having been much difficulty in settling the terms on which they could be received. At length, it is said, that two thousand three hundred were landed in that island; and as they had been at sea in crowded ships, three months, in the hottest season of the year, and some of the vessels had suffered by storms, many had died of the hardships to which they had been exposed, and with which they were ill prepared by their former modes of life to encounter. This too was in addition to what they must have suffered in mind, in consequence of being separated from their friends, and the suddenness of the calamity. Their sufferings, however, were small compared with those of which the society, though not these particular members of it, had been the occasion from the time of their institution.

The orders of the court of Spain were executed with the same secrecy and effect in all their colonies. In Mexico seven hundred Jesuits were arrested, and of those alone, it is said, that their wealth amounted to seventy-seven millions of piastres. Also their effects in merchandize were valued at a prodigious sum, and in the southern provinces, and the West Indies, they were said to have been richer than in Mexico. But no opposition was made to the measures of the court, not even in Paraguay.

The persecution of this obnoxious order did not end with Spain and Portugal. On the 13th of May of the same year, the parliament of Paris published an arrêt, by which the

Jesuits were declared to be the enemies of sovereigns, and of the tranquillity of kingdoms, and they were all ordered to quit the kingdom in fifteen days, under pain of criminal prosecution, and were forbidden ever to return. Also the king was requested to apply to the Pope, and all the Catholic sovereigns, to engage him to abolish a society so dangerous to Christianity and to government.

On the 20th of November the same storm fell on the Jesuits in Naples and Sicily; and they were all conveyed to the Pope's dominions, notwithstanding the strongest remonstrances against it. These amounted, it is said, to fifteen hundred, and there were still eight hundred of the Portuguese Jesuits then alive and unprovided for. There was also at that time a great scarcity of corn in the ecclesiastical states. Their expulsion from Malta quickly followed that from Naples, and it was done at the request of the king.

The disposal of the Jesuits occasioned much debate in the congregations which were held for that purpose in Rome. At length it was determined to support the society, which had been of so much use to the holy see, and to intercede with the Catholic princes in their favour. They could not, however, have much prospect of success: for at this time such was the rancour with which this order was pursued, that in almost all the Catholic states, the reading of their works, even on subjects of mathematics and other sciences, was forbidden.

When the French got possession of Corsica, the Jesuits were banished from that island, and more than two thousand of them were landed on the territory of Genoa, and thence conducted in a destitute and starved condition to the ecclesiastical states, to the great affliction of the Pope, whose remonstrances had no effect to pacify the indignation of the house of Bourbon; these princes insisting on the total abolition of the order.

In this state of things the Pope wrote an affecting letter to the queen of Hungary, in which he said, "We respect the hand of those sovereigns by whom God now corrects, visits and humbles us; and though it were in our power to repel force by force, we would nevertheless prefer humiliation to triumph; being convinced that the piety of monarchs is our strength, and that our best arms are tears and prayers. Our whole defence is in the hands of God, who softens and nerves the hearts of princes." How different is this from the language of former popes, that is, of popes in different circumstances!

Had this pope, Clement XIII., lived much longer, and retained the same obstinacy, there might have been an irreparable breach between the Papacy and those powers which had always been the principal supports of it. But he dying, a pontiff of more prudence, viz. Gauganelli (Clement XIV.) succeeded him, and after some time consented to the suppression of the order of Jesuits, making their general, Ricci, a bishop, and providing for the subsistence of the others according to their circumstances.*

When this was done it did not appear that this celebrated, and so much vilified society, had the wealth it was supposed to possess. At least no great treasures were found in their possession; and as some of the other orders, particularly the Benedictines, had of late exerted themselves, at least as much as they had ever done, in the cause of general literature, their suppression was not attended with any inconvenience to the public, and the apprehensions of their enemies were quieted. Père Boscovich,† whom I saw at Paris in A. D. 1774, bitterly lamented this event, and blamed the weakness of their general, and of the Pope, on the occasion.

SECTION V.

Of the State of Religion in Poland.

THE Reformation was received in a very early period in Poland, and many of the provinces which constituted that kingdom having been of the Greek religion, both that and the Catholic had been equally favoured by their princes. The same toleration was now extended to the Protestants, whether Lutherans or the Reformed: and Sigismund Augustus, in A. D. 1563, passed a law in the diet at Wilna, by which every person professing the Christian religion was

* See *supra*, p. 418. Voltaire thus describes the abolition of the Order in France:

“Le 6 Août, 1762, le Parlement de Paris leur ordonna de renoncer pour toujours au nom, à l'habit, aux voeux, au régime de leur société, d'évacuer les noviciats, les collèges, les maisons-professes dans huitaine, leur défendit de se trouver deux ensemble et de travailler en aucun temps et de quelque manière que ce fût à leur rétablissement, sous peine d'être déclarés criminels de lèse-majesté. Le 22 Février, 1761, autre arrêt qui ordonnait que dans huitaine les Jésuites qui voudraient rester en France, feraient serment d'abjurer l'Institut.”

He adds, and thus concludes his *Histoire*: “Ce grand exemple imité depuis et surpassé encore en Espagne, dans les deux Siciles, à Parme et à Malte, a fait voir que ce qu'on croit difficile est souvent très-aisé, et on a été convaincu qu'il serait aussi facile de détruire toutes les usurpations des papes, que d'anéantir des religieux qui passaient pour ses premiers satellites.” *Hist. du Parl. II. ad fin.* See Vol. V. p. 462, and *Brown's Prediction, Note.*

† See Vol. III. p. 192, *Note* †, and pp. 231—233.

declared to have in all respects the same civil privileges. The same was confirmed at the diet at Grodno, in A. D. 1568. It was likewise included among the privileges granted at the diet of Lublin the year following, when the grand dutchy of Lithuania was annexed to the crown of Poland.*

At this time the Catholics were but few in comparison with the other inhabitants of Poland, and the grand marshal Firley, who convened the first diet of the Republic, in which the crown was made elective, was a Protestant. Then, also, “a perpetual peace between the Greeks, the Catholics, and the Protestants, was made a fundamental law of the Republic, which every sovereign was to take an oath to preserve. All the nobles agreed in their own names, and for their successors, to shed no blood, or to inflict on any person the penalty of confiscation of goods, defamation, imprisonment, or exile, on account of a difference of faith, or the rites of their churches; and if any should violate this solemn compact, they engaged to oppose him, though he should shelter himself under any decree, or other judicial proceeding.”

But by the great zeal of Sigismund III., in the course of a long reign, a great proportion of the Polish nobles became Catholics; so that though at the beginning of his reign only five members of the senate were of that religion, at his death they were a great majority of them. And means were found at the treaty of Oliva, in A. D. 1660, to keep the dissidents entirely out of the senate.

Though in the reign of John Casimir, when the Unitarians were banished, all the other dissidents were assured that they should be continued in the enjoyment of all their rights and privileges, yet in the next reign all the causes in which they were concerned were decided by the same rules, and all the causes respecting *religion* being deemed *the cause of God*, they could have no advocates to plead for them.

Farther, at the treaty concluded with Peter the Great, in

* *Ann. Reg.* 1767. (P.) According to the following account, this *Toleration* was very incomplete:

“Sigismund would not suffer his people to have any intercourse with those divines whose orthodoxy was suspected, and left nothing unattempted to render his kingdom inaccessible to those doctrines which had been diffused through part of Germany; but all his zeal never tempted him to maintain religion in his dominions, by persecution and the sword; and a system of regular politics and salutary instructions, were all the arms he employed against the new sectaries.” *Des Fontaines, Poland*, p. 206.

A. D. 1717, much art was used to have an article inserted, in consequence of which, by a construction not thought of at the time, the dissidents were not permitted to build any more churches than had been used before A. D. 1632, when, for the sake of peace, they consented to build no new ones in any of the royal cities. In consequence of this, all that they had built after that time were ordered to be pulled down, and even those nobles who had ministers in their houses, and the ministers themselves, were punished by fines, imprisonment and banishment. Also, all their causes were decided in the inferior courts, in which the clergy chiefly presided; whereas, by the ancient constitution, all causes of an ecclesiastical nature were to be decided in the general diet only. Many protested against this decree, and even some Catholics, and this circumstance alone, according to the constitution of Poland, which requires that all the decrees of the diet should be unanimous, was sufficient to invalidate it. Peter the Great wrote a letter expressing his displeasure on this occasion, and the king declared, in an edict, that he would maintain the dissidents in the possession of their former privileges. But neither the letter nor the edict was of any use to them.

At the diet in A. D. 1736, not only was the constitution of A. D. 1717 confirmed, but the dissidents were excluded from all public offices. It was also declared that, if they should apply to any foreign power, they should be considered as traitors, though foreign powers were made guarantees to their privileges at the treaty of Oliva, when it was stipulated that all the subjects of the kingdom of Poland, of what condition or religion soever, should enjoy the same rights and privileges which they had before.

In A. D. 1764 the preceding constitutions were confirmed. In A. D. 1766, however, the dissidents applied to the powers which had been guarantees of the treaty of Oliva, to use their mediation with the king and the Republic in their favour; and in consequence of this, the courts of Petersburg, Berlin, Great Britain and Denmark, presented memorials in their favour, to be laid before the diet. But such was the violence of party spirit, that after an inflammatory speech of the bishop of Wilna, it was decreed that the dissidents had violated the laws of the Republic in applying to foreign powers, and that their religion should not be tolerated; but the king deferred the execution of the law, at that time. The mediating powers made a fresh applica-

tion, but with no more immediate effect than before, though a body of Russian troops had marched into the heart of the country.

At length, however, the Catholic party thought proper to use more moderation, and agreed that the dissidents should enjoy their ancient privileges and repair their churches, or build new ones, wherever they had been allowed before; but they were not to enlarge their extent. Also, where they had not churches, they were permitted to have divine service in their own houses, and the Greek priests might baptize, marry and bury as formerly, provided that the established clergy had their usual fees; and a college of bishops was directed to endeavour to remove all their difficulties. But the bishop of Wilna and some others refused to accede to this, though the king was thought to be a friend to toleration.

This decree, and especially the putting of the dissidents into the power of the Catholic bishops, who were their declared enemies, gave no satisfaction to those powers who had guaranteed the treaty of Oliva, and the empress of Russia was the first to express her disapprobation. On this, though the dissident nobles were reduced to little more than two hundred families, exclusive of those in the dutchy of Courland, they entered into confederacies in different places for the support of their rights; the cities of Thorn, Elbing and Dantzic joined them, and the empress of Russia declared her resolution to support them to the utmost of her power. Also the kings of Prussia, England, Sweden and Denmark made similar declarations, but Russia alone took an active part in the business.

This example of the dissidents was followed by many Catholics, who likewise formed confederacies for the redress of other grievances, acknowledging the justice of the claims of the dissidents. These were distinguished from the dissidents by the denomination of *Malecontents*, and prince Radzivil, who had opposed the election of the king, and had left the country on that account, was made the marshal of them. In order to restore the peace of the country, an extraordinary diet was called, in which, after much violent opposition on the part of the Catholics, and the interference of the Russians, who took some of them into custody, it was settled that the Catholic should be the dominant religion in Poland, that the kings should always be of it, but that the dissidents should enjoy all civil rights; that a superior tribunal should be appointed, consisting of an equal

number of the three religions, Catholics, Greeks and Protestants, the president of which should be of each alternately, and that all causes relating to dissidents should be decided in it.

Notwithstanding this seeming pacification, the offence given by the Russians to all the parties, by their interference, was so great, that numberless new confederacies were formed against them; but acting without any concert, they were all overpowered. though not till after a most dreadful devastation of the country, such as we have no example of in modern times. This state of constant war continued several years, and in A. D. 1770, was accompanied with a plague, which made great havoc in the country, carrying off, it is said, two hundred and fifty thousand persons. This scene of disorder terminated in the empress of Russia, the emperor of Germany, and the king of Prussia, making a partition of a great part of the country, in A. D. 1772, each taking what was contiguous to his own dominions, notwithstanding a spirited manifesto of the king against this flagrant act of injustice.

The troubles of this unhappy country at length ceasing, by the all-prevailing influence of the empress of Russia, the privileges of the dissidents were ascertained and secured to them in A. D. 1775; and they were allowed churches and schools even in Warsaw. They had also a right of appeal, in all cases of grievance, to a tribunal, in which a certain number of their own Commons were assessors. Still, however, they were debarred from a place in the senate, and from occupying any office in the department of government.*

In A. D. 1793, all that remained of the ancient country of Poland, was, on various frivolous pretences, divided by the same powers that had made a division of a part of it before; so that Poland has not at present any existence as an independent state.

SECTION VI.

Events in Great Britain.

BY way of opposition to the Puritans, who were advocates for the principles of liberty, and for restraining the power of the crown, the clergy in general, through the whole of the reign of the Stuarts, advanced the doctrine of passive obedi-

* *Ann. Reg.* 1775, p. 155. (P.)

ence and non-resistance; and in consequence of this they were not a little embarrassed when they found that they had a Catholic prince, bent upon introducing his own religion. In these circumstances they became friendly to the Nonconformists, and were willing to make a common cause with them against the common enemy. But when they were released from their fears by the expulsion of James II., little of the moderation they had then shewn appeared.

King William, educated in the principles of toleration, professing a religion different from that of the Church of England, and his cause having been espoused by the Dissenters with at least as much warmth as by the Episcopals, naturally wished to favour both alike. But though no opposition was made to the *act of toleration* which passed on his accession, and which exempted the Dissenters from the penalties of several of the laws by which they had been oppressed, (but which imposed upon them an obligation to subscribe all the doctrinal articles of the Church of England,)* he could not prevail so far as to procure the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, though in his speech from the throne he expressed a wish that the parliament would make room for the admission of all Protestants who were willing and able to serve him. Also, an attempt to enlarge the establishment, and comprehend many of the Dissenters in it, was defeated by the ecclesiastical commission which was appointed for that purpose.

At this time some of the very high Churchmen thinking James to be still king *de jure*, and William only *de facto*, refused to take the oath of allegiance to the latter, and were in consequence deprived of their benefices. And this division of the church was kept up for many years, especially in Scotland, though the party was never numerous.

The attention which had been given to subjects of theology from the time of the Reformation, could not fail to have produced a variety of opinions in the members of all

* Such was "the Act for Liberty of Conscience," as *Calamy* calls it, (*Baxter*, p. 444,) and such a learned *Presbyterian's* notion of the *Civil Right to Religious Liberty*. Mr. Locke strangely complimented this act, or forgot the *Unitarians*, when he said of it, *Nulli à cultu suo penitus excludentur,—nisi Romani*. See his Letter to *Limborch*, June 6, 1689. My candid friend, Dr. Toulmin, has spared Mr. Locke, by translating only the former part of his letter. See *Hist. View*, p. 25.

It appears from Mr. Locke's letter, that the *Quakers* had now a *declaration of faith* imposed upon them, through the intermeddling of some of their own society.

"De juramento autem *Quakeris* dispensatum est; nec illis obtrusa fuisset malo exemplo, illa quam in lege videbis confessio fidei, si aliqui eorum istam fidei confessionem non obtulissent, quod imprudens factum multi inter illos et cordatiores valdè dolent." *Fam. Let.*

Christian churches, nor could all the vigilance of laws prevent the freedom of writing and publishing. Least of all could it be supposed that in a constitution so free as that of Great Britain, all the members, even of the Established Church, should continue to hold *bonâ fide*, all their thirty-nine articles. In reality there were but comparatively few of them who did so. The generality openly disclaimed the doctrines of original sin and predestination, which are clearly enough contained in them, and were advocates for the Arminian doctrines.

In the country at large no small number disbelieved the doctrine of the Trinity, and at the accession of king William many of them, the disciples and friends of Mr. Biddle, were proper *Unitarians*, believing the simple humanity of Jesus Christ. These were so far from being allowed the benefit of the toleration; that, with the approbation of Christians of all other denominations, a new law was made, in which that doctrine was called *blasphemous*, and it was made punishable by fine and imprisonment to profess it. It seems probable, that this law was occasioned by the publication of many *Unitarian tracts*, in three small quarto volumes, at this time.

During the reign of king William, the high church party were not able to do more than frustrate his endeavours to extend the bounds of religious liberty. But in the latter part of the reign of queen Anne, they urged their intolerant maxims as much as they had ever done; and as many Dissenters were at that time in the habit of communicating occasionally with the Church of England, by which means the objects of the Corporation and Test Acts were defeated with respect to them, in A. D. 1711 they procured an act to be passed by which any person in office resorting to any meeting-house of Dissenters for public worship, forfeited twenty pounds, and was disqualified for holding any office for the future; so that no persons in the customs, excise, or common council, &c. could enter the doors of any meeting-house.*

* In 1697, *Defoe* published "An Enquiry into the Occasional Conformity of Dissenters in cases of Preferment," with a preface addressed to Sir Humphrey Edwin, occasioned by his carrying the sword to a conventicle, for which he has a place in the *Tale of a Tub*. The author of the *Enquiry* thus states his argument: "He who dissents from the Established Church, except from a true principle of conscience, is guilty of a great sin. He who conforms to the Established Church against his conscience, is guilty of a great sin. He who dissents and conforms, at the same time, and in the same point of religion, must be guilty of one of those great sins."

This *Enquiry* was re-published by *Defoe* in 1701, when Sir Thomas Abney

In the last year of queen Anne, the high church party carried their intolerance still farther by an act which, in order to prevent the increase of Dissenters, ordered that the education of all their children should be put into the hands of full and entire Conformists, and that if any tutor or schoolmaster should attend any conventicle, he should suffer three months' imprisonment, and be disqualified for teaching for the future.* This act was to have taken effect on the first

was lord mayor. Mr. John Howe now wrote in defence of this practice, against the objections of Defoe, and seems to have unjustly imputed to him a design of especially calling in question the conduct of his friend the Lord Mayor, who was a member of Mr. Howe's congregation. See an account of this controversy in *Biog. Brit.* V pp. 47, 48. As to Sir Thomas Abney's "occasional communion with the Established Church, he accounted it lawful, and all along practised it, when expressing his charity, or holding a capacity for any considerable service made it necessary." *Memoirs* attached to his funeral Sermon, 1722, by Jeremiah Smith, pp. 77, 78.

Yet though thus joining in the most distinguishing religious rite of the Established Church, for the avowed purpose of a civil office, he thought it unwarrantable, generally to attend the worship, though it is not probable that he objected to the doctrine of that Church. He might consider a *Liturgy* unlawful, according to a notion not uncommon, that it restrained the operation of the Spirit. Whatever might be Sir Thomas Abney's objection, on the passing of the act in 1711, he was in doubt "whether he should quit his station, or continue in those offices, by confining himself to private family worship." He was determined to the latter course, "chiefly by the repeated applications of the Resident of Brunswick, who vigorously represented to him how far the interest of his master might depend on his continuance in his post, not without strong assurances at the same time of endeavours for relief, whenever the Protestant succession in his master's house should take place." Sir Thomas Abney "endured this restraint, (though not without a pious grief,) for seven years." *Ibid.* pp. 57, 58.

Among the sermons of Dr. Watts are two "delivered in Sir Thomas Abney's family at Theobalds, at the evening worship, 1716." In the dedication to the knight, dated 1720, the preacher speaks of him as, in 1716, "restrained by the laws of men from the public worship which he had chosen," but that the restraint was now taken off. In the sermons he speaks of forbidding and uncharitable laws, and of Christians being by them "detained from the House of God." *Watts's Works*, 1800, l. pp. 15, 155, 174.

* "The chief promoters of this bill had little or nothing to say for it, more than was expressed in the title, that it was to prevent the growth of schism, by hindering the Dissenters from endangering the Established Church, by their private academies and seminaries, which they represented as the nurseries of schism; yet it was carried in the House of Commons by a majority of two hundred and thirty-seven votes against one hundred and twenty-six. It was likewise carried in the House of Lords, though the votes in that house were pretty near equal: but several peers, to the number of twenty-eight, entered their dissent. Five of the bishops also joined with these lords, most of that reverend bench having absented themselves upon this debate." *Memoirs of Queen Anne*, 1729, pp. 297, 298.

On the debate in the House of Peers Lord Cowper said, "Such a bill would be the means to introduce ignorance, and its usual concomitants, superstition and irreligion, because in many country towns reading, writing, and grammar schools, were chiefly supported by Dissenters, not only for the benefit of their own children, but likewise for the children of poor Churchmen." *Ibid.* p. 292.

"Viscount Townshend, who had lived some time in Holland, took notice that the wealth and strength of that great and powerful Republic, consisted in the number of its inhabitants; but that he was persuaded if the states should cause the schools of any one sect tolerated in the United Provinces to be shut up, they

of August A. D. 1714, which was the very day on which the queen died. But George I., convinced of the extreme unreasonableness of these acts, which were aimed at the steadiest friends of his family, (for at that time, and long after, the clergy in general were in the interest of the family of James,) procured the repeal of them in the fifth year of his reign, though the magistrates were still not allowed to carry the badges of their office into a meeting-house.

Freedom of inquiry was by no means confined to the Dissenters. In the reign of queen Anne, William Whiston, professor of mathematics in the university of Cambridge, wrote in defence of that doctrine which is generally called *Arianism*, and on that account was deprived of his professorship.* The convocation also censured his writings, and would have proceeded against him as a heretic, but the queen who either had more good sense, or was better advised, refused to sanction their sentence.†

Mr. Whiston was soon followed by Dr. Samuel Clarke, rector of St. James's Westminster, a man of great learning, and of a most respectable character; but though he declined repeating his subscription to the thirty-nine articles, he did not leave the church, as Mr. Whiston did, or resign his benefice. Following these examples, Mr. Pierce, and other eminent Dissenters, became converts to the Arian doctrine, and in a short time this became the prevailing sentiment, not only of the more liberal Dissenters, but of the clergy of the Established Church, while the proper Unitarians, or Socinians, were very few and little noticed, at least as such. Dr. Lardner, a most learned defender of Christianity, was known to be of this class, but he published nothing in defence of his principles till late in life,‡ and even so late as the year A. D. 1770, I do not recollect the

would be soon as thin of people as Sweden or Spain, where the one is depopulated with the Inquisition, and the other with the rigid laws in favour of Lutheranism. *Memoirs of Queen Anne*, p. 294.

Earl Wharton said, "He was agreeably surprised to find some persons of sudden were become so religious as to set up for patrons of the church; but that he could not but wonder that persons who had been educated in dissenting academies, whom he could point at, and whose tutors he could name, should appear the most forward in suppressing them. He also excepted against the word *schism*, with which he said the frontispiece of this bill was set off, and said it was strange they should call that *schism* in England, which is the established religion in Scotland." *Ibid.* pp. 295, 296.

* See his *Historical Preface* prefixed to *Prim. Christ. Reviv'd*, 1711. Re-published separately, 1718.

† See *Burnet*, O. T. An. 1711 and 1712. Fol. II. pp. 571—573, 608. Whiston's *Mem.* Ed. 2, 1753, pp. 187—189.

‡ In 1759, his *Letter on the Logos*, "written in 1730," and "supposed to have been originally addressed to Lord Barrington." *Life*, p. lviii.

names of more than about half a dozen dissenting ministers who avowed that opinion, and it was not openly espoused by any of the clergy.

Notwithstanding this, the doctrine of the proper humanity of Christ made its way into the Established Church, and a considerable number of clergymen, who were known to have entertained that sentiment, though there might have been some Arians among them, in A. D. 1772 joined some intelligent and liberal-minded professors of medicine and law, in a petition to parliament to be released from the obligation to subscribe the thirty-nine articles of the church, which at the university of Oxford was required at *matriculation*,* when it could not be supposed that those who subscribed could have considered the subject, so as to have formed any opinion about the articles of faith to which they professed to give their consent. But such was the dread of innovation, and the apprehension that a concession in this point would lead to others, that the application was negatived by a great majority of the members of parliament, so that lawyers and physicians, educated at the universities, are still under an obligation to profess the orthodox faith.

One of these petitioning clergymen was *Theophilus Lindsey*, then rector of Catterick in Yorkshire, who, despairing of obtaining any relief in this way, resigned his valuable living, and after struggling with many difficulties for some time, opened a place of Unitarian worship in London, making use of the Liturgy of the Church of England, as reformed by Dr. Clarke and himself. This scheme, from the excellent character of the man, met with great encouragement,† and drew so much attention to the subject, that from this time the number of Unitarians in England has greatly increased; and the Trinitarians and Arians among the inquisitive and learned Christians, have proportionably diminished, both in the Church, and among the Dissenters, so that of late several whole congregations have become avowed Unitarians, though the great majority are still Trinitarians.

The controversy which most of all agitated the Church of England in this period, beginning in the reign of George I., was that which was occasioned by a discourse of Hoadly,

* And is still required within a fortnight after they enter the university from all students or scholars above twelve years of age. *Si supra duodecimum ætatis annum extiterint, Articulis Fidei et Religionis duntaxat subscribent.* See *Excerpta è Corpore Statutorum.* Oxon. 1721. *Tit. ii.* pp. 3, 4. *Old Whig*, 1739, pp. 395—397. *M. Repos.* XIII. pp. 735, 736. Also Mr. Dyer on *Subscription*, 1792, p. 4.

† See Vol. V. pp. 3, 85.

then bishop of Bangor, thence commonly called the *Bangorian Controversy*, from the saying of our Saviour, "My kingdom is not of this world." He maintained that the clergy ought to have no temporal jurisdiction whatever. This gave great offence to the high clergy; and the great number of publications on both sides of the question, were the means of throwing much light on the subject of the different provinces of church and state; and the cause of religious liberty was a gainer by it.

From this time to the death of George II., liberty of sentiment gained ground among the clergy, especially in the upper ranks, and they were in proportion favourably disposed towards the Dissenters, who were also favoured by the court,* while the great bulk of the inferior clergy were generally disaffected, and friends to the exiled family of the Stuarts. But on the accession of George III. a change soon took place, the king receiving into favour those who had been the enemies of his family, but whose maxims of government were high, and who had now no expectation from the Pretender. On this the clergy in general, being favoured by the court, became advocates for such high maxims of government as they had preached up in the reign of the Stuarts, and the Dissenters, as the friends of liberty, were equally frowned upon by church and state, now in as strict alliance as ever.

The aversion to all innovation in matters relating to the Church, appeared in A. D. 1772, when a motion in the House of Commons, to quiet the possession of the subject against dormant claims of the Church was negatived.

It having been observed by several of the speakers in the house against the petition of the clergy, that if the Dissenters, who derived no advantage from their subscription to the doctrinal articles of the Church, to which they were made subject in the act of Toleration, should apply for relief they would be favourably heard, the hint was taken, and the application being made, it passed the House of Commons, but by the influence of the bishops, was rejected in the House of Lords. The same being moved for the year following, A. D. 1773, its fate was the same, being admitted by the Commons, and rejected by the Lords. At

* Thus when "a prosecution was commenced against *Doddridge*, in the ecclesiastical court, by some dignitaries of the church of England, for teaching an academy," on a representation to the king "a stop was, by his express order, put to the prosecution." Orton's *Memoirs of Doddridge*, 1766, pp. 251, 252. See also *Biog. Brit.* V. p. 306.

the same time a motion being made to abolish the subscriptions in the universities, it was rejected in both houses.

In proportion as the Dissenters lost ground in court favour in this reign, the Catholics gained it. In A. D. 1778, they were released, by the unanimous vote of both houses, from several grievous penalties to which they had been subjected in former times, when danger was really apprehended from them: for, popish priests officiating according to their religion, were punishable with death; Papists educated abroad forfeited their estates to the next Protestant heirs; and Catholics could not obtain any legal property by purchase.

This favour granted to the Catholics, encouraged the Dissenters in A. D. 1779 to renew their application for relief in the matter of subscription, and in these circumstances the opposition to it was inconsiderable. But though they were no longer obliged to subscribe to any of the articles of the Church of England, they were made liable to be called upon for a declaration of their belief in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. In fact, however, few have been called upon to *subscribe*, and I never heard of the *declaration* being required of any person.

From this time no farther application was made in favour of the Dissenters till A. D. 1787, when it was thought that the increasing liberality of the times promised a greater extension of religious liberty. It was therefore moved in the House of Commons to repeal the Corporation and Test Acts, which excluded Dissenters from offices of trust and emolument. But though no such exclusive laws existed even in Catholic countries, or in any part of the world except in England, the sovereigns being every where else at liberty to employ whom they thought proper in public offices, and though the motion was ably supported, it was rejected by one hundred and seventy-eight votes against one hundred. The same motion was repeated in A. D. 1789, and with more appearance of effect; for the votes in favour of the repeal were one hundred and two, and those of the opposers only one hundred and twenty-two.

Encouraged by this large minority, the Dissenters imagined that if they exerted themselves in procuring petitions for the redress of their grievances from all parts of the kingdom, and from Dissenters of all denominations, (because it had been said that only a part of the body, and those the most turbulent, were concerned about it,) they could not fail to succeed, as they had done with respect to the business

of subscription. But whether it was on account of these meetings to procure petitions, or the dread of innovation in general, from the recent example of France, the clergy formed similar meetings, and by their preaching, writings, and other means, excited a more violent opposition than had ever been known before; so that though the motion was most ably supported by Mr. Fox, in A. D. 1790, it was rejected by two hundred and ninety-four votes against one hundred and five. This decisive majority put an end to all the hopes the Dissenters had too fondly entertained of any extension of their toleration in the present reign.*

In this same year a large body of the Catholics, with a view to obtain the repeal of some very severe laws by which they were aggrieved, (it being still high treason to make converts, and being also liable to several penalties for celebrating mass, &c., though they had not for a long time been put in execution,) made a formal protest against the temporal power of the Pope, and his assumed authority to release men from the obligation of oaths, &c., and in consequence of this, the next year the repeal of the obnoxious statutes was obtained without the least difficulty, to the satisfaction of all the friends of religious liberty. Still, however, the Catholics remained excluded from both the houses of parliament.

But, however well-disposed the governing powers of the nation were towards the Catholics, nothing could be obtained in favour of the Dissenters, at least of the Unitarians. In A. D. 1792. Mr. Fox moved for a repeal of the statute of William and Mary above-mentioned, which eventually makes the declaration of their sentiments confiscation of goods,

* So much was party spirit inflamed by the writings that were published on this occasion, that the Dissenters became the object of more hatred by the friends of the court, than they had ever been since the time of queen Anne. It was in consequence of this, that on the celebration of the French Revolution in A. D. 1791, to which the Dissenters, as the friends of universal liberty, were generally favourable, that spirit produced the Riots in Birmingham, and gross insults on the Dissenters in various other places. This being, to say the least, connived at by the ministry, made it unsafe for me, though I had taken very little of an active part in the application to parliament, to continue in England. But I am thankful to a kind Providence for providing me with a safe asylum where I now am. And the difficulties into which the country has been brought by the war with France, by giving all persons another and a more interesting object, has contributed to make persons attend much less to religious distinctions than before, and thus has greatly abated bigotry and party spirit. (*P.*)

To the disgraceful events in 1791, the following allusion was made by Sir Vicary Gibbs, on his defence of Mr. Hardy, in 1794: "We have not forgot the calamities of Dr. Priestley at Birmingham; we know that there, a mob, because they happened to differ from him, and some friends of his in political opinions, beset his house and razed it to the ground." *Trial of Thomas Hardy*, 1795, IV. p. 115.

and imprisonment for life, and is therefore a case of simple toleration. The most strenuous opposition was made to it, and the motion was rejected, and this was the last attempt that has been made in that country in favour of toleration.*

In Ireland, however, where formerly it had been thought necessary to lay the Catholics under the strongest restrictions, they this year obtained the valuable privilege of elective franchise, by which they were enabled to vote for members of parliament, and also the right of trial by jury; and some time before this they had obtained the right of taking apprentices, of teaching school, of marrying with Protestants, and of being called to the bar, which shews the miserable state of servitude to which they had been reduced.

These concessions did not, however, give entire satisfaction to the Catholics. They reasonably wished to have every civil disqualification under which they laboured removed, and there was an appearance of the ministry in England favouring their claims, when Lord Fitzwilliam was made lord lieutenant of Ireland in A. D. 1795. This nobleman was exceedingly popular in the country, and the Catholics expecting every reasonable indulgence under his administration, Mr. Grattan brought a bill into the Irish parliament for their farther relief. But notwithstanding the most earnest and repeated recommendation of conciliatory measures by this respectable governor, in the prospect of great danger from delay of redress, the English ministry very unexpectedly changed their views. Recalling Lord Fitzwilliam, they appointed Lord Camden to succeed him, and Mr. Grattan's bill was rejected. This, as was expected, gave great offence and alarm, not only to the Catholics, but to all the friends of reform and liberty in general; and on this occasion the *United Irishmen* became peculiarly active, and at length raised such an opposition to the government as had never been known before.

This society was formed in A. D. 1791, and at that time the object of it was a parliamentary reform, and Catholic eman-

* This statute was repealed in 1813, by what has been justly called Mr. W. Smith's bill. See Mr. Belsham's *Discourse and Appendix*, 1814, pp. 24, 47—53.

It is to be regretted that the impugners of *Revelation* are still exposed to the severe penalties of this unrighteous statute. Surely Christians will at length generally understand, that their religion is only injured and insulted by the *officious* protection of the magistrate. It will, probably, require a longer time for the magistrate to resign a source of power so productive, as the *management* of religion. This can be expected only where a people generally understand and attend to their own interests, or in the language of Bishop Berkeley,

Where men shall not impose for truth and sense,
The pedantry of courts and schools.

icipation, or a restoration of the Catholics to all the privileges of other Irish subjects. Nor does it appear that till this time the members of this society had any thing farther in view. But after the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam, the Catholics despairing of any favour from government, great numbers of them formed themselves into bodies more or less organized and armed, and were guilty of various excesses; and being opposed by other bodies of men in the interest of government, who called themselves *Orange Men*, the country came by degrees into a state of civil war, while the United Irishmen, proceeding more quietly and systematically, increased their numbers so much, that they could bring an army of more than a hundred thousand men into the field.

In this very year they opened a regular communication with the French Directory, having now nothing less in view than the separation of Ireland from the kingdom of Great Britain. In their expectation of assistance from France they were, however, disappointed, the French troops, that landed in Ireland at different times and places, arriving too late, or in too small numbers, to be of any service to them. And when, without waiting for farther aid, the United Irish rose in open rebellion, there being a want of union in their measures, and their secrets being betrayed by some of their members, they were, though not without some bloody conflicts, finally defeated and suppressed, after the arrival of Lord Cornwallis in the capacity of lord lieutenant, in A. D. 1798, he with great judgment joining measures of conciliation with those of force. In this contest it is computed that more than thirty thousand lost their lives; and on both sides many persons were put to death in the cruel manner that is too common in civil wars.

Though the object of the leaders in this rebellion was entirely political, and no doubt they intended to abolish all civil establishments of religion, the great mass of the common people who entered into it, considered it as a war of religion, and for the re-establishment of the Catholic. They hoped that the heretics, as they called the Protestants, who they said had reigned upwards of a hundred years, would now be exterminated, and the true Catholic religion established. Such of the Protestants as joined them were obliged to be baptized in the Romish chapels; and even several of the chieftains were compelled to attend mass, and at least outwardly to conform to the rites of that religion.*

* *New Ann. Reg.* 1798, p. 199. (P.)

It is almost a certainty, therefore, that had this rebellion terminated, as it was intended, in a revolution, the political leaders, and their French auxiliaries, would have been disappointed, from their not being able to controul their bigotted and violent followers, and in many places at least the massacre of the Protestants could not have been prevented, though it might not have issued in the final establishment of the Catholic religion.

With a view to prevent any such disturbance as this in future, it was thought advisable to form an union of the two countries, which hitherto had only had the same sovereign, but different legislatures. This measure, therefore, which was generally thought to be very hazardous, was pursued, and after some opposition in the Irish parliament, it was, in A. D. 1800, acceded to, and soon after adopted in England. In consequence of this, a hundred members from Ireland were added to the Commons of Great Britain, with a due proportion of Lords to the House of Peers, and the whole being united was called *the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland*.

At present it does not appear that this forced union, (for such it evidently is with respect to the Irish nation in general,) gives much satisfaction. But neither, it is said, did the union of Scotland with England please the Scots at first, though they are now sensible of the advantage of it. But the Scots had their own religion confirmed to them; whereas nothing has been done for the Irish in this respect. Though at least two thirds of all the inhabitants are Catholics, all the tithes are given to the clergy of the Church of England, and these are out-numbered by the Dissenters in that country. Nor are the Irish Catholics eligible into parliament, or to offices of trust under the government; and while this is the case it is more properly subjection than union.

SECTION VII.

Of the Methodists in England.

THE Methodists, who are now a considerable sect of Christians in England and North America, had their origin at Oxford, in November A. D. 1729, when Mr. John Wesley was a fellow and tutor in Christ Church. He soon distinguished himself by the strictness of the discipline to which he trained his pupils; and becoming very serious, he formed

a small society of persons of similar views and principles, who met every evening, at first to read the classics, and on Sundays, books on divinity. Then, to make themselves more useful, they visited the sick and the prisoners in the Castle, and raised a fund for their relief. This industry and regularity got them the title of the *godly club*,* and also that of *Methodists*, which they bear to this day. But notwithstanding this ridicule, and opposition of other kinds, they persisted in their pious and benevolent undertaking.

In October, A. D. 1735, Mr. Wesley, accompanied by his brother Charles and Mr. Ingham, went to Georgia, with a view to a mission among the native Americans; thinking they had a divine call to labour for their conversion, and Mr. Wesley's first preaching without notes was on board their ship while it lay in the river. Among the passengers were some Moravian brethren,† of whom Mr. Wesley at that time conceived so favourable an opinion, that after spending near two years to little purpose, as he said, in America, he accompanied some of them to Germany. But in the mean time, having entertained some enthusiastic notions concerning saving faith, and the instantaneous communication of it, he imagined that he received this divine influx on the 24th of May, A. D. 1738; though on the first day of that month the first society of Methodists was formed in London, when about fifty persons agreed to meet once a week for free conversation, beginning and ending with singing and prayer.

In June this year he embarked for Germany,‡ and was introduced to count Zinzendorf on the 4th of July, and after spending some time at Herrnhut, the principal settlement of the Moravian brethren, he there formed the plan of his own society in England, to which he returned in September A. D. 1738, when he began to preach in public, which he frequently did three or four times a day in different parts of London. He also made excursions into the country; and his success was so great that he soon established regular societies in different parts of the kingdom, and he persevered with astonishing activity and courage, notwithstanding the greatest opposition of every kind.

A similar course had been taken by George Whitfield, who had joined Mr. Wesley's society at Oxford, five or six years after the formation of it, and for some time they seem

* To this club belonged Mr. Stonehouse, author of *Universal Restitution*, 1761. He succeeded late in life, to a baronetcy. See *Mon. Repos.* XIII. pp. 564—566.

† La Trobe's *Crantz*, pp. 194, 226.

‡ *Ibid.* pp. 227, 228, 274.

to have acted in concert. But their difference of opinion (Mr. Whitfield being a Predestinarian, and Mr. Wesley an Arminian) occasioned a separation, so that their societies had no connexion, and their rivalry and opposition was not always conducted with the temper that becomes Christians. But Mr. Wesley's antipathy to the Moravians, to whom he had been so much attached, had no bounds. On all occasions he expressed the greatest abhorrence of their principles and discipline, and inveighed in the bitterest terms against count Zinzendorf himself.

Mr. Whitfield was the more popular preacher, but his societies were not so well connected and organized as those of Mr. Wesley; and on this account the latter promises to be more permanent. Mr. Whitfield also declined employing lay preachers, and Mr. Wesley's preachers were almost altogether of that kind, by which means he gained more upon the common people.

Both these kinds of Methodists have certainly been the means of a great reformation in the lower orders of the community, promoting sobriety and industry in places notorious for profaneness, idleness, drunkenness, and vices of every kind.

The discipline of Mr. Wesley's societies was singularly strict. All his preachers were appointed annually; and for this purpose Britain and America were divided into circuits, which were regularly visited by the preachers every month or six weeks. They seldom passed more than a day or two in any place, except the principal town in the district, where they generally spent about a fortnight.

All the preachers had their circuits appointed for them at a meeting of the whole body, called the *Conference*, which was held every year at the following places, in their turns, viz. London, Bristol, Leeds and Manchester. Their orders were to preach twice every day; and besides those preachers there were in all the societies, stewards for temporal affairs and leaders of bands: for every society was divided into classes, or bands, which met every week for religious conversation and inquiry into the state of their minds. Of these bands there were some that were termed *select*, on account of their greater proficiency. Of these select bands there were in London only, in A. D. 1763. six hundred.

Mr. Wesley in his life-time could number forty-three thousand members of his society in North America, besides about eighty itinerants, and a considerable number of local preachers. In Europe and America together, he had up-

wards of one hundred and twenty thousand, including three hundred itinerants, and thirteen or fourteen thousand local preachers.

For the government of the society after his death, Mr. Wesley transferred the property of all his meeting-houses to one hundred of his preachers, all named by himself; and from this number many of the oldest and most respectable of the preachers were excluded. This was depriving them of their original right of voting in the conferences, and, as might have been foreseen, gave great offence, and occasioned the defection of many. Mr. Wesley's great foible was his love of power, and he did not find all his preachers so obsequious as he wished.

Mr. Wesley injured his scheme with rational Christians by many extravagant singularities. Besides his belief in sudden conversion, and miraculous interpositions of Providence, a favourite doctrine with him, at least for a long time, was that of the *direct witness*, or a divine impression upon the mind, assuring a person of the forgiveness of his sins. When any person said that he did not certainly know this, he would bluntly reply, "Then you are a child of the devil." He also maintained the doctrine of the possibility of sinless perfection, and held that this state might be attained in a moment, by an act of faith: though it is remarkable that, notwithstanding the stress that he laid upon it, he never pretended to it himself.

He was, however, always fully persuaded that his mission was from God; and that it was in the plan of Providence to produce a great reformation by the means of his societies. He always called it *the work of God*, and speaking of the rise and progress of Methodism, he said, "it was such an event as, considered in all its circumstances, had not been seen upon the earth before, since the time that John went to Abraham's bosom." Thus, making it of more importance than the Reformation by Luther.

He obliged the boys, educated at a school of his at Kingwood, near Bristol, to rise at four, and never indulged them in any play. He laid the greatest stress on abstaining from every kind of diversion for grown persons. He objected to the use of tea, and was an advocate for celibacy, especially that of the clergy, and his preachers, till he took a wife himself; and he was at one time disposed to insist upon all his disciples having all their possessions in common, like the primitive Christians. He also gave it as his opinion, that if the Christians of this day had the same degree of faith, they

would be endued with a similar power of working miracles ; and he was a firm believer in many of the exploded modern ones.

Though like other Oxonians, he was a zealous advocate for the Church of England, and disliked Dissenters, he would not have his places of worship consecrated by bishops ; and though he was only a Presbyter himself, he ordained bishops for the mission of North America, after the acknowledgment of its Independence of England. In this his love of power, which was ever predominant in him, prevailed over his professed principles.*

SECTION VIII.

Of the Eastern Churches, and the Lutherans and Moravians in Europe.

THE Greek church has continued to the present time in the same state in which it was at the close of the last period. The want of learning among the Greeks, prevents all controversy and all improvement. The Russians have not more learning or knowledge than the other branches of the Greek church, and appear to have no less bigotry, by a work of Stephen Javorski against heretics of all denominations.†

The Monophysites have shewn a laudable zeal for the propagation of their faith, and have gained to their communion some of the Nestorians on the maritime coast of India.‡

The Lutherans, during this period, have continued in nearly the same state in which they were at the close of the preceding, though some encroachments have been made upon them by the Catholic powers, especially in the Palatinate.§

They have had some internal disturbance by various

* See his Life by Mr. Hampson, and his Original Letters, &c., published by me. (P.)

† *Mosheim*, V. p. 81. (P.) Cent. xviii. Par. xiii. According to the following statement, a dread of heresy confined them to the reading of the Scriptures, without sermon or exposition :

“ Ils ne font nulle explication de tout ce qu'ils lisent dans leurs Eglises : ils ne prêchent point non plus, parce qu'ils tiennent que c'est par ce moyen que les hérésies, et les opinions erronées à l'égard de la Foi, se repandent dans le monde.” (*La Religion, Ancienne et Moderne de Muscovites*, imprimé à Cologne, 1698, pp. 15, 83.) *Russian Catechism*, &c. 1725, p. 50.

‡ *Mosheim*, V. p. 82. (P.)

§ *Ibid.* p. 98. (P.) Par. xxvi. *Mosheim* here speaks of “the Reformed Church.” At p. 82, par. xiv. he says, that “the Lutheran church has been injuriously—oppressed by the votaries of Rome.”

fanatics, and there have been some among them who have ventured, notwithstanding the restraint which their public confession of faith lays them under, to think and write with some degree of freedom, so as to endeavour to make Christianity appear rational. But there have not been so many of this character as might have been expected from the great extent of the country. All the open Dissenters from their establishment have been of the enthusiastic cast.

Several attempts to throw light on subjects of theology by means of metaphysics, were made in this period by Leibnitz, Wolf, and their followers, while others took great offence at their labours; and Laurent Smidt, who, in his translation of the five books of Moses, endeavoured to prove that there is no prediction concerning the Messiah in them, nor any intimation of the doctrine of the Trinity, was, in A. D. 1737, apprehended by an imperial edict, and perhaps would not have escaped with life, if he had not found the means of getting out of prison.*

There have appeared other writers of a liberal cast in Germany, who have objected to the doctrine of the eternity of future punishment, and have contended for the final restoration of all intelligent beings to a state of happiness,† but with what success I have not been informed.

Some attempts were made by Matthew Pfaff and others, in this period, to promote an union of the Lutherans and the Reformed, but without any effect.‡

At the close of the last period, (p. 344.) we left the *Bohemian Brethren* in a state of total dispersion, and almost annihilation; nor was there any revival of this sect till A. D. 1721, when some of their descendants, or who pretended to have had some relation to them, obtained, by the solicitation of one Christian David, a carpenter, permission of Lewis Count Zinzendorf, (who in early life had devoted himself to the advancement of religion,) to settle on his estates in Upper Lusatia, where, on a hill on which no house had been built before, they formed a village, and gave it the name of *Herrnhut*, or the *Lord's Hill*.§ In May, A. D. 1724, they laid the foundation of a place of public worship,

* *Mosheim*, V. p. 88. (P. Cent. xviii. Par. xix.)

† Among these are *Marsay* and *Siegebrock*.

‡ *Mosheim*, V. pp. 92, 93. (P. Cent. xviii. Par. xxii.)

§ "Christian David, striking his axe into a tree, uttered these words: *Here hath the sparrow found an house, and the swallow a nest for herself: even thine altars, O Lord of Hosts.* Thus they, on the 17th of June, 1722, felled the first tree for the first house in Herrnhut." *La Trobe*, p. 99.

the count being present, and joining in a solemn act of religion on the occasion.*

At this time he had little knowledge of the Bohemian brethren; and when some remains of them resorted to Herrnhut, and talked with pleasure of their ancient discipline, he paid little attention to them. As people came to Herrnhut from very different places, and held very different opinions, it was with some difficulty that the count brought them to any kind of agreement; which, however, he at length effected, and a form of doctrine and discipline was agreed on, and signed August 13, A. D. 1727.†

Among other regulations, they formed themselves into bands for exhortation and prayer, keeping the two sexes separate.‡ At this time they met with *Comenius's History and Church-constitution of the Bohemian Brethren*, and found it to be essentially the same with their own; but they had much debating among themselves whether, in order to avoid calumny and persecution, they should not lay aside their particular regulations; but on the whole it was thought most advisable to keep to them, though with many variations from their original plan. The count took the office of *Warden*, § but from the first he frequently repeated the discourses of the ministers, and in every other respect gave constant attention to the affairs of this infant church, as his lady did to the females in it. A number of young women at this time, at the head of whom was one who had the title of eldress of the congregation, entered into a covenant to devote themselves, as they said, to the Lord, and to give no attention to any overtures of marriage, unless recommended to them by the elders. || And it appears that, in this and every other respect, the members of this society pay the greatest deference to the directions of their chiefs.

This establishment at Herrnhut being much talked of, occasioned many inquiries concerning it from very distant places, and in consequence of these, persons were deputed to visit Denmark, England, and most countries of Europe. The first of these deputations was to Copenhagen in A. D. 1717, and this afterwards gave rise to the mission to Green-

* "Baron Watteville kneeled on the foundation stone, and, amidst many tears of all present, offered up such an heart-affecting prayer, as we never had heard before. We were perfectly convinced that this was the very spot our feet ought to rest upon. Hereupon the celebrated Mr. Milde, amannensis to Professor Franke, struck up the *Te Deum laudamus* with a joyful voice." *La Trobe*, p. 106.

† *Ibid.* p. 118.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 115. (P.)

§ *Ibid.*

|| *Ibid.* p. 126.

land and the West Indies. The count himself visited many of the courts of Germany.*

Notwithstanding the peculiar regulations and discipline of this society of Christians, they attended the neighbouring Lutheran parish church, and received the communion there as members of it: and in A. D. 1728, in order to remove the calumnies that were propagated concerning them, they signed a public act declaratory of their approbation of the Augsburg confession of faith, though they adopted a peculiar discipline, and that notwithstanding their respect for John Huss, they chose to take the appellation of *Brethren* rather than that of *Hussites*: concluding with expressing their hope that they should have the protection of the sovereign of the country as well as of the territorial lord.†

At this time the count himself again proposed the abolition of their particular constitution, and an union with the Lutheran church, but it was decided against him by a solemn lot, drawn by a child of four years of age, and from this time they were determined to hold to their discipline as directed by God so to do, and also that, in pursuance of it, they should preach the gospel to all the nations of the world.‡ At this time Jablonski, who had been consecrated bishop of the ancient brethren, and who was then chaplain to the king of Prussia, hearing of the proceedings at Herrnhut, expressed great satisfaction in them, and corresponded with the count, acknowledging that they were worthy descendants of the Bohemian brethren: but it is evident that they were not at all under his jurisdiction.§

In A. D. 1732, the count resigned an office which he held in the court of Dresden, and devoted himself entirely to the service of his church, accepting again the charge of Warden, which he had held before, but had resigned. and soon after this he entered as a regular minister of the Lutheran church, his orthodoxy being allowed by those who examined him for that purpose.¶ The arrival of so many strangers at Herrnhut exciting the jealousy of the government, they resolved to send colonies to other places, both with a view to extend their principles, and to provide for their increasing numbers.**

* *La Trobe*, p. 128. † *Ibid.* p. 125.

‡ On one lot was written the text of *Cor.* xi. 16. On the other, which was the lot drawn, was the text of *Thess.* v. 2. *Ibid.* p. 137.

§ *Ibid.* pp. 141, 142. ¶ *Ibid.* p. 168.

** *Ibid.* pp. 174—179. †† *Ibid.* pp. 181, 182.

From the beginning of this new church there was much enthusiasm in it; but from A. D. 1734, the count attending more particularly to the doctrine of atonement by the blood, as he said, and wounds of Jesus, was so impressed by the consideration of it, that from this time he made it almost the sole burden of his preaching, and it became that of the society in general. Indeed, their discourses, hymns and prayers abound with so many allusions to the blood and wounds of Christ, and especially that in his side, that they are perfectly disgusting. In their prayers, also, they address themselves to Jesus only, on the idea of his being both the creator and redeemer of the world, and therefore that we have no immediate intercourse with any other person in the Trinity,* in which they differed from all other sects of Christians that had preceded them.

The first of the Moravian missions, by which they have so much distinguished themselves, was in A. D. 1732, when two of the brethren set out for St. Thomas, an island belonging to the Danes, in the West Indies; where, being received by some well-disposed planters, they preached to their slaves with considerable success. The second mission was to Greenland, the year following. This for a long time was very unpromising, but about A. D. 1740, it began to flourish. In A. D. 1734, a colony was sent to St. Croix, but many died on their arrival there. The year following another colony went to Georgia, accompanied by the two Mr. Wesleys and Mr. Ingham, from England. This colony promised well; but the brethren refusing to take arms in the war with the Spaniards in A. D. 1739, they left the place, and went to Pennsylvania. In A. D. 1735, a colony went to Surinam,† but they made no settlement there till A. D. 1754.

* Yet on opening the Synod at *Marienborn*, in 1764, their historian says, "They first of all fell down before our dear Lord and Saviour, imploring his presence, the gracious countenance of our heavenly Father, and the most special guidance of the Holy Ghost." *La Trobe*, p. 554.

† The historian of the Moravians mentions a design "to reckon up all the first-fruits of the Heathen that were brought to Jesus Christ through the ministry of the Brethren, and, to the year 1747, were fallen asleep in the faith; and to represent them in a picture in their natural colours, and in the dress of their country. They are painted as standing before the throne of Jesus with palms in their hands, given to them by an angel, with the superscription out of the Revelation, chap. xiv. 4: *These were redeemed from among men, being the first-fruits.*" Then follow the names of 16, consisting of a *Greenlander*, a *Hottentot*, a *Persian-woman*, a *Gipsy-girl*, and the rest, *Indians* and *Negroes*.

The historian adds, "In this picture, which has excited many beholders to praise and glorify God, are, moreover, seen two remarkable persons, though descended

Hitherto these Moravian Brethren conducted themselves as members of the Lutheran church, though with particular regulations of their own. But despairing of getting ordinations for the persons who should be sent on these missions, and thinking that the administration of baptism would not be valid without it, the count, though long averse to the measure, applied to Jablonski, who joining with Silkovius of Lissa his colleague, ordained David Nitchman, an active member of their society, giving him power as a bishop to hold visitations, and ordain ministers.*

After some difficulty they formed [1736] a settlement in Holland, which was very useful to them, as a place where their missionaries could furnish themselves with every thing necessary for their distant voyages.†

In A. D. 1736, the count, on the complaint of some noblemen, was banished from Saxony,‡ and a commission was appointed to examine the state of Herrnhut; when it appearing that the society there had received the Lutheran confession, and differed from the Lutherans only in ceremonies, they were suffered to remain as they were.§ In this state of exile the count visited foreign countries, and among others England, where he was well received by archbishop Potter, and his church acknowledged to be a true Episcopal church, its doctrines not differing from the thirty-nine articles of the Church of England.¶ At Berlin, where the king of Prussia saw and encouraged him, he received Episcopal ordination from Jablonski and Nitchman, and from this time, he was usually styled the *ordinary* of the Brethren, and soon after this, three colonies of the Brethren were settled in the dominions of this prince.¶¶

In A. D. 1754, the Brethren instituted a college at Barby for teaching divinity, law, medicine, the languages, mathematics, and all the useful sciences. They also encouraged

from Christian parents, who came to the congregation of the Brethren, and there departed this life, viz. Christian Zedmann, an Armenian, and Thomas Mammucha, a Mingrelian." *La Trobe*, pp. 353, 334.

* *Ibid.* pp. 82, 197. † *Ibid.* p. 202.

‡ By a form called "*Consilium abeundi* (order to quit the country)." *Ibid.* p. 204.

§ *Ibid.* pp. 203—206.

¶ *Ibid.* pp. 213, 214. "He also became acquainted with a learned Quaker, Josias Martin, to please whom he drew up a concise history of the Brethren, in French." *Ibid.* p. 214.

¶¶ *Ibid.* pp. 215, 216, 218, 221. See Archbishop Potter's congratulations. *Ibid.* p. 216, and La Trobe's *Preface*. "Dr. Isaac Watts also gave a testimony to this church, 'under the patronage of that notable and excellent person count Zinzendorf,' in a letter dated December 21, 1758." *Pref.*

their youth to go, after the education they had received here, to other universities, and travel into foreign parts, taking care that they were attended by some experienced brother, that their principles might not suffer by it. The princess of Anhalt Zerbst, afterwards empress of Russia, several times visited this college, and expressed her approbation of it.*

In A. D. 1756, there was a general synod of the Brethren, at Bethel, from all parts of Europe, and some from America, when it was resolved to constitute a department for the direction of the church in all its branches, and this was established the year following.†

After serving this church thirty years, and devoting all his fortune and his time to it, after spending much of his time in travelling to distant places, and going more than once to America, count Zinzendorf died at Herrnhut, in A. D. 1760, with every appearance of genuine piety, to the great edification of many who were present; and his funeral was attended with the greatest respect by persons of all ranks.‡

On the death of the count, the business of the society was carried on by a *board of directors*, and in A. D. 1764, another general synod was held at Marienburgh in Wetteravia, when there were present eleven bishops and co-bishops, and many other officers, with thirty deputies from distant congregations. At this meeting they renewed their approbation of the Confession of Augsburg, and determined anew that “the *doctrine of the merits of the life and sufferings of Jesus*, should be their chief and fundamental knowledge.” §

Between this synod and the next in A. D. 1769, the affairs of these Brethren flourished greatly, in the extension and prosperous state of their missions into every part of the world, Europe, Asia, Africa and America || being encouraged by the civil powers, on account of their peaceable behaviour, and the benefits they derived from their labours in civilizing their subjects.

No denomination of Christians, not even the ancient heretics, were ever charged with more blasphemies, absurdities and impurities, than the Moravian Brethren; and as far as language literally interpreted is any evidence, the charge was in a great measure made good from the writings of count Zinzendorf; and yet it would have been absolutely

* *La Trobe*, pp. 447, 448.
§ *Ibid.* pp. 508, 554, 555.

† *Ibid.* pp. 454, 455.
|| *Ibid.* p. 617.

‡ *Ibid.* pp. 497—502.

miraculous if any body of nominal Christians could have subsisted in the present, or any other age, if those charges in their full extent, had been true. Men who evidently lived the lives of the apostles, giving all their substance, and exposing themselves to every possible hardship, and that for many years, for the sole purpose of propagating what they deemed to be important truth, could never have been guilty of what has been laid to their charge. It may, therefore, be concluded, that the accusation, if true, could only be so with respect to some individuals, and not the society in general; or, if general, that the indecent practices were soon laid aside. As to their mere language, though highly offensive to modest ears, it must not have appeared so to themselves; and the most absurd opinions, and the most enthusiastic language, have no necessary connexion with vice.* Their doctrine of instantaneous conversion, and others, which certainly have a bad tendency, they only hold in common with many other Christians, whose morals are in general even rigid.

Their historian, Mr. Crantz, the intelligent writer of the account of Greenland, intimates something of an apology for his society, when he says, "The topic of the discourses about this time, representing believers as playful children, rejoicing and recreating themselves, with full resignation, amidst all the difficult circumstances which may befall them; or as birds in the atmosphere of the cross of Jesus; or of doves flying to his wounds, as the clefts of the rock, gave occasion to a variety of abuses and excesses in words and actions, which, though indeed they did not break out in works of the flesh, punishable even in man's judgment, as some bitter enemies and calumniators have pretended, were yet sinful in the eyes of God. This evil," he says, "appeared first of all in the year 1746,"† but was afterwards corrected.

SECTION IX.

Of the Progress of Infidelity.

THE most remarkable feature in the character of this period, is the great increase of Infidelity in the course of it; and as towards the beginning of it some English writers distinguished themselves the most in this way, it may be

* See on this subject Rimius's *Candid Narrative*, 1753, *passim*, and Letters in the XIth Volume of the *Monthly Repository*, pp. 65, 264, 390, 525.

† *Ibid.* p. 370.

worth while to give a short account of the more considerable of them, and of the principles advanced by them, which it will be useful to compare with those that are held by unbelievers of the present day.

Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who wrote in the close of the preceding period, held that "there is one supreme God; that he is chiefly to be worshipped; that piety and virtue are the principal parts of his worship; that we must repent of our sins, and if we do so, God will pardon them; that there are rewards for good men, and punishments for bad men in a future state." These he represents as "common notions, inscribed by God on the minds of all men," and undertakes to shew that "they were universally acknowledged in all nations, ages and religions." These articles, he says, "when explained, in their full latitude," are sufficient, so "that nothing can be added to them;" and he says it was "the great design of Christianity, as contained in the Holy Scriptures, to establish those great principles." He therefore declares it to be "far from his intention to do harm to *the best religion*, as he calls Christianity, but rather to establish it."*

Notwithstanding this, he inveighs without distinction against all pretences to revelation; but he makes no attempt to refute the evidences of the Jewish or Christian revelations. And it is not a little extraordinary, that though he rejected all other revelations, he pretended to one made to himself; for, having some doubt whether he ought to have published one of his treatises, he says that he made a solemn prayer, requesting some sign from heaven if it was proper that he should publish it, and he imagined that a voice from heaven, though not an articulate one, gave him that sanction.† He says he not only heard the voice, but that, in the most serene sky he ever saw, he plainly perceived the place from which it proceeded.‡

* (*De Relig. Gentil.* Cap. xv. *init.* *App. to Relig. Laici* Qu. iii.) Leland's *Deistical Writers*, Ed. 1766, I. pp. 5—7.

† "Being thus doubtful in my chamber, one fair day in the summer, my case-ment being open towards the south, the sun shining clear, and no wind stirring, I took my book *De veritate*, in my hands, and kneeling on my knees, devoutly said these words: 'O thou eternal God, author of this light which now shines upon me, and giver of all inward illuminations; I do beseech thee, of thine infinite goodness to pardon a greater request than a sinner ought to make; I am not satisfied enough, whether I shall publish this book; if it be for thy glory, I beseech thee give me some sign from heaven; if not, I shall suppress it.' I had no sooner spoken these words, but a loud, though yet gentle noise came forth from the heavens (for it was like nothing on earth) which did so cheer and comfort me, that I took my petition as granted, and that I had the sign I demanded; whereupon also I resolved to publish my book." *Leland*, I. p. 43. See Vol. II. p. 91, *Note* *.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 43. (*P.*)

Mr. Blount, the principal author of a treatise entitled *The Oracles of Reason*, published in A. D. 1693, advances the same general principles, with Lord Herbert, expressing his faith in the being and providence of God, and a future state. He particularly objects to the writings of Moses.*

John Toland always professed himself a Christian, and his first publication entitled *Christianity not Mysterious*, was designed to shew "that there is nothing in the Gospel contrary to reason, nor above it."† But in his other works he labours to invalidate the authority of the Canon of Scripture, giving an account of a great number of spurious gospels, and other books, as if they were entitled to as much credit as those contained in the present Canon.‡ But he has been abundantly refuted by many learned Christians, especially by Mr. Jones,§ who has proved that none of the books excluded from the Canon are entitled to any credit, or were ever respected by the Catholic church. Besides, they all assert the miracles and resurrection of Christ, and the miracles of the apostles, on which the truth of Christianity depends.

Lord Shaftsbury is generally classed among unbelievers,

* *Leland*, pp. 69, 76. † *P.* See *Biog. Brit.* II. p. 385, in Vol. II. p. 97, Note †.

† "And that no Christian doctrine can be properly called a Mystery." Such is the title of this Treatise for which the author borrowed the following motto from *Archbishop Tillotson*: "We need not desire a better evidence that any man is in the wrong than to hear him declare against reason, and thereby acknowledge that reason is against him." This book was "printed in the year 1696," at London, without any publisher's name. Dr. Leland says it "was animadverted upon by Mr. Beccosal, Mr. Beverly, Mr. John Norris, Dr. Payne, Mr. Synges, afterwards Archbishop of Tuam, and Mr. Brown, afterwards Bishop of Cork." *D. W.* I. p. 79.

Toland began this piece at Oxford in 1695, when he was 25 years of age, and it appears to have been his first publication. Had he written nothing else, there had been no pretence for placing him among Deistical writers. Sir R. Howard, in *the History of Religion*, and Dr. J. Foster, in one of his Sermons, argue on Mystery much in the manner of this book.

From Mr. Molyneux's letters to Mr. Locke, it appears that Toland and his book were presented, at Dublin in 1697, "by a grand Jury;" Mr. M. says, "not one of which, I am persuaded, ever read one leaf in *Christianity not Mysterious*." He adds, "the Dissenters were the chief promoters of this matter." He further says, "the Parliament fell on his book, voted it to be burnt by the common hangman, and ordered the author to be taken into custody of the Sergeant at Arms, and to be prosecuted by the Attorney-General, at law. Hereupon," Mr. M. adds, "he is fled out of this kingdom." *Familiar Letters*, July 20, and September 11, 1697.

‡ Against this charge, first preferred by *Offspring Blackhall*, a court chaplain, and at length a bishop, in a 30th January sermon, Toland defended himself in 1699, in *Amyntor*, annexed to his *Life of Milton*, edited by Mr. Hollis, 1761, p. 161.

The biographer of Mr. Hollis (Archdeacon Blackburne) says, "Toland was a man of great genius and learning, a staunch assertor of liberty, and wrote notably the life of that arch-defender of liberty, John Milton. In a strait age of religion, he was guilty of some unguardednesses; and in a party-age, of principles of some heats; which, with a scantiness of circumstances, and no œconomy, drew on him, in the after-part of his life, many difficulties." *Memoirs*, I. p. 236.

§ In his "New and Full Method." *Leland*, I. p. 82.

though he frequently speaks with respect not only of the doctrine of a wise and good Providence, (observing that men were formed for the exercise not of virtue only, but of religion,) but of Christianity also; and yet there are many things in his writings which indirectly vilify the Scriptures and Christianity. He particularly reprobates the hope of reward and the fear of punishment as motives of virtue.*

Mr. Collins, who wrote about the beginning of the last century, endeavours, in his *Discourse on Free-Thinking*, to shew that there was a general corruption of Christianity in the sixth century; when it was evidently too late to do it any material injury, and he enlarges upon the divisions among Christians, as an evidence of the uncertainty of their principles. In his *Discourse on the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion*, he maintains that it has no foundation in the prophecies of the Old Testament, but says nothing against its historical evidence.†

Mr. Woolston, pretending a zeal for Christianity, and the character of Jesus, and setting himself up as an advocate for the allegorical sense of Scripture, endeavours to shew the absurdity of the literal sense, and objects to several of the miracles of Jesus and to his resurrection, but only on the ground of their natural improbability, and not for any deficiency in the historical evidence.‡

Mr. Tindal,§ in his *Christianity as old as the Creation*,||

* *Treat.* II. Pt. ii. Sect. iii. *Leland*, I. pp. 86—115. *Biog. Brit.* IV. 284—286.

† *Leland*, pp. 116—144; *Biog. Brit.* I. p. 626, IV. p. 27. See Vol. II. p. 102, IV. pp. 260, 261, and the *Notes*. I now add, from better information, that *Bentley* had probably seen the translation *Idiot Evangelists*, which is ascertained to have been given by *Collins* in his first edition. An unfounded insinuation of *Atheism*, against *Collins*, still attaches to the memory of *Bentley*. See *Mon. Repos.* XIII. pp. 624, 625.

‡ *Ibid.* I. pp. 146—160. *Lardner's Works*, XI. pp. 1—77. See also *Appendix to his Life*, where he maintains against Dr. Waddington, Bishop of Chichester, the impropriety of opposing Mr. Woolston by “invoking the aid of the civil magistrate” to inflict “pains and penalties,” when Christianity should be defended only “by solid reasons and arguments.” Pp. cxv.—cxxxiii.

§ Matthew Tindal, LL.D., the son of a clergyman in Devonshire, was “born about 1657,” and educated at Oxford. “In the reign of James II. he declared himself a Roman Catholic, but afterwards renounced that religion.” In 1706, he published “*The Rights of the Christian Church asserted, against the Romish and all other Priests who claim an independent Power over it.*” This book, which reached a fourth edition in 1709, irritated the *High-Churchmen*, “numbers among them immediately wrote against it, and did not scruple to brand it with the severest and foulest imputations.” *Le Clerc*, however, (in *Bib. Chois.* 1706, X. p. 305,) “spoke of it in terms of approbation. The *High-Churchmen* now reported, that *Le Clerc* had been bribed. To this he indignantly answered, “Il n’y a jamais rien eu de plus faux, et je puis protester, en honnête homme, et devant Dieu, que je n’ai jamais eu, pour parler de ce livre-là, ni d’aucun autre, de promesse, ni de recompense. Ceux qui ont publié le contraire, ont publié un mensonge, soit qu’ils l’aient inventé eux-mêmes, ou qu’ils aient été trompés, par quelque autre.” *Ibid.* 1711, XXIII. pp. 235, 236. See Vol. II. p. 94.; *Gen. Biog. Dict.* XII. pp. 222—225.

|| “Or the Gospel a Republication of the Religion of Nature,” 4to. 1730, “pub-

pretends the greatest respect for the Christian religion, and yet he represents all revelation as useless, asserting the clearness and sufficiency of the law of nature.*

Dr. Morgan, in his *Moral Philosopher*, does not deny the usefulness of revelation, but says we cannot tell when it is given, undervaluing all proofs of it, either from miracles or prophecy; but he says nothing to invalidate its historical evidence. He says there is but one infallible mark of divine truth, which is its moral truth, or the reason and fitness of the thing itself, when fairly proposed to the understanding.†

The anonymous author of *Christianity not founded on Argument*‡ endeavours to shew that its proper foundation is *faith only*, which he attempts to prove from the Scriptures; where, however, we find a constant appeal to rational evidence, and the plainest facts.§

lished when he was about 73. He left a second volume in MS. at his death in 1738. This was a "general reply to all his answerers, the publication of which was prevented by Gibson, bishop of London." *Gen. Biog. Dict.* XII. pp. 226—228. See *Leland*, I. pp. 169—183.

Dr. James Foster published, in answer to this work, "The Usefulness, Truth and Excellency of the Christian Revelation defended," of which there was a third edition in 1734; observing that courtesy and impartial justice towards the author, which *Deists* have not always received from Christian advocates. He remarks, in his *Preface*, that "general charges of insincerity, perverseness, and wilful error, are as easily brought by bigots and enthusiasts against the opposers of false religions, as by the defenders of the true, against their antagonists." He then describes a "common prejudice against the Christian religion," created by "Christians themselves," and arising from "those corruptions in doctrine, and gross superstitions in worship, by which they have defaced the simplicity and beauty of true Christianity, and which have been urged indeed with greater zeal than morality itself." Then referring to what he regards as the author's "affected concern for the purity of the Christian religion," he says, "Indeed these writers are not to be blamed for acting thus in disguise, till they can declare openly against it without danger. But it were to be wished, methinks, that all unnecessary terrors being removed, they might no longer be forced to the inconsistent pretence of exalting Christianity by destroying it." Pp. iii.—v. How worthy of their cause were such *Christian* advocates as *Foster* and *Lardner*!

* Speaking of a certain class of Christian writers, Dr. Ellis says that "infidelity, at last, joined issue with them upon their own principles, and from the concessions they had made undertook to shew that Christianity was not necessary, and by this advantage obtained a triumph over them." He adds, that "thus a zeal for natural theology had well nigh destroyed all religion, and Dr. *Clark* fell a sacrifice to *Tindal*, by the very weapons he had put into his hands." *Knowledge of Divine Things*, pp. 11, 12.

† *Leland*, I. pp. 200—253. See *Mon. Repos.* XIII. pp. 602, 735.

‡ "And the true Principle of Gospel-Evidence assigned: in a Letter to a Young Gentleman at Oxford," 1712, Ed. 3, 1713. This pamphlet is ascribed, by Dr. Kippis, to Henry Dodwell, son of the celebrated divine, whose "absurd and peculiar notions" might, he thinks, have contributed to the son's scepticism. Dr. K. says of the pamphlet, that "it was written with ingenuity and subtlety; excited great attention for a time; and was answered, and indeed effectually, by several able and learned men." The author he describes as personally known to him, and that "he appeared to be a polite, humane and benevolent man." *Biog. Brit.* V. p. 327, and the account of *Doddridge's Reply*, pp. 285, 286. See also *Leland*, I. pp. 257—265.

§ On this occasion was published, "Christianity, how far it is, and is not, founded on Argument: being the Controversy between the author of *Christianity not founded*

The author of the *Resurrection of Jesus considered*, only objects to it on account of the improbability of the thing, and the inconsistencies in the different accounts of it: but he does not explain the principles on which he could not deny that it was believed by those who were the only proper judges in the case, how they came to live, suffer and die in that belief, and how they were able to draw so many others into the same belief, and to maintain it at the risk of every thing dear to them in life, and of life itself.*

Mr. Chubb began to write as a rational Christian, and never expressly denied the divine mission of Jesus; but, without any examination of the historical evidence, in his *Posthumous Works* he insinuates many things to its prejudice. He also denies a particular Providence, and the duty of prayer. With respect to a future state, he expresses himself very variously, and with respect to the natural probability of a revelation, he says, that "when men are sunk into gross ignorance and error, and are greatly vitiated in their affections and actions. God may, for any thing that we can know to the contrary, kindly interpose by a special application of his power and providence, and reveal to men such useful truths as otherwise they would have been ignorant of, or might not attend to, and also lay before them such rules of life as they ought to walk by, and likewise urge their obedience to them by proper motives, and thereby lead them to repentance and reformation." But he adds, "whether this be so, and when it is so, will, in the nature of things, be a matter of doubt and disputation." He does not, however, say, why we should entertain any doubt with respect to the evidence of either the Jewish or the Christian revelation.†

Lord Bolingbroke says, but without advancing any proof of his assertion, that the Jewish books were written at the time of the Babylonish captivity; that there is no proof that the gospels were written in the apostolic age; that those we

on Argument, and his opposers, adjusted and set in a clear light. B: *Robert Scagrave*, A.M. 1743." This writer justly complains (pp. 19, 20) of those who "begin with asserting a point to be incomprehensible, and in the next breath go about to explain it." He adds, "for my part, if I believe a mystery, let it continue a mystery." Mr. Scagrave appears to have been an *alivie orthodox*, and had just published, in a 3rd edition, "Observations on the Conduct of the Clergy; shewing that the Church of England properly so called, is not now existing."

I have lately mentioned, in another place, that Dr. Vanderkemp, who died a few years since, on his mission to the Cape, had treated the historical evidence of Revelation exactly in the manner of this *deistical* writer. See *Mon. Repos.* N. V. p. 107.

* *Leland*, 1. pp. 279—304.

† See Vol. II. pp. 83, 90, 103, 132, 191. *Leland*, 1. pp. 310—311. *Mon. Repos.* N. V. p. 107. *Biog. Brit.* III. pp. 521—552.

now use were not distinguished from the spurious gospels; that the Christian clergy through whose hands the Scriptures have been transmitted to us were guilty of numberless frauds and corruptions; but he does not prove any of these random assertions. He also says, that the many differences among Christians about the sense of Scripture, shew that it is absolutely uncertain. But he never attempts to account for the rise and propagation of Christianity in the circumstances that he supposes.

In his *Posthumous Works*, he asserts the being of a God, but he reduces all his attributes to those of power and wisdom, denying that we can ascribe to him either justice or benevolence. He says, that, though God made the world, he does not concern himself about the affairs of men, or if he do, his providence only respects societies, but not individuals; that the law of nature, on which our duty is founded, is clear and obvious to all mankind, but that it has been obscured and perverted by Heathen philosophers and Christian divines; that there is no need of any supernatural revelation; that the religion of the Scriptures is unworthy of God; that the gospels of Christ and of Paul were different things; that Christianity in its genuine simplicity, as taught by Christ, is a benevolent institution, and may be regarded as a republication of the law of nature, but that the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments is absurd.*

Mr. Hume, while he lived, wrote only against the credibility of miracles, universally considered, without at all considering the evidence produced for those of the Old and New Testament, or attempting to account for the belief of them when they were exhibited. But in a posthumous work he denies not only a future state, but rejects and even ridicules the doctrine of a God and of a providence, treating with the greatest contempt the constitution of the world, and the government of it.†

Mr. Gibbon, a still later writer, without denying the truth of Christianity, ascribes its rise and propagation to the zeal of its adherents, the promises of heaven to their followers, the strict discipline of their churches, &c., without attempting to account for the faith and zeal of the first believers, or how their followers came to be so easily deceived by them,

* See Vol. II. pp. 88, 94, 192. *Iceland*, I. pp. 395, 407; II. pp. 436—639; III. pp. 128—155; and *Reflections on his Letters*.

† See Vol. II. pp. 87, 89, 99, 103, 104, 111—116; IV. pp. 567—582, 595—411. *Iceland*, II. pp. 1—135; III. pp. 68—127.

and to believe their fine promises with respect to another life, so as to make them, for the sake of it, abandon all their prospects in this.*

On the continent of Europe, no person, I believe, was the means of making more unbelievers than Voltaire, who, nevertheless, always professed himself a Christian, and did so even on his death-bed. He never, however, entered into any serious argument on the subject, but indulged himself in ridiculing the Scriptures, which he took no pains to understand; so that he has fallen into the greatest mistakes with respect to them.† He also throws out invectives without bounds on the Jews and their religion, though, had he been unprejudiced, the slightest examination would have convinced him, that the religious and civil institutions of the Hebrews were greatly superior to those of any nation of equal antiquity; so that, admitting what he perpetually dwells upon, viz. the natural stupidity and barbarism of that nation, their religion must have had a supernatural origin.

Before the French Revolution, hardly any person in England, or on the Continent, avowed himself an unbeliever in writing; so little disposed were any of them to run any risk for the sake of their principles; but since that event, all fear of punishment being removed, they write in the most undisguised manner. But none of them has as yet undertaken to refute the historical evidence of the facts on which the Jewish and Christian revelations are founded, or to account for the rise and the reception they met with, on the supposition of the accounts being false; and some of them have discovered the grossest ignorance of every thing relating to the subject.

Mr. Freret asserted that the first believers in Christianity were such miserably poor and abject wretches as are always easily imposed on, and that it owed its principal increase to the violence of the Christian emperors, and made such other mistakes with respect to facts, as are highly disgraceful to a man of letters as he was. But since his time, Mr. Volney, and Mr. Dupuis, question the very existence of Jesus Christ, and maintain that Christianity is nothing more than a disguised worship of the sun, and support their opinions with such arguments as a school-boy would not believe to be serious; and I have seen a French pamphlet in which the word *Chrétiens* was derived from *Cretans*, as if they were a

* See Vol. IV. pp. 535—548; V. pp. 480—494.

† See a curious instance, Vol. II. pp. 211, 212.

sect that had arisen in Crete. The mistakes, or misrepresentations, of Mr. Boulanger, and the author of *Bon Sens*, are as gross almost as these, and those of Mr. Paine (who writes with more confidence and insolence than any of them) are so very absurd, as to be perfectly laughable, if the subject was not too serious.

All these unbelievers discover so much rancour and malignity, and with so much affected levity, on the most serious of all subjects, as must convince any calm and unprejudiced person that they were incapable of forming a true judgment in the case. And yet, with those who are previously disposed to throw off the restraints of religion, the most contemptible of their writings have a considerable effect.

At the time of the revolution, and for at least twenty years before, the French unbelievers were, with very few exceptions, atheists, their sentiments being contained in the *Systeme de la Nature*,* which is entirely atheistical; and though the National Assembly have since declared their belief in the Supreme Being, and the immortality of the soul,† it is not probable that such a decree will affect the faith of the thinking and philosophical part of the nation, and much less that of any other; and the hypotheses of atheistical philosophers to account for the origin of the world, and of man, are, as might be supposed, exceedingly various and dis-

* See that work largely quoted, Vol. IV. pp. 382—389.

† There was an attempt to direct the public mind, by the Society styling themselves *Des Amis de la Constitution*, but called *Jacobins* from the convent at Paris in which they assembled. In September 1791, just after Louis XVI. had accepted the Constitution, they proposed a prize for the best *patriotic Almanack*, for the year 1792. The judges were *Gregoire, Condorcet, Polverelle, Claviere, Lantenas*, and *Dusaulex*. Among forty-two competitors, the prize was adjudged to *Callat-d'Herbois*, whose Almanack, besides the common information, and patriotic songs, contained twelve Conversations, supposed to pass between *Gerard*, an aged countryman, who had been a Deputy to the Assembly in 1789, and his native villagers. To each conversation is prefixed an engraving, as a representation of the scene.

The subjects are, *De la Constitution—De la Nation—De la Loi—Du Roi—De la Propriété—De la Religion—Des Contributions Publiques—Des Tribunaux—De la Force Armée—Des Droits de chaque Citoyen, et de ses Devoirs—De la Prosperité Publique—Du Bonheur Domestique*. The *Sixième Entretien* thus commences:

“LE PÈRE GERARD. Je vous ai dit que nous parlerions de la religion; et regardez autour de lui; mais il faut attendre que nos frères, qu'on appelle Protestans, soient arrivés.

UN PAYSAN. C'est donc aussi pour eux que vous parlez.

LE P. GERARD. Assurément: qui dit religion, dit croyance en Dieu. Seulement la manière de l'adorer est différente entre nous et les Protestans; mais la manière ne fait pas la croyance; Dieu peut être adoré en France aujourd'hui de toutes les manières.

UN PAYSAN. Ma foi, moi, je ne voudrais pas changer la mienne.

LE P. GERARD. Beaucoup d'hommes de bien pensent comme vous, qu'ils doivent mourir dans la religion où ils sont nés. Ils disent: une femme consolante et fidèle, qui nous a soulage long-temps au milieu des maux et des amertumes de la vie, ne doit pas être répudiée; et notre religion est cette femme là. Mais, dès que nous

cordant. The differences of opinion among Christians on these great subjects, are mere trifles compared to theirs.

The doctrine of modern unbelievers, with respect to *morals*, is far from being a confirmation of what was so confidently advanced by their predecessors, concerning the clearness and sufficiency of the light of nature on that important subject; for they are discordant in the extreme, and many of them such as would have shocked Lord Herbert and Lord Shaftsbury, almost as much as they do Christians: for, to say nothing of the little account the generality of unbelievers make of the vice of sensual indulgence of any kind, even the most unnatural, the latest writers of this class exclude gratitude from the rank of virtues, and deny the obligation of promises, oaths, and even of the bonds of matrimony, pleading for a community of women; principles which, if acted upon, would soon throw the world into the greatest confusion, and reduce men to the condition of brute beasts, and in the end to universal hostility, though they are inconsistently advocates for universal peace.

Unbelievers see nothing immoral in the practice of duel-

sommes d'accord sur ce point, de rendre hommage à l'Auteur éternel de toutes choses, nous sommes tous de la même religion. Ceux qui aiment leur prochain, qui remplissent les devoirs de la charité, de l'humanité, sont tous des Chrétiens.

UN PAYSAN. Dieu a donc gagné aussi à la révolution? J'en suis bien aise."

Almanach du Père Gerard.—A Paris, 1792, pp. 62, 63.

After the Peasant's inquiries respecting the priests who refused to take the civic oath, and Gerard's censures of their conduct, the Dialogue thus concludes with a recommendation of union to Catholics and Protestants, and of marriage as the right and duty of the Catholic priests.

"UN PAYSAN. Voici les Protestans.

LE P. GERARD, *aux Protestans*. Nous vous attendons pour serrer les liens de la fraternité, et vous embrasser: allons, M. le Curé, donnez l'exemple, et embrassez votre frère le Ministre.

(Le Curé et le Ministre Protestant s'embrassent.)

(Tous les paysans Catholiques et Protestans s'embrassent aussi.)

LE P. GERARD. Nous ne faisons tous qu'une même famille.

LE CURE ET LE MINISTRE, *au Père Gerard*. Soyez-en le chef long-temps.

(Les petits enfans des deux religions font comme leurs pères, et s'embrassent.)

LE P. GERARD, *les larmes aux yeux*. Tenez, voyez, voyez ces petits enfans! comme leurs embrassemens sont vifs et sincères! Allons, allons, voilà une bonne génération qui se prépare; ceux-là ne se battront pas pour la façon d'un oronas.

LE MINISTRE PROTESTANT. Dieu et la conscience, mon frère, et voilà tout. Celui qui n'est pas de bonne foi, quelque soit son culte, n'est jamais qu'un hypocrite; la fraternité, l'amour de la patrie, voilà les premiers liens de toute religion.

LE P. GERARD. Serrons-les si bien, qu'ils ne soient jamais rompus.

(Les enfans du Ministre viennent le caresser.)

LE MINISTRE *au Curé, lui montrant ses enfans*. Si je desirois vous inspirer une opinion nouvelle, ce seroit pour vous rendre aussi heureux que moi. Voilà, ma femme; voilà, mes enfans. Quel bonheur! Et vous en êtes privé!

LE CURE. Je ne suis pas encore assez éclairé là-dessus, pour me décider.

LE MINISTRE. Ecoutez la nature: le conseil d'une alliance chaste et vertueuse est le meilleur qu'elle puisse donner à un honnête homme." *Ibid.* pp. 66, 67.

ling,* and as they are retained in life by nothing but the love of it, when that becomes distasteful, they have no objection to putting an end to it. In short, there is hardly any thing universally allowed by them to be a virtue, besides justice between man and man: and as they have no respect to a God, a providence, or a future state, the only real motive they can have to enforce the observance of this one solitary virtue, is a dread of the laws of society. Mr. Volney says, with respect to religion, "The experience of all mankind proves, that morals have no influence on the actions of men, but so far as they are seconded by the civil authority." †

If this period has produced many unbelievers, it has likewise produced many excellent defences of revelation, which have thrown much new light on the subject: and as most of the objections of unbelievers affect not Christianity itself, but only such opinions and practices as have been mistaken for it, especially in the corrupt establishments of Christianity, they have been the means of discovering and rejecting those abuses, and in consequence of this, Christianity is now much better understood than it ever was before: also, this great prevalence of infidelity being a striking fulfilment of the prophecies of Scripture, which distinctly announce that this very circumstance will be one of the signs of what are there called *the last times*, or those which will immediately precede the second coming of Christ. This is an event, the most momentous certainly that can be conceived, that we may now be looking for, though the exact time of its arrival, our Saviour says, was not known to himself, but to his Father only.

SECTION X.

Of the State of Religion in the United States of North America.

To give a satisfactory account of the state of religion in the United States of North America, it will be necessary to give a short account of their early history.

* Nor, judging by their practice, has this opinion been peculiar to professed *unbelievers*. My author's friend Lord Shelburne, Pitt, Fox, each in their turn, paid homage to this fashionable folly, for which England has been long notorious. Were one of our present *Christian* statesmen to be challenged by a *gentleman*, he would, no doubt, fight as readily as any *unbeliever*, though were the challenger of inadequate rank, he would probably prosecute and imprison him, according to a very modern, *noble* example.

† *Voyage en Syrie et Egypte*, III. p. 391. (P.)

The first settlement, which was that of New England, was made by a part of the congregation of Mr. John Robinson, an Independent minister, who was driven out of England in the reign of James I., and resided at Leyden. They sailed for America, A. D. 1620, and settled at New Plymouth.* Many others followed them in the reign of Charles I.; and "never," says Mr. Neal, "was country more obliged to a man, than *New England* was to Archbishop *Laud*, who, by his cruel and arbitrary proceedings, drove thousands of families out of the kingdom, and thereby stocked the plantations with inhabitants in the compass of a very few years, which otherwise would not have been done in an age."†

The settlements in New England were made almost wholly by Independents, or those who soon conformed to their discipline; and it is to be lamented that though persecuted themselves, they had no just idea of Toleration, and the rights of conscience; for as soon as Baptists and Quakers appeared among them, they treated them with great severity, though with respect to piety, and irreproachable conduct, they were not inferior to themselves.

The Baptists first separated from the Independent churches in A. D. 1651, when some of them were committed to prison, fined and whipped; and at length a law was made to banish them.‡

When by this means they had expelled the Baptists in A. D. 1656, the Quakers made their appearance, and met with a still worse reception. Laws were made to prevent the importation of them, to banish those who came, and even to put to death those who returned from banishment. In consequence of these laws three had their ears cut off, and four suffered death. But the more they were persecuted, the more they increased. This was chiefly in the state of Massachusetts, and not in Connecticut.§

* See *supra*, p. 401.

† *History of New England*, I. p. 211. (P.)

‡ *Ibid.* p. 300. (P.) Three Baptists travelling from Rhode Island in 1651, were apprehended at a private house, "as they were worshipping God in their own way, on a Lord's-day morning. The constable took them into custody and carried them to the public meeting." As they refused to join in the service, they were committed, by a magistrate, to Boston gaol. "A fortnight after, the court fined *Clarke* twenty pounds or to be well whipped; *Crandall* five pounds or to be whipped; and *Holmes* thirty pounds. *Clarke's* friends paid his fine without his consent, and *Crandall* was released, upon his promise to appear, but *Holmes* received thirty lashes at the whipping-post." Two of his friends "took him by the hand, in the market-place, and praised God for his courage and constancy, for which they were fined each 40s. or to be whipped." *Ibid.* pp. 299—303. See *Buckus's Hist.* I. pp. 207—253.

§ *Hist. of New England*, pp. 311—316. Some of the Quakers in New England,

Dr. Mather at Boston preached and wrote against this persecution, and no doubt many others entertained juster sentiments of Christian liberty; but their remonstrances did not restrain the intemperate zeal of those who were in the government. In A. D. 1669, they bore particularly hard upon both the Baptists and the Quakers, and “many honest people,” the historian says, “were ruined by fines, imprisonment and banishment.”* Though a letter was addressed to the governors of these colonies by the most eminent of the dissenting ministers in London, to dissuade them from these persecuting measures, it produced no effect.†

In a course of time, however, in consequence, no doubt, of their own experience, of a freer intercourse with other provinces, and other parts of the world, a more liberal spirit prevailed. Even the promoters of the persecution probably lived to repent of what they had done, for I have not been able to find the exact time when all the laws against heresy were repealed. Increase Mather, a very learned minister at Boston, had been a promoter of the persecution, but it is known that before he died he was convinced of the impropriety of it.

At present all denominations of Christians are tolerated in all the New England States; nor is more favour shewn to any one more than to another. For, though every person is obliged to contribute to the maintenance of religion, the amount of his tax is given to the minister of his own choice. Even Unitarianism has of late made great progress in Boston and its neighbourhood, without exciting any alarm, though it is regarded with abhorrence almost every where else.

The congregational form of the churches in New England is far more favourable to the introduction and propagation of truth, than that of the Presbyterian or Episcopalian. In the former, all of which are independent of each other, improvements of any kind may be introduced without giving much alarm, none being interested in it besides the minister himself and his congregation; and if he has gained their affection, and conducts himself with prudence, not shocking their prejudices unnecessarily, the introduction of his own

the Quakers generally, according to Fox's *Great Mystery*, p. 246,) “denied the received doctrine of the Holy Trinity, saying that the doctrine of three persons in the godhead was introduced by the Pope.” In the address of the General Council to Charles II., they say, “they were open seducers from the glorious Trinity” *Hist. of New England*, pp. 344, 346. (P)

* *Ibid.* l. p. 371.

† *Ibid.* pp. 372, 373, 379—381.

sentiments among them may not be very difficult. But in a church connected with many others, nothing can be done without the concurrence of all; and the Reformers being for some time a small minority, they are sure to be borne down by the majority.

Rhode Island was settled by those who were generally called Antinomians,* on a plan of perfect religious liberty; and by receiving the Anabaptists and Quakers, who were not permitted to settle in the neighbouring states, it flourished in proportion. In those days Rhode Island was, by way of reproach, called "the drain, or sink of New England, and it was said that if any man had lost his religion, he might be sure to find it there."† Thus may the best things be turned into ridicule. At present the Baptists are the prevailing sect in Rhode Island.

I shall now proceed to give from *Morse's Geography*, chiefly, such a general account of the state of religion in each of the other states, as my plan admits of, beginning with the most northern.

In the state of Main, Episcopacy was first established; but their churches are now chiefly on the congregational plan, as they are, and always were in Connecticut, as well as in the New-England States in general.

In New York there are no congregationalists, but many Presbyterian churches, as also Episcopalians, Baptists, and other sects. This part of the country was discovered in A. D. 1609 or 1610, by Henry Hudson, and was by him sold to the Dutch, from whom it was afterwards conquered.

In New Jersey (settled originally by the Dutch emigrants from New York) they are chiefly Presbyterians, though there are in that State many Quakers and Episcopalians.

Pennsylvania was granted by James II. to William Penn, a Quaker: and being settled by persons of that persuasion, there are still a much greater proportion of them there than in any other of the North American States, though at present they are far from being the majority. This State flourished chiefly in consequence of an undistinguishing toleration of religion, at a time when the Northern States were intolerant. At present there are in Pennsylvania more denominations of Christians than in any other, and yet they all live in perfect harmony. Many large districts of this

* These had their name from maintaining, or being supposed to maintain, that the *moral law* was abolished by Christianity, in consequence of salvation being now by *faith only*. (P.) See, on the founder of Rhode Island, *supra*, p. 403, Note.

† *Belknap's History of New Hampshire*, I. p. 89. (P.)

State are settled by Germans, who are subdivided with respect to religion here as they are in their native country. Here are Lutherans, the Reformed, or Calvinists, Moravians, Mennonists, and Dunkers,* all Germans.

In Delaware, settled originally by Dutch and Swedes, the inhabitants are chiefly Presbyterians, but there are among them many Quakers and Episcopalians.

Maryland was granted by Charles I. to lord Baltimore, a Catholic, in A. D. 1633, the laws of England at that time bearing hard on those of that persuasion, though they were favoured by the court; and the Catholics are still the most numerous sect, but there are of almost all the others.

Virginia was first settled, or attempted to be settled in A. D. 1610, by zealous members of the Church of England; and at first they were as intolerant with respect to all others, as the New-England States. In particular, there was a heavy penalty on any master of a vessel, who should bring a Quaker into that State. After about a century, however, other opinions began to be introduced; and the established clergy becoming indolent, it is said that, at the commencement of the Revolution, two thirds of the inhabitants were Dissenters, and though not legally tolerated, they were respectable on account of their numbers. At present, the establishment being abolished, the Presbyterians are the most numerous in the western parts of the State, while the Episcopalians occupy the eastern parts. But they are mixed with many Baptists and Methodists,

In North Carolina, which, together with South Carolina and Georgia, was granted to the earl of Clarendon and others in A. D. 1662, the Presbyterians prevail in the western part: but there are many Episcopalians in the other parts, as well as Germans, and among them Moravians. The upper parts of South Carolina are chiefly occupied by Presbyterians, with some Independents, Baptists and Methodists. But there are also Episcopalians.

In Georgia, which is but in its infancy, there are almost all the principal denominations above-mentioned, and in Kentucky, a more recent settlement, the Baptists are the most numerous.

By the general constitution made for all these States, now

* These people, in sentiment, come near to the General Baptists, and like the Quakers, will neither swear nor fight. They will not even go to law. They use the greatest plainness of speech and dress, the men commonly wearing their beards. Some of them keep the seventh-day Sabbath. They live nearly altogether, and are about two thousand souls. (P.)

united under one government, in A. D. 1776, it is declared, that "No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office of public trust." It is a glorious example that this country is now setting to the Christian world, shewing not only the perfect safety, but many positive advantages, not only of universal Toleration, but of the exclusion of any establishment of religion whatever, the civil government having no more to do with it than with philosophy or medicine. Here are Catholics, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, with Seceders of various kinds from Scotland, Independents, Baptists general and particular, Quakers, Universalists, Lutherans, Calvinists, Mennonists, Dunkers, Moravians, Methodists, Sandemanians, Swedenborgians, Unitarians and Jews, which are probably more than can be found in any other Christian country. And yet they all live, and have intercourse together, in perfect harmony; and in any common cause act heartily together; those whose religion forbids them to fight, paying their quota of expense without complaining. They not only give no disturbance to the State, but are ready to render to each other every office of good neighbourhood and humanity. At the same time there is, I believe, as much real religion and Christianity in this country as in any in Europe. The majority, as every where else, attend more to the forms than the substance of religion; the wealthy are in general mere worldly-minded men, Christians in name only, while too many in the lowest ranks are vicious and profane; but so, I fear, they are every where, while many who think themselves particularly knowing with respect to religion, and take the lead in their respective sects, especially the Presbyterian, are chargeable with bigotry, and shew the spirit of intolerance without the power. But wherever there is religion, there will be some of this character. At the same time there are, I believe, in these States fewer professed unbelievers than in any other Christian country.

SECTION XI.

Miscellaneous Articles.

IN A. D. 1796, a bill was brought into parliament to exempt the Quakers from personal imprisonment, on account of the non-payment of tithes, and to make their solemn asseveration equal to an oath in criminal as well as

in civil cases ; but though it passed the House of Commons, it was negatived by the Lords.

2. Another accession was made to the cause of religious liberty in consequence of the revolution in Holland, as well as of that in France. For, the Batavian Republic, in the provisional government, without waiting for a constitutional law, abolished their national church, and declared, in A. D. 1796, that "from that time the state would not defray the expense of any mode of worship, or pay any of its ministers, except granting indemnities to those who should suffer by that reform." This was ascribed to the influence of those who held Unitarian principles, which had never been tolerated in Holland, and yet had been received by many men of learning, and friends of civil liberty in that country.

3. Having in the sections appropriated to *miscellaneous articles* in the preceding periods of this history, noticed the progress that had been made in *general literature* and knowledge, as having a connexion with, and being subservient to, the advancement of Christian truth ; I would observe with respect to this last period, that all that had been done of this kind before, does not equal what has been effected in the course of it, by the labours of studious and learned men of various nations. For this period contains the great discoveries of Sir Isaac Newton, and those that have followed him in *experimental philosophy*, including *chemistry*, which is now extended in a most rapid and extraordinary manner ; whereas before this time, it hardly deserved the name of a science. This period likewise contains almost all that has been done in *electricity* by Dr. Franklin and others, and of late many new and wonderful discoveries have been made by Dr. Herschell and others in *astronomy* ; and more attention than ever has been given to the application of discoveries in philosophy, to manufactures, and the improvement of the conveniences of common life.

No less attention has been given to the study of the *Scriptures* ; and by this means much new light has been thrown upon them, the evidences of revelation have been much better explained, and its doctrines better understood. An account of all the particulars that would fall under this head would require a volume, and therefore I content myself with barely noticing them.

4. The condition of the *Jews* continues the same as in the preceding period, but they have begun to be more respected, and their civil rights attended to, in several of

the nations of Europe. They do not as yet appear to distinguish themselves, as they at one time did, by their application to literature, and it has not been in my power, or that of any Christians who have addressed them on the subject, to draw their attention to the evidences of the Christian religion; though civility on our part has excited their gratitude, and produced a return of civility on theirs; so that mutual prejudices are happily much abated with all persons of liberal minds. Of the Catholics, bishop Gregoire in France has distinguished himself by the attention that he has given to the case of the Jews; and he agrees with many intelligent Protestants in the firm belief and expectation, of their deliverance from their present state of dispersion and persecution, and their restoration to their own country at no very distant period; after which, no Christian can entertain a doubt of their universal conversion to Christianity.

In England such a clamour was occasioned in consequence of an act of parliament to favour the naturalization of the Jews, in A. D. 1752, that it was found necessary to repeal it the year following; an event highly disgraceful to that country.

5. Having made but a slight mention of *Mr. Emlyn* among other English Arians, in the sixth Section of this period; * a learned friend, who saw the MS., wished to see a larger account of him; and at my request drew up the following from his writings, and the *Memoirs of his Life by his son Mr. Sollom Emlyn*.† and as he was the greatest sufferer for his principles of late years, I think it well deserving of a place in this work.

Thomas Emlyn was born at Stamford in Lincolnshire, May 27, A. D. 1663, of religious parents, who frequented the established church, and were particularly intimate with Dr. Cumberland, then minister of Stamford, afterwards bishop of Peterborough; but being inclined to the Puritan way, and having observed a spirit of seriousness and sobriety to be then more generally prevalent among the Nonconfor-

* He is not mentioned in the printed copy. A paragraph of the MS. was probably lost.

† Who appears by his Preface to *State Trials*, 1780, and his Notes to Hale's *Pleas of the Crown*, 1756, to have been a very learned, liberal-minded and enlightened lawyer. See his remarks against the *Slave Trade* and *Criminal Code*, in the *Appendix* to Mr. Favell's Speech before the Corporation of London, 1819, pp. 66—68. Mr. Emlyn died in 1756. His son, Mr. Thomas Emlyn, with whom I was well acquainted, died in 1797. He was a Barrister in Chancery. See *J. iog.* Brit. V. p. 597.

mists, they chose to bring up their son to the ministry among them, although the times were such as afforded no encouraging prospect to those of that denomination.

Mr. Emlyn, after being at a boarding-school four years, was educated at two dissenting academies, and was once admitted into Emanuel College Cambridge, but returned from it to his first dissenting academy. He first appeared as a preacher, December 19, A. D. 1682, at Mr. Doolittle's meeting-house, near Cripplegate. He then became chaplain to the countess of Donegal in A. D. 1685, and accompanied her to Belfast in Ireland, in A. D. 1684, where she married Sir William Franklin, and lived in great state and splendour.

Sir William, who had a good estate in the West of England, offered him a considerable living there, if he would have conformed to the established church; but this he declined, the terms of ministerial conformity being such as he could not conscientiously comply with, though he had not then the scruples, which he afterwards had in relation to the article of the Trinity: but the principles of an undissembling honesty had taken such deep root in him, that no worldly advantage could prevail with him to violate the peace of his own mind: and yet he was very far from being stiff in trifles, or bigotted to any particular party; for on Sundays he constantly attended the service of the church both parts of the day, and in the evening when he preached in the countess's hall, was attended by the minister of the parish, with whom he lived in great intimacy, and often officiated for him in the parish church; for in those days Protestants were united, and brotherly love continued; and without any subscription, he had from the bishop of the diocese a licence *facultatis exercendæ gratia*; insomuch that it was given out that he had quite left the Dissenters, and gone over to the church.

While he was in this station he made a journey to Dublin, and when there, preached once to that congregation of which *Mr. Daniel Williams* and *Mr. Joseph Boyse* were then pastors, in a manner so acceptable to the audience, as gave occasion for that people afterwards to invite him thither. Mr. Emlyn left Ireland in A. D. 1688, having previously declined an invitation from Mr. Boyse to join him in the pastoral charge of a dissenting congregation in Dublin, and when in England, he refused an invitation to a benefice in the established church from a congregation to which he was very acceptable.

He was after this prevailed upon by Sir Robert Rich, one

of the lords of the admiralty, to officiate as a minister to a dissenting congregation at Leostoff, in Suffolk, for about a year and a half, but refused the invitation of being their pastor. While here he contracted a very close and intimate acquaintance with Mr. William Manning, a very worthy Nonconformist minister at Peasehall in that neighbourhood. As they were both of an inquisitive temper, they frequently conferred together, and jointly examined into the principal points of religion, mutually communicating to each other their respective sentiments; which correspondence, notwithstanding the great distance they were afterwards separated to, was carried on by letters as long as Mr. Manning lived.

Dr. Sherlock's book of the Vindication of the Trinity coming out about this time, turned their thoughts very much to the consideration of that subject, which the more they examined into, the more they saw reason first to doubt of, and afterwards to differ from, the received doctrine in that article. *Mr. Manning* adopted the Socinian principles, and strove hard to bring Mr. Emlyn into that way of thinking; but Mr. Emlyn could never be brought to doubt either of the pre-existence of our Saviour as the Logos, or that God created the material world by him.

In September, A. D. 1690, Mr. Emlyn received another most pressing invitation from Mr. Boyse to become his colleague, and he agreed to accept it. In consequence of this he went over to Dublin, in May A. D. 1691, and became a settled pastor along with Mr. Boyse, to the congregation at Wood-street there. Here he was a popular and much-admired preacher, for he not only had a strong, clear voice, and a graceful delivery; but his discourses were for the most part very rational and persuasive, always concluding with something serious and pathetic. He married in A. D. 1694, but lost his wife in A. D. 1701; and soon after this the storm of persecution fell upon him.

It took its first rise from a person of leading influence in the congregation, who had been brought up to the study of divinity, but afterwards chose another profession. This person from the time of Mr. Emlyn's preaching having suspected that his judgment was against the Supreme Deity of the Lord Jesus, first put Mr. Boyse upon making an inquiry, and afterwards he came himself with him to Mr. Emlyn's house, in June A. D. 1702, desiring seriously to know his real sentiments on the matter. Mr. Emlyn relates

his answer as follows: "I now thought myself bound as a Christian, to declare my faith openly in so great a point, and freely owned myself convinced that *the God and Father of Jesus Christ* is alone the Supreme Being, and superior in excellence and authority to his Son (or to that effect), who derives all from him. I told them I had no aim to make any strife among them, and offered to leave the congregation peaceably, and that they might choose another if they pleased in my place. But this it seems would not be permitted."

Mr. Boyse communicated the affair to the Dublin ministry, in consequence of which, conferences took place between them and Mr. Emlyn, unsatisfactory to both. They agreed that same day to dismiss him, and that he should preach no more. Mr. Emlyn afterwards had a conference with the deacons and chief managers of the church, who testified great surprise and sorrow. It was determined, however, that he should go to England for awhile, that there might be time for farther consideration how he should act in the case. Accordingly, he went to England, and remained there about ten weeks; but in his absence a loud clamour was raised against him and his opinions, and that in part from the pulpit. When at London, at this time, he published a short account of his case.

On his return to Dublin he thought he owed that justice to himself, and especially to *the truth*, to shew what evidence he had from the Scriptures; and therefore he wrote his *Humble Enquiry into the Scripture Account of the Lord Jesus Christ*. A clear, concise tract, admirably calculated to produce conviction in candid and unprejudiced minds.

Mr. Emlyn intended to have returned to England a few days after it was printed; but in the mean time some zealous Dissenters resolved to have him prosecuted. By the endeavours of some of them, a special warrant was procured from the lord chief justice Pyne to seize him and his publication. A part of the impression was actually seized, and himself obliged to give bail for his appearance. He was indicted for blasphemy, and after tedious delays on the part of his prosecutors, and their laying aside two indictments which they had framed against him, a third was brought in, and the trial took place June 14, A. D. 1703, before the Court of Queen's Bench. Six or seven bishops were present, of whom the two archbishops of Armagh and Dublin took the bench. The indictment was for writing and pub-

lishing a book, wherein, it says, he had blasphemously and maliciously asserted, that *Jesus Christ was not equal to God the Father, to whom he was subject, &c.*

Much partiality and injustice appeared in the course of the trial, the lord chief justice was forward to sum up the evidence, and would not allow Mr. Emlyn to speak in his own defence, saying, *he did not care, since he would not satisfy him, how he had the books*, which being on his defence, he thought he was not bound to do; and standing up with great anger, he told the jury, if they acquitted him, my lords the bishops were there, or words to that effect. The jury, in a fright, brought in a verdict guilty, for which some of them were afterwards sorry when it was too late.

When Mr. Emlyn appeared to have judgment given against him, the Queen's counsel moved that he might retract, which he would not consent to; and so the lord chief justice passed this sentence on him, viz. to suffer *a year's imprisonment*, to pay *a thousand pounds' fine* to the Queen, to *lie in prison till paid*; and to *find security for his good behaviour during life*. And then with a paper on his breast he was led round the four courts to be exposed. Mr. Emlyn's fine was beyond his ability to pay, and therefore upon application being made by Mr. Boyse and a Mr. Medlicote, the duke of Ormond gave directions to reduce it to one hundred marks, which was paid. But Dr. Narcissus Marsh, archbishop of Dublin, demanded a shilling in the pound of the whole fine, as the Queen's almoner; and at length, after several applications, he permitted it to be reduced to twenty pounds, which he had the meanness to receive from Mr. Emlyn.

This worthy man remained in prison more than two years, viz. from the 14th of June, A. D. 1703, to the 21st of July, A. D. 1705, and upon giving security, by two bondsmen, for good behaviour during life, he was set at liberty. "But," (as he adds very properly) "still there remains another and more righteous judgment, when all, both high and low, shall stand and await the sentence of the great *Judge* and *Bishop* of souls, who will surely reverse all erroneous judgments here; for *he will render tribulation to them who have troubled others; but to them who are troubled, rest and peace*; and they who have conscientiously erred will surely fare better than those who have persecuted them for such error: *For they shall have judgment without mercy, who shew no mercy*. But I heartily and daily pray, that this may never

be the portion of any who have injured me; and as I hope the good God will forgive me if I have erred, since he knows it is with sincerity, and that I suffer for what I take to be his truth and glory; so I also hope he will pardon them who have persecuted me only from a mistaken zeal; for *they did it ignorantly in unbelief.*"

On his release, July 22, A. D. 1705, he preached an affecting sermon at the Marshalsea prison, from Luke xiii. 29, to several persons who were confined there for debt, and were liberated by an act of grace at the same time.

Mr. Emlyn was the author of many other controversial pieces of great merit, besides that for which he suffered, and of a volume of pious and excellent sermons. The last and best edition of his works is the fourth, in three volumes octavo, London, 1746. The eminence and excellence of his character and writings are very justly described in the following epitaph inscribed on his stone: *

Here lie the Remains
Of the Reverend *Mr. Thomas Emlyn*,
Eminent for his great piety and learning,
Strong parts and sound judgment;
Born at Stamford in Lincolnshire,
May 27, 1663.
He was Pastor to a Congregation
Of Protestant Dissenters at Dublin,
Which office he discharged during eleven years
With great faithfulness, diligence and applause:
But having maintained the supreme unequalled
Majesty
Of the *One God* and *Father* of all,
He was, to the shame and reproach of a Christian Country,
Persecuted even to bonds and imprisonment,
And the spoiling of his goods;
All which he endured with great patience and constancy,
With such firmness and fortitude of mind,
As left no room to doubt his integrity;
And in his writings he supported that important
Truth
With such strength of reason and argument,
As left no room to make a reply.
At length, full of days and ripe for glory,

* In Bunhill Fields. *Biog. Brit.* V, p. 597.

He departed this life in peace,
 July 30, 1741,
 In joyful hope of a blessed resurrection
 To Eternal Life.*

Of Mr. Emlyn, the excellent Mr. Lindsey says, "His works will be a lasting monument of his genius, learning, piety and integrity, written in a clear animated style, equalled by few, exceeded by none in our language, and with such invincible force of argument, as still to promote that truth for which he was not unwilling to suffer." †

He farther says, "I have always reckoned the public prosecution of that learned and excellent person, for maintaining the cause of the divine unity, by the Dissenters, and abetted by the bishops in Ireland, the long imprisonment and hardships which he endured on that account in the beginning of the present century, and his bold and well-supported testimony to that great truth by his valuable publications for a series of years afterwards, together with the esteem and reverence in which he was very generally held, to have been among the things that made an opening for, and greatly contributed to, that light and freedom in this respect which we now enjoy." ‡

My design having been to write nothing more than a *General History* of the Christian Church, I purposely omitted the mention of several sects when those belonging to them were not numerous, or when they seemed not likely to be of long continuance. This appearing to me to be the case with respect to the Swedenborgians, I have given no account of them in this work. That I may not, however, incur the censure of several very respectable members of this society, I shall observe in this place, that Emanuel Swedenborg, the founder of this denomination of Christians, was a native of Sweden, born A. D. 1689, an eminent metallurgist, who spent the latter years of his life chiefly in London and Amsterdam, and died A. D. 1772.

His inspiration, he says, commenced in A. D. 1743, when he became acquainted with the *spiritual world*, the habitation of angels and the souls of men, but clothed in a peculiar body, that which we now have here not being

* See "his Epitaph, as it was first designed in Latin, *Memoirs*, 1736, p. c. *Biog. Brit* V. p. 597.

† *Apology*, p. 78. (*P.* 12mo. p. 61.)

‡ *Historical View*, p. 325. A larger account of Mr. Emlyn may be seen in the *New and General Biographical Dictionary*, in fifteen volumes, 8vo., 1798. (*P. Biog. Brit.* V. pp. 588—597. See also Whiston's *Memoirs*

intended to rise again. It was, according to him, in this spiritual world that the last judgment took place, A. D. 1757, and that the spiritual kingdom of Christ commenced in A. D. 1770.

It was also, he says, supernaturally revealed to him how to interpret the Scriptures in their proper spiritual sense. He rejected the doctrine of predestination, and others ascribed to Austin, and also the common doctrine of a Trinity of three persons in the Godhead. But he maintained that there is a real Trinity in the person of Jesus Christ, who is at the same time Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, a Trinity which commenced at his incarnation.

For a farther account of this extraordinary system, I refer the reader to my *Letters to the Members of the New Jerusalem Church*, as the followers of Swedenborg call theirs, which began to be formed several years after his death, though it does not appear that he gave any directions about such a thing.

THE CONCLUSION.

I CANNOT conclude this history without a few observations, which I hope the perusal of it, and also that of the *History of the Corruptions of Christianity*, [Vol. V.] will naturally suggest.

1. It appears at first view truly wonderful, that the most simple of all religions, consisting of few doctrines, and those perfectly rational and intelligible, and of few rites, and those as simple as can well be imagined, should, with respect to both, have been so grossly perverted as it evidently has been: for nothing can well be conceived more absurd than the doctrines which were, in a course of time, received as articles of Christian faith by what was called the *Catholic Church*; nor were any rites more disfigured by superstition than those of Christian baptism and the Lord's supper. This departure from simplicity and truth will ever be one of the most memorable things in the history of the human mind. And yet, strange as it may appear (when the extremes, things so manifestly heterogeneous, are contrasted) that the one should have arisen from the other, the history of the gradual deviation makes every step in the process perfectly intelligible.

This enables us to fill up the great chasm between the creed of the apostles and that which has been ascribed to

Athanasius; the former containing the doctrine of one God, and the latter that of three supreme deities, and which was soon followed by hundreds of subordinate ones.

By this means we see how a just and merciful God, freely pardoning all sins that are repented of and forsaken, who expresses the most earnest desire that all would repent and live, came to be regarded as the most unreasonable of tyrants; not only requiring an infinite satisfaction for the slightest offences, but dooming the greater part of his creatures to everlasting torments; a catastrophe foreseen, and intended by him before they were born.

History shews us by what steps the rite of baptism, originally expressive of nothing more than the adoption of a new religion, and a profession of that repentance and reformation which it required, came to be considered as actually of itself washing away sin, and a passport for a child to the happiness of heaven, which, without that ceremony, would have gone to hell; and how, on the partaking of bread and wine merely in remembrance of Christ, was grafted the doctrine of transubstantiation, and the complex ceremonies of the mass.

What an immense distance there is between a primitive Christian minister, the true servant of the servants of God, and him who, retaining that title, assumed all power in heaven and earth; making kings and emperors hold up his train when he walked in procession, and hold his stirrups and bridle when he mounted his horse! How great is the difference between the condition and character of the most patient of the persecuted, and the most cruel of persecutors, and that not of Heathens but of their Fellow-Christians! And yet, when we consider the several links of the long chain by which these extremes were joined, we see them all perfectly and naturally connected with each other. Philosophical speculation, as well as Christian charity, is exercised by the subject, and our astonishment ceases.

2. The recovery of genuine Christianity from this deplorably corrupted state to the rational views we now entertain of it, is no less extraordinary; and the contemplation of it cannot but impress the thoughtful and pious mind with sentiments of wonder and gratitude. This restoration admits, however, of as easy an explanation as the various corruptions of it. The Scriptures, though long misunderstood, remained, and were open to all who wished to study and understand them. The ancient state and gradual progress of Christianity, were always capable of being traced

by the sagacious and unprejudiced, if they would attend to the existing monuments of past transactions. Good sense on other subjects that bear some relation to religion, gradually prevailed. On the revival of literature light sprung up from various quarters, some the most unexpected; and by laborious and painful investigation, this light was reflected upon Christian truth. Thus the treasure that had been long buried was by patient labour dug up again; and one discovery, as in the investigation of natural science, prepared the way for others; Divine Providence conducting the whole, but without any miracle.

3. Hence we may safely conclude, that this natural process, now happily commenced, will proceed till every remaining corruption of Christianity be removed, and nothing will be found in it that any unbeliever, any Jew, or Mahometan, can reasonably object to. And since whatever is true and right will finally prevail, that is, when sufficient time has been given to the exhibition of it, rational Christianity will, in due time, be the religion of the whole world. In the prophetic language of our Saviour, he will draw all men unto him.

4. Whenever freedom of inquiry, and knowledge of other kinds, shall prevail in Mahometan countries, the delusion of that system will disappear, like a fog before the sun. Then, also, will the veil be removed from the minds of the most obstinate and incredulous Jews; though probably the personal appearance of Jesus himself may be necessary, as it was to Paul, to their complete satisfaction, and this after their restoration to their own country.

5. Let us not, in this interesting speculation, forget our obligation to sceptics and unbelievers, for exciting the attention of Christians to the manifold abuses and corruptions of our religion. Without this powerful stimulus we should probably have been little farther advanced at present than the Christian world was in the time of Luther. Their doubts, and even their censurable sarcasms, insults and ridicule, have been useful steps in this process. Let not their conduct, then, excite our surprise or indignation. Plain good sense could not but be shocked at the appearance which Christianity made to them; and nothing but the strongest prejudice of education, and the influence of authority, of some kind or other, could have rendered Christians themselves blind to such absurdities.

Much, therefore, may be alleged in excuse for unbelievers, who had no advantage of religious education to bias

their minds in favour of Christianity; but none for those Christians, who, losing sight of that spirit of meekness and forbearance which becomes their character, can wish to silence objections by authority, or penal laws. Rather, let unbelievers be invited to propose all their objections with the most perfect freedom. If any thing in our religion be really objectionable, let it not be retained because it is pointed out to us by an enemy, but let us follow truth wherever we can find it.

Let us consider that unbelievers, by giving us their assistance, whether willingly or unwillingly, to purge our religion from every thing that is offensive to right reason, are, in fact, preparing the way for their own conversion. Hitherto all their objections have had the happy effect of strengthening the evidences of Christianity; so that in this progress they will have less and less to object to, every day, and consequently all of them that are truly reasonable and candid will become Christians. And those of them that are prejudiced against Christianity, because it condemns the vices to which they are addicted, who *love darkness rather than light because their deeds are evil*, (which, no doubt, is the case of great numbers,) will be reduced to silence. The assent of the wise and good will in time force theirs. Thus becoming at first merely speculative, they will at length become practical believers. When the understanding is well formed, the will and affections, though refractory for some time, will follow at length.

If to this meekness and candour towards unbelievers we add the habitual exercise of the other Christian virtues, we shall have done every thing that was in our power, to recommend our religion, and may safely leave it to the power of truth, and the God of truth; confident, that, in due time, the effect of this evidence will not fail to appear. *If our light shine before men, they will glorify our Father who is in heaven.*

The prospect of the improving state of Christianity in my own time, and from facts within my own knowledge, is very encouraging. In England, till about A. D. 1750, the great body of Dissenters, among whom I was educated, were, with very few exceptions, rigid Calvinists. A few of the ministers were of the Arminian persuasion, a small proportion of them were Arians, and a much smaller still, Socinians. Even now the majority are Calvinists; but the more liberal bear a much greater proportion to them than formerly. There is not a considerable town in England in which there is not

a respectable society of Unitarian Dissenters, and they are continually increasing. Many individual members of Trinitarian congregations become at first more candid, and then Unitarians; whereas it is hardly ever known that an Unitarian becomes a Trinitarian.

It is particularly remarkable that in academies in which young men are educated for the ministry among the Calvinists, where freedom of inquiry cannot be entirely excluded, the more ingenious and inquisitive of the students frequently become Unitarians, as the opulent supporters of those academies lament; so that their societies are obliged to content themselves with lay preachers, or with ministers who have no great share of learning.

Unitarianism has of late made considerable progress among the Methodists, and this without any communication with Unitarians of older standing, or the perusal of their writings, but wholly from the study of the Scriptures. There are also now many congregations of Unitarians in Wales, where much attention was always given to the subject of religion.

Notwithstanding the subscription to the thirty-nine articles, required of all who take orders in the Church of England, and every other barrier against heterodoxy, Unitarianism has not failed to find its way into their churches. Many young men of a serious and inquisitive turn decline entering into the church, though they were educated with a view to it, and some have renounced their livings. But many do, by some means or other, reconcile to themselves their continuance in the church with the holding of sentiments which it reprobates, and this number there is reason to think is increasing. The articles of the church are clearly Calvinistic, and yet from the time of Archbishop Laud a majority of the clergy have been Arminians, and from the time of Dr. Clarke great numbers were Arians. Of this class, till of late at least, were the generality of the more learned and elderly of the clergy, as the younger among them are now more generally Unitarians.

That Unitarianism is gaining ground on the continent of Europe, there is abundant evidence. It was said long ago, and it has never been contradicted, that in Geneva, where Servetus was burned for professing Unitarianism, the ministers in general are of his opinion. A Lutheran minister from Denmark lately told a friend of mine at Paris, that having travelled through a great part of Germany, and seen many ministers of his denomination, he did not meet with

one that was not an Unitarian, as he himself was. This, however, might be true, though the majority were Trinitarians, as indeed is most probable.

Though I have not had any particular information concerning the state of opinions among the Protestants in France, it can hardly be doubted but that the same causes must have produced the same effects among them, in proportion to their means of inquiry, and the opportunity of indulging it. And where ministers, as in Scotland, are not confined to set forms of prayer, or where, on their entrance on the ministry, and not afterwards, they only engage not to impugn particular opinions in preaching or writing, (as I have been informed is in fact the case at Geneva,) they may with no great difficulty maintain in private, sentiments which they do not avow in public; but this, being known to their friends, will have its influence. In all these cases, the friends of ecclesiastical establishments naturally say, *They that are not openly with us, are against us.*

6. Though it may be allowed that no particular form of church government is of divine appointment, and that they all have particular advantages to recommend them, it sufficiently appears from the whole of this history, that extensive establishments of any kind are exceedingly unfavourable to reformation; because the concurrence of great numbers must be necessary to its taking effect. Ideas of improvements of every kind, in science or art, first occur to thinking individuals, and their gaining the concurrence of the majority of the body of which they are members may be impossible, in whatever degree of esteem they may be held. In these circumstances the reformer and his friends, supposing him to have gained some, are sure to be outvoted; and then nothing can be done without a separation or schism; and few persons have strength of mind to bear even the opprobrium attached to the idea of a schismatic, though no more serious inconvenience be sustained by reputed heresy or schism. And it has been seen, that in general this crime, as it has ever been deemed by the majority, has been thought deserving of the severest civil punishment, and often that of death, and in the most dreadful forms.

This has always been the case, in a greater or less degree, when wealth or power must be abandoned by the Reformers. Worldly-minded men will not fail to pretend a zeal for truth, in defence of what they prefer to any truth; and the *bonâ fide* approvers of the system are generally drawn in

to concur in the persecuting measures of those who are no bigots.

If this be considered, we cannot wonder that the church of Rome, the Lutheran church in Germany, the Episcopalian church of England, or the Presbyterian church of Scotland, are at this day what they were at their establishment, no articles in their creed being changed; and that all considerable changes in the religion of whole countries have been effected by the civil power. The members of the ecclesiastical establishments have never reformed themselves. Many individuals may disapprove of the system, and wish for a change; but the majority, educated of course in the old way, and having acquired prejudices in its favour, will be averse to it. We see that the great mass of mankind, and of all nations, are averse to any material change either in government or religion, and bear many inconveniences rather than hazard a revolution, even far short of a general one. If the younger part of a community should wish for it, they are restrained by their seniors.

On this account the Independent form of church government has, in this respect at least, a great advantage over every other; since no particular society has to wait for the concurrence of any other for the purpose of making a change in any article of faith or practice; and with proper address of the minister, or any other intelligent and leading member of the society, the rest may be brought to approve and concur in it. At most, the inconvenience attending a division in a single congregation is inconsiderable.

In consequence of this state of things, Unitarianism has got established, as it may be said, in many congregations of Dissenters in England, all the members of which were not long ago Trinitarians; and by the same means it has prevailed in many of the Independent congregations of New England. What is of more consequence still, in this state of things, every person acts according to the dictates of his own mind, and is under no temptation to prevaricate in any form or degree.

The case is very different from this (which has a near connexion with general morality) in large national establishments of religion. There are, no doubt, many Unitarians in the churches of England and Scotland, and some among the Presbyterians of North America; but they are under the necessity of concealing their sentiments, and of joining in forms of devotion which they must regard as

nothing less than idolatrous, being the worship of a creature like themselves, destitute of that omnipotence and omniscience which alone can constitute any being a proper object of Christian worship. This they cannot do with perfect sincerity. If they silently refuse their concurrence in what they hear and disapprove, still their example operates to continue and enforce it.

This is the case even with the laity; but that of the clergy, who derive some advantage from their situation, is much more unfavourable. If they be confined to Trinitarian forms of devotion, they must every time they officiate not only profess, but in reality act upon the profession, of what they do not believe. If the forms and discipline of their churches do not require so much as this, but leave them at liberty to make use of their own forms of devotion, they must, if they were Unitarians when they became members of such churches, be guilty of prevarication at that time; or if not, equity seems to require, that whatever emolument, or advantage of any kind, a man acquires by any profession to which he no longer adheres, he should not retain, but openly abandon it; so that a person strictly conscientious must be greatly distressed.

It is, however, remarkable, and shews in a striking light how ensnaring and dangerous such a situation is, that the concurrence of numbers in acts of manifest insincerity, will reconcile the minds of many to things at which they would revolt in any other exactly similar cases. How many are there who, in the most solemn forms, subscribe to articles of faith which they do not believe, when they would not on any account make a false declaration in any other form? This conduct, however, is such as no person can justify; and all that can be said in excuse for it is, that it is *doing evil that good may come*. It is doing one bad thing, in order to place a person in a situation in which it will be in his power to do many good things. It makes him an authorized teacher of virtue, and among others that of sincerity. But how can a man with any effect inculcate that virtue on others which he has not practised himself? And would not more good be done eventually by forbearing to do that thing which is confessedly bad, than by any good that he will probably do by means of it?

A strict adherence to what is in itself right, without regard to any consequences, is the best rule for men. Nothing can justify the doing of any evil that good may come, but a certain knowledge that the good will come, and of its

having no connexion with any greater evil. The Supreme Being who is omniscient, as well as omnipotent, may safely act, and continually does act, upon this maxim, many evils being introduced into his government of the world. But he knows that they will certainly lead to good, and no doubt to greater good than would be brought about by any other means; and man must not pretend to omniscience, and adopt such a line of conduct as nothing but the consciousness of omnipotence will authorize.

7. Disgusting as the perusal of a great part of ecclesiastical history must be, to every person who feels for the honour of Christianity, on account of the unchristian spirit that was shewn by too many of its professors, and the factions, animosities, and persecuting spirit that has been too prevalent among them, we cannot but be pleased to see, in the persecuted at least, much of the genuine, the amiable, and exalted spirit of Christianity; a spirit of humility, benevolence, and true piety; of patience under reproach, and injuries of every kind; an indifference to the things of this world, and the placing of the heart and affections on the things of another. Also, though the generality of the Christian persecutors were men of no real religion, but were actuated by the very worst of passions, hatred and ambition, and were altogether destitute of compassion, it may clearly be perceived that some of them entered into these measures with reluctance, being deceived by the false maxims that in their time were universally prevalent, and thinking that they did God and religion real service by exterminating their enemies. Like Paul, and many of his countrymen, they had *a zeal for God, though not according to knowledge*.

For this, no doubt, due allowance will be made in the great day of discrimination; when some of the persecutors and persecuted may embrace as friends. This I hope will be the case with Calvin and Servetus, with Cranmer and Rogers, and those whom the good king Edward VI. was by them persuaded to commit to the flames; and perhaps with the emperors Trajan and Marcus Antoninus, whose ignorance and general good character will plead for them. But I cannot have the same charity for such men as Bonner, Gardiner and Laud, though I doubt not there is a course of discipline prepared by the merciful Parent of us all, that will, in due time, bring all men to think and feel as they ought to do.

Some of the martyrs themselves did not always discover

a Christian temper; though it must be acknowledged even by unbelievers, if they be ingenuous, that, in general, human nature never appeared to so much advantage as in their behaviour; in their sacrificing every thing dear to them in life, bearing reproach, suffering tedious confinement in loathsome prisons, destitute of all the comforts of life, and meeting death in its most frightful forms, from an adherence to what they considered as the cause of truth, and yet without any ill-will towards the authors of their sufferings.

If this be not true magnanimity, and every thing that is great and dignified in the human character, what is so? Surely not the spirit that carries a man into the field of battle, or that which prompts him to risk his life, or that of his enemy, in single combat, for a point of honour. This is acting from the impulse of momentary passion, and implies no command of temper at all, though it is in the controul of the appetites and passions that the power of reason, which distinguishes men from brutes, is alone conspicuous.

As these virtues of the highest class always appeared when they were called for, as in time of persecution, they must have existed when they were not called for. I doubt not they do so among Christians at this day, in which persecution, at least in its most prominent feature and form, is not known. Many Christians, we may be confident, are now ready to act the part of those of former times, with the same alacrity, and the same excellent disposition; and their attachment to the things of this life, which naturally gains upon all persons whose attention is not drawn from them by urgent circumstances, would gradually lessen, and wholly disappear, when it should be evident to them that the love of the world and the love of God were in opposition to one another; which, in the present state of things, is not so apparent; and therefore Christians too often deceive themselves, and engage in worldly pursuits more than they otherwise would do.

Many Christians, however, though not persecuted to death, are in situations in which they shew, in trials of a different kind, an energy of mind that would carry them through any trial: and that mode of persecution in which life is concerned, is not that which, with many, requires so much real fortitude as some others.

I have in my eye several persons whose Christian principles have led them to make sacrifices to which many of the martyrs would probably have been unequal. In this some may be apt to think that I refer to the case of some Dis-

senters in England; and certainly their situation has in it, especially of late years, something very humiliating and discouraging; and to bear it, and to behave properly under it, has required something superior to the influence of general esteem, worldly ambition, or pecuniary advantage. But this I consider as a trifle compared with the strength of principle which has led some to abandon respectable and lucrative situations, and what is more, to bear the alienation of former friends and connexions, together with such privations of a personal nature as must have been sensibly felt by persons who, like them, had lived in affluence. To such persons the greatest homage is due from all who have a just conception of the difficulty of such exertions; and of the strength of mind, and the force of principle, that alone could make men capable of them; as may be inferred from the small number of those who, in the same circumstances, have acted the same part.

The surest method of deciding concerning the difficulty of any kind of conduct, is not to consider it, in the first instance, abstractedly from what we should imagine to be its nature, but to examine the numbers that have actually adopted it. Now, since it is evident from history, compared with present observation, that there have been many more persons who have died martyrs rather than openly renounce their principles, than of those who, without being particularly called upon, have relinquished desirable situations in life, and have quietly sunk into obscurity, with the risk of poverty; it is evident that there must be more real difficulty in the latter case than in the former, and that it requires stronger and purer principles of action. And it only requires attention to some pretty obvious considerations respecting the two cases, to see the reason of this.

In the case of open persecution, there is generally no choice between death and infamy, which is always, in a greater or less degree, attached to every thing that has the appearance of cowardice or dissimulation. And openly, in the face of the world, to renounce a man's principles, and to conform to what he is well known inwardly to condemn, is what no person can justify, though, out of compassion to human infirmity, he may, in some measure, excuse it, as he would do any other instance of wrong conduct to which the temptation was peculiarly strong. In this situation many persons, from a sense of shame only, without any peculiar strength of religious principle, may be supposed to prefer death to life.

But when a man is not particularly called upon to act at all, when it is in his power to continue to act as all his acquaintance do, and of course to enjoy affluence together with sufficient reputation; in this situation, to obey the secret call of conscience only, and against the remonstrances of all his friends and relations to withdraw into obscurity and poverty, is great indeed. Besides, by indirectly reproaching others, he is sure to draw reproach and calumny upon himself; and instead of being held in general admiration, as the martyrs were, he must expect to be ridiculed for his singularity, which precludes all sympathy and compassion. In these circumstances to persist in doing what himself only will do, is an argument, if any thing in human life can be, of *pure principle*, without any mixture of ostentation, or any other motive improper for a Christian to act upon. The more I think of this case, the more it excites my admiration, and the less do I wonder that so few are equal to the conduct proper for it. Let no person who has not himself acted this extraordinary part imagine that he should, or could have done it. I am far from thinking so highly of myself, and I am truly thankful that my principles have not been exposed to so great a trial.*

* The *Chronological Table* which follows in the *Northumberland* edition, will be given with the *Indices* in the last volume.



A VIEW

OF

THE SUCCESSION OF THE POPES, AND OF THE PRINCIPAL TEMPORAL SOVEREIGNS, FROM THE FALL OF THE WESTERN ROMAN EMPIRE, TO THE PRESENT TIME, A. D. 1802.

| | <i>Popes.</i> | <i>Eastern Emperors.</i> | <i>Kings of Italy.</i> | <i>Vandals in Africa.</i> | <i>Kings of France.</i> | |
|-------|---------------|--------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|------------|
| A. D. | 467 | Simplicius | 474 | Zeno | | |
| | 483 | Felix II. | 476 | Odoacer | 476 | Huneric |
| | 492 | Gelasius | 491 | Anastasius | 484 | Gondebald |
| | 496 | Anastasius II. | 493 | Theodoric | 495 | Thrasamond |
| | 498 | Symmachus | | | | |
| | 511 | Hormisdas | 518 | Justin | 511 | Childebert |
| | 523 | John | | | | |
| | 526 | Felix III. | 520 | Athalaric | 522 | Hilderic |
| | 530 | Boniface II. | 527 | Justinian | 530 | Gilimer |
| | 532 | John II. | | | | |
| | 535 | Agapetus | 534 | Theodatus | | |
| | 536 | Sylvester | 536 | Vitiges | | |
| | 540 | Vigilius | 540 | Theodebald | | |

THE SUCCESSION OF THE POPES AND OF THE PRINCIPAL TEMPORAL SOVEREIGNS

| No. | Popes | <i>Last of Longevity</i> | <i>Kings of Italy</i> | <i>Kings of France</i> |
|-----|-----------------|---------------------------------------|--|---------------------------------|
| 565 | Pope Sixtus III | | 544 Totila | |
| 569 | John III | | | 559 Clothaire 562 Gentian |
| 575 | John IV | | | |
| 577 | John V | 566 Theodoric II | Lodovicus | |
| | | | 568 Alboinus 572 Cleopis | |
| 590 | Gregory | 578 Theodoric II 582 Alaricus | 580 Authais 590 Aethelf | 596 Thieric II |
| 606 | Leo III | 602 Phocas | | |
| 607 | Boniface IV | | | |
| 614 | Boniface V | 610 Hermelin | 616 Aethelfel | 614 Clothaire II |
| 618 | Boniface V | | 626 Arivald | |
| 627 | Boniface V | | 638 Rotharis | 628 Dagobert 638 Sigebert II |
| 630 | John IV | | | |
| 641 | Prothobius | 644 Constantine II 642 Constant II | | |
| 649 | Marcellin | | 654 Rodvold | 654 Childebert II |
| 653 | Agathangus | | 654 Aribert 662 Gondebert 665 Grimoald | |
| | | 668 Constantine V | | |

THE SUCCESSION OF THE POPES AND OF THE PRINCIPAL TEMPORAL SOVEREIGNS

| | <i>Popes.</i> | <i>Eastern Emperors.</i> | <i>Western Emperors.</i> | <i>Kings of England.</i> |
|-------|---------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| A. D. | 772 | Adrian | | |
| | 775 | Leo IV. | | |
| | 780 | Constantine VII. | | |
| | 795 | Leo III. | | 800 |
| | | Irene | | Egbert |
| | 802 | Nicephorus Log. | | |
| | 811 | Michael | | |
| | 813 | Leo Arm. | 814 | Lewis Deb. |
| | 816 | Stephen V. | | |
| | 817 | Pascal | | |
| | 824 | Eugenius II. | | |
| | 827 | Gregory IV. | | |
| | | Theophilus | | 838 |
| | | | 840 | Ethelwolf |
| | | | Lothaire | |
| | 842 | Michael III. | | |
| | 844 | Sergius II. | | |
| | 847 | Leo IV. | | |
| | 855 | Benedict III. | 855 | Lewis II. |
| | | Nicolas | | 857 |
| | | | | Ethelbald |
| | 867 | Adrian II. | | 860 |
| | 872 | John VIII. | | Ethelbert |
| | | | | 866 |
| | | | | Ethelred |
| | 882 | Martin II. | | 872 |
| | 884 | Adrian III. | 875 | Alfred |
| | 885 | Stephen VI. | 880 | |
| | | | Charles the Bald | |
| | | | Charles the Gross | |
| | 886 | Leo VI. | | |
| | | | 888 | Arnolph |

| A. D. | <i>Popes.</i> | <i>Eastern Emperors.</i> | <i>Western Emperors.</i> | <i>Kings of England.</i> | <i>Kings of France.</i> |
|-------|---------------|--------------------------|--|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| 891 | Formosus | | | | |
| 897 | Stephen VII. | | | | |
| 901 | John IX. | | 900 | Edward | 898 Charles the Simple |
| 905 | Benedict IV. | | | | |
| 906 | Leo V. | | | | |
| 907 | Sergius III. | | | | |
| 913 | John X. | 912 | Conrad | | |
| | | | Henry | | |
| 928 | Leo VI. | | | | 923 Rodolf |
| 928 | Stephen VIII. | | | 925 Athelstan | 936 Lewis IV. |
| 931 | John XI. | | | | |
| 936 | Leo VII. | | 936 | Otho | |
| 939 | Stephen IX. | | | | |
| 943 | Martin III. | | | 941 Edmund | |
| 946 | Agapetus | | | 948 Edred | 954 Lothaire |
| 959 | John XII. | | | | |
| 963 | Leo VIII. | 959 | Romanus II. | 955 Edwy | |
| 964 | Benedict V. | 963 | Nicephorus II. | 959 Edgar | |
| 965 | John XIII. | | | | |
| 969 | Benedict VI. | 969 | John Zimiscea | | |
| 972 | Benedict VII. | | | | |
| 973 | Boatface VII. | | 973 | Otho II. | |
| 975 | Benedict VII. | 975 | Basilus II. <small>Constan tine V.</small> | 975 Edward II. | |
| 984 | John XIV. | | | | 978 Ethelred II. |

THE SUCCESSION OF THE POPES, AND OF THE PRINCIPAL TEMPORAL SOVEREIGNS.

| <i>Popes.</i> | | <i>Western Emperors.</i> | | <i>Kings of England.</i> | | <i>Kings of France.</i> | |
|---------------|------|--------------------------|--|--------------------------|--------------|-------------------------|----------------------|
| A. D. | 955 | John XV. | | | | | |
| | 966 | Gregory V. | | | | 986 | Lewis V. |
| | 996 | Silvester II. | | 1002 | Henry I. | 987 | Hugh Capet |
| | 1066 | John XVI. XVII. | | | | 996 | Robert |
| | 1093 | Sergius IV. | | | | 1016 | Edmund II. |
| | 1012 | Benedict VIII. | | | | 1017 | Canute |
| | 1024 | John XVIII. | | 1024 | Constant II. | | |
| | 1028 | Romanus III. | | | | 1031 | Henry |
| | 1034 | Michael IV. | | 1039 | Henry III. | | |
| | 1041 | Michael V. | | | | 1046 | Harold |
| | 1042 | Constantine XI. | | | | 1039 | Hardicanute |
| | | | | | | 1041 | Edward III. Can. |
| | 1054 | Eudokia II. | | 1056 | Henry IV. | | |
| | 1056 | Michael VI. | | | | 1060 | Philip |
| | 1057 | Isaac Comnenus. | | | | | |
| | 1059 | Constantine XI. | | | | | |
| | 1064 | Alexander II. | | | | | |
| | 1068 | Romanus IV. | | | | | |
| | 1071 | Michael VII. | | | | | |
| | 1075 | Nicetas III. | | | | | |
| | 1078 | Alexius Comnenus. | | | | | |
| | 1079 | Gregory VII. | | | | | |
| | | | | | | 1066 | Harold. William Con. |

THE SUCCESSION OF THE POPES, AND OF THE PRINCIPAL TEMPORAL SOVEREIGNS.

| | <i>Popes.</i> | <i>Eastern Emperors.</i> | <i>Western Emperors.</i> | <i>Kings of England.</i> | <i>Kings of France.</i> | |
|-------|---------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|-----------|
| A. D. | 1080 | Victor III | | | | |
| | 1088 | Urban II. | | 1087 | William I. | |
| | 1099 | Pascal II. | | 1109 | Henry I. | |
| | 1118 | Gelasius II. | 1106 | Henry V. | 1108 | Louis VI. |
| | 1119 | Calixtus II. | | | | |
| | 1124 | Honorius II. | 1125 | Lotharis | | |
| | 1130 | Innocent II. | | | | |
| | 1148 | John Comnenus | | 1135 | Stephen | |
| | 1148 | Conrad III | | | | |
| | 1148 | Manuel Comnenus | | | | |
| | 1153 | Celestine II. | | | | |
| | 1154 | Lancus II. | | | | |
| | 1155 | Engerich III | | | | |
| | 1155 | Augustus IV | 1152 | Frederick Barbarossa | | |
| | 1154 | Adrian IV. | | 1154 | Henry II. | |
| | 1155 | Alexander III | | | | |
| | 1180 | Alexius II. Comnenus | | | | |
| | 1180 | Philip II. Augustus | | | | |
| | 1181 | Lucius III | | | | |
| | 1185 | Celestine II. | | | | |
| | 1187 | Gregory VIII | | | | |
| | 1188 | Clement III. | | | | |
| | 1189 | Celestine III | 1189 | Henry VI. | 1189 | Richard I |
| | 1190 | Innocent III | 1198 | Philip | | |
| | 1199 | Innocent III | | | | |
| | 1199 | John | | | | |

THE SUCCESSION OF THE POPES, AND OF THE PRINCIPAL TEMPORAL SOVEREIGNS.

| <i>Popes</i> | <i>Emperors.</i> | <i>Western Emperors.</i> | <i>Kings of England.</i> | <i>Kings of France</i> |
|--------------------|--------------------------|--|--------------------------|--|
| 1303 Benedict X. | | | | |
| 1305 Clement V. | | 1309 Henry VII. 1314 Lewis IV. | 1307 Edward II. | 1314 Lewis X. 1316 Philip V. 1321 Charles IV. 1328 Philip VI. |
| 1316 John XX. | 1320 Andronicus III. | | 1327 Edward III. | |
| 1334 Benedict XI. | 1341 John V. | 1317 Charles IV. | | 1364 Charles V. |
| 1342 Clement VI. | | 1378 Winceslas | 1377 Richard II. | 1380 Charles VI. 1389 Henry IV. |
| 1352 Innocent VI. | | | | |
| 1362 Urban V. | | | | |
| 1378 Urban VI. | | | | |
| 1389 Boniface IX. | 1391 Manuel II. | 1400 Rupert | | |
| 1404 Innocent VII. | | | | |
| 1405 Gregory XII. | | | | |
| 1409 Alexander V. | | | | |
| 1410 John XXI. | | 1410 Sigismund | 1413 Henry V. | |
| 1417 Martin V. | | | 1422 Henry VI. | 1422 Charles VII. |
| 1431 Eugene IV. | 1424 John VI. | 1438 Albert II. 1440 Frederick III. | | |
| 1447 Nicholas V. | 1449 Constantine Paleol. | | | |

THE SUCCESSION OF THE POPES, AND OF THE PRINCIPAL TEMPORAL SOVEREIGNS.

| | <i>Popes.</i> | <i>Kings of Spain.</i> | <i>Western Emperors.</i> | <i>Kings of England.</i> | <i>Kings of France.</i> |
|-------|----------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| A. D. | 1455 Calixtus III. | | | | |
| | 1458 Pius II. | | | 1461 Edward IV. | 1461 Lewis XI. |
| | 1464 Paul II. | | | 1483 Richard III. | 1483 Charles VIII. |
| | 1471 Sixtus IV. | | | | |
| | 1484 Innocent VIII. | | | 1485 Henry VII. | |
| | 1492 Alexander VI. | | 1495 Maximilian | | |
| | | | | 1509 Henry VIII. | 1498 Lewis XII. |
| | 1503 Pius III., Julius II. | | | | |
| | 1512 Leo X. | | 1513 Charles V. | | |
| | 1522 Adrian VI. | | | | |
| | 1523 Clement VII. | | | 1547 Edward VI. | 1547 Henry II. |
| | 1531 Paul III. | | | 1553 Mary | |
| | 1550 Julius III. | | | | |
| | 1555 Paul V. | 1555 Philip II. | | | |
| | | | 1558 Ferdinand I. | 1558 Elizabeth | |
| | 1560 Pius IV. | | | | |
| | 1566 Pius V. | | 1564 Maximilian II. | | 1559 Francis II. 1560 Charles IX. |
| | 1572 Gregory XIII. | | | | 1574 Henry III. |
| | 1580 Sixtus V. | | 1576 Rodolph II. | | 1589 Henry V. |
| | 1590 Gregory XIV. | | | | |
| | 1594 Innocent IX. | | | | |
| | 1592 Clement VIII. | 1593 Philip III. | | | |

THE SUCCESSION OF THE POPES, AND OF THE PRINCIPAL TEMPORAL SOVEREIGNS.

| | | | | |
|-------|---------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| A. D. | <i>Popes.</i> | <i>Western Emperors.</i> | <i>Kings of England.</i> | <i>Kings of France.</i> |
| 1769 | Clement XIV. | 1765 Joseph | 1760 George III. | |
| 1775 | Pius VI. | | | 1774 Lewis XVI. |

==
 END OF VOLUME X.
 ==

University of California
SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY
405 Hilgard Avenue, Los Angeles, CA 90024-1388
Return this material to the library
from which it was borrowed.

APR 07 1997

Rec

MAR 17 1997

REC'D MAR 03 '00

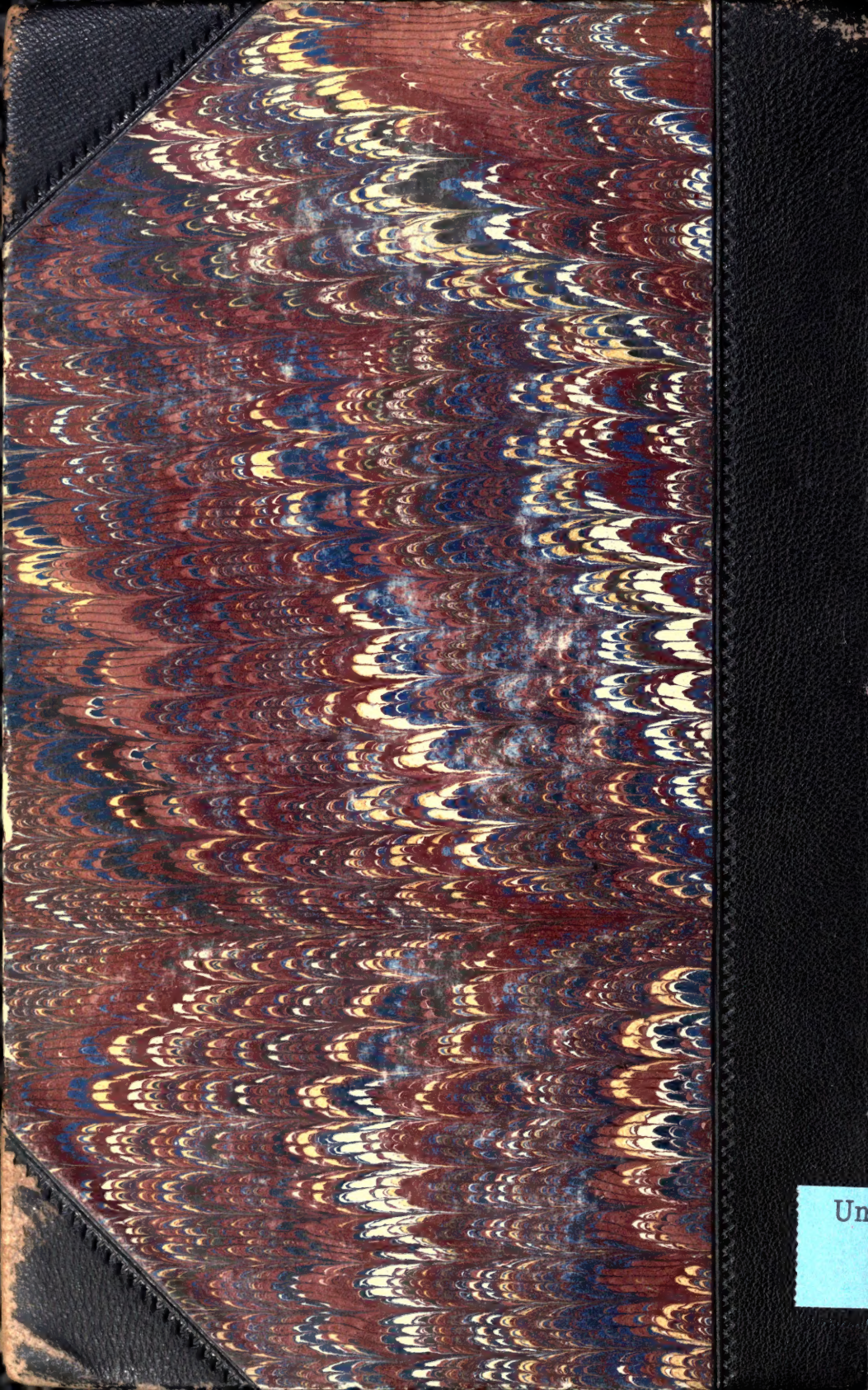
For

THE LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
LOS ANGELES

UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY



AA 000 093 487 7



Un